

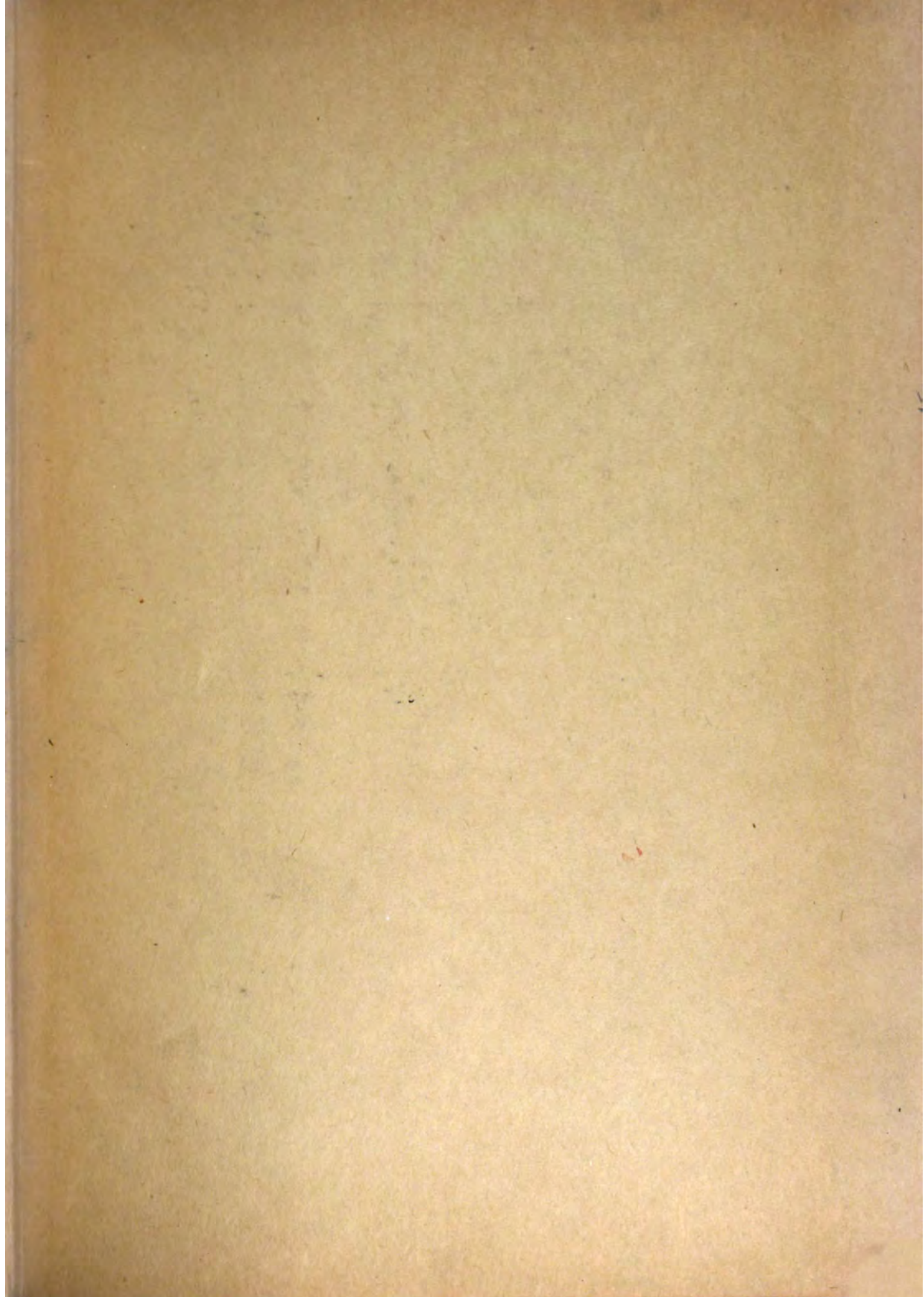
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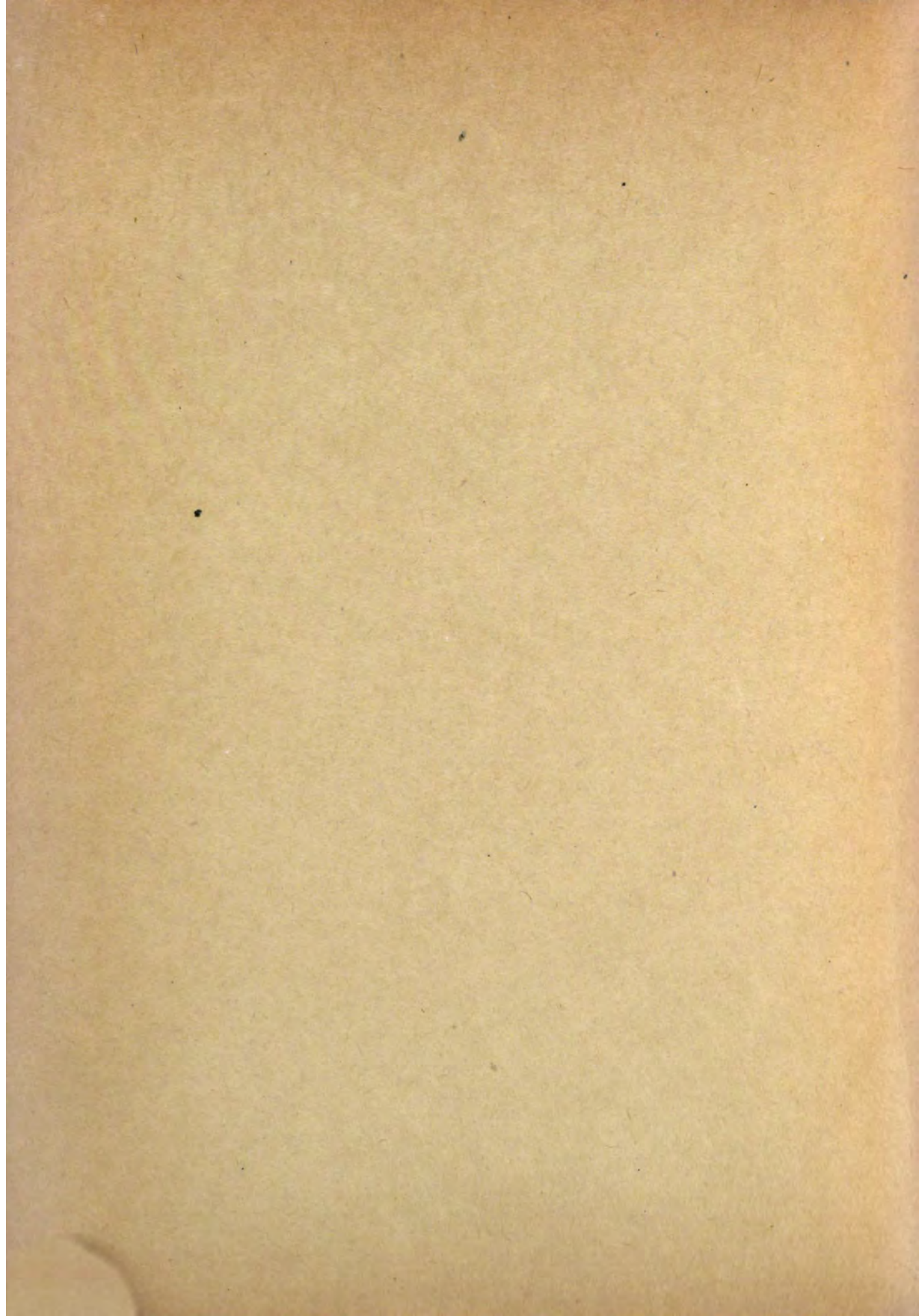


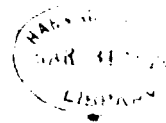
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SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

Russian Soviet Government Bureau

VOL. I.

JUNE-DECEMBER, 1919

NEW YORK

THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU

1920

P R E F A C E

"Soviet Russia," which began publication on June 7, 1919, replaced another weekly publication of this Bureau, "The Weekly Bulletin of the Bureau of Information of Soviet Russia." This weekly information bulletin was first published on March 3, 1919, and continued to appear regularly for thirteen weeks, the last issue (Number 13) appearing the 26th of May. During the three months of the appearance of the earlier publication, which was intended as a sort of news service for the use of periodicals, it became apparent to the Bureau that a publication of wider scope was necessary in order to communicate all the important official and other material concerning Soviet Russia that was at the Bureau's disposal.

The present volume includes thirty weekly issues of the periodical which was the result of the above consideration. It contains as much official information as has been accessible to this Bureau; unfortunately, in the earlier issues, this material is of very fragmentary nature, often having to be obtained from badly distorted versions of official texts appearing in other periodicals. As the publication progressed, however—and the reader will be able to verify this statement by comparison with the material in this volume—the sources began to flow more freely and there was a consequent improvement in the material printed in "Soviet Russia." This improvement, it is hoped, will be a progressive one, and we believe that the issues of "Soviet Russia" in the year 1920 will be superior to those included in the present volume.

When "Soviet Russia" began to appear, the Soviet armies had just begun their work of clearing Russian territory of the counter-revolutionary hordes of Kolchak and Denikin, and had already made serious advances toward the Ural mountains. During the lifetime of this weekly, Siberia has been almost entirely regained for the Russian people by Soviet armies and loyal guerilla forces, and, at the present writing, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is one of the permanent and stable nations of the world.

Of course, the main object of "Soviet Russia" has been the presentation of the truth about the country which this Bureau represents. It may seem *trifling* therefore to speak on this occasion of matters of almost pedantic interest, and yet, the story that "Soviet Russia" has to tell has been already

told, as far as the year 1919 is concerned, in the pages of this volume. We shall therefore in this preface speak of a matter of scholarly interest, which may be of some importance in smoothing the way for those who study or write on Russian matters in the future. We are speaking now of the transliteration of Russian words and proper names in English. In this field "Soviet Russia" has attempted, as yet but imperfectly, to introduce a definite and consistent practice, to replace the chaos existing hitherto. Thus, we have seen such English spellings as *Tschaikowsky*, *Tchitcherine* and *Milyoutine*, which mean absolutely nothing to the English-speaking reader, unless he happens to know that the first of these three forms comes to us from a German transliteration and the other two are from the French. The reader will have observed for himself what picturesque mispronunciations of the name *Lenine* have been caused by using in English the spelling which is appropriate to the French. The "e" in French protects the "n" and prevents it from being nasalized; it has no justification in the English transliteration. *Lenin* is the correct form in English. Similarly there is no reason for using the German "w" or the French "ou" for sounds that are perfectly well represented by the English "v" and "u", respectively. "Soviet Russia" will continue during the present year to attempt to carry out even more rigidly than in the past a consistent system of English spelling for Russian words and proper names. We insert here a little table of letters of the Russian alphabet, those that are most frequently printed with erroneous English equivalents, and are adding in the last column of the table the equivalent English symbols which it is our intention to apply in the spellings of "Soviet Russia."

ч = English	ch as in much, chess.	ch
х = German	ch as in ich; also as in Buch.	kh
вѣ = English	v as in love.	v
ш = English	sh as in mush.	sh
щ = English	shch as in fish-church.	shch
ѣ = English	yo as in yonder.	yo
е = English	ye as in yellow.	ye
у = English	u as in Ruth.	u
ю = English	u as in use.	yu
я = English	ya as in yacht.	ya
ж = English	s as in pleasure.	zh

Of course, it is impossible to render in English spelling all the specific peculiarities of Russian pronunciation. But interesting approximations may be made. Thus the soft sign, placed after consonants to indicate palatalization, can be approached, when it applies to the letter "n", by placing over it the *tilde* used in Spanish orthography; thus **Жизнь** would be rather well rendered by the transliteration "zhizñ". But we shall, for the present, limit ourselves to such English renderings as may be readily given without using any symbols or diacritical marks not found in the English alphabet.

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU.

New York, N. Y., March 3, 1920.

Index to Volume I: June-December, 1919

It has been attempted to make this Index correct, but no doubt typographical errors are still to be found in it. The reader should note also that **bold face type** indicates the number of the issue of "Soviet Russia" in which the item is to be found, while the page of the issue is in Roman type. Thus, Afghanistan 13 17, 26 4, means that the two items on Afghanistan are in numbers 13 and 26 of "Soviet Russia," on pages 17 and 4, respectively.

A

Accusations, Two, 6 18
Activity of the Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare, 11 1
Admiral Kolchak "Democrat," 3 6
Afghanistan, 13 17, 26 4
Against Intervention in Russia, 4 10, 7 9, 8 18, 10 16
Agarion, 10 17
Agricultural Communes, 11 1, 30 2
Agricultural Machinery, 1 15, 17 15, 25 16, 25 19
Agriculture, 3 9, 4 11, 5 7, 30 2
Agriculture, Breadstuffs, 2 10
Agriculture, Cotton, 5 6
Agriculture, Education, 6 13
Agriculture, Flax, 4 11, 5 6
Agriculture, Grain, 5 6
Agriculture, Machinery, 5 7, 7 6
Agriculture, Poultry, 4 11
Agriculture, Sugar Beets, 8 23
Agriculture, Technical, 11 16
Aiding the Counter-Revolution, 5 21-13
Alexieff, General, 10 9, 29 2-3
Alliance of the Soviet Republics, 5 16
Allied Atrocities in Ukraine, 6 7
Allied Intervention in Russia, Italian View on, 8 10
Allied Intrigues Against Russia (A Soviet Note), 10 5
Allies, 30 16
All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 11 3
All-Russian National Assembly, 17 14
American Troops, 12 4
American Business and Russian Raw Materials, 9 4
American Labor Party, 27 22
American Manufacturer and Russian Trade, 7 4-16
American Professor on Intervention in Siberia, 26 31
American Railway Mission, 25 18
American Soldiers, 1 12, 19 1
American Soldiers in Siberia, The, 28 20
American Trade, 15 7
Amusements, Theatres, 10 2
Andrejeff, 19 6
An Eye-Witness on Soviet Russia, 11 3
"Anti-Bolshevik" Gorky, The, 19 6
Anti-English Troubles in Kurdistan, 8 21
Anti-Semitism of the Kolchak Government, 3 4
Anti-Semitism, Allied Proclamation, 4 3, 5 16, 13 3-17
Anti-Semitism in Siberia, 6 19, 28 10
Anti-Semitism, Bessarabia, 11 15
Anti-Semitism Pogroms, 6 22, 6 19, 9 12, 12 10-15
Anti-Soviet Blockade be Raised, Will the, 19 10
Appeal, Chicherin's, 13 16
Appeal to the Russian Trade Unions, An, 14 9
Appropriations—Education, Health, Social Welfare, War, Counter-Revolution, 17 13
Archangel, 11 8, 13 11
Archangel, Finns at, 6 9
Archangel, Military North, 13 4
Area, Forests, 17 19
Armenian Relief, 17 23
Army, Red, 9 7, 12 2, 13 5-10-12-19-20, 22 23
Army, Red, Soldiers' Soviets in, 9 2, 10 4-9
Arrests at Vladivostok, The, 10 17
Arrival of Freighters from Ukraine, 10 2
Art, 18 10
Art and Education, 10 3
Artisans, Shops, 10 23
Arts, Fine, 20 10
Asylums, Children's, 11 1
Atrocities, 13 2, 17 22, 18 13-16
Atrocities Against Jews Committed by Denikin's Forces, 28 12
Atrocities, British, 22 17
Atrocities, Entente's, in Russia, 23 15

Atrocities, French, 21 12
Atrocities I Did Not See in Russia, 11 6
Atrocities, Kolchak, 10 23
Atrocities, Karelia, 14 15
Atrocities in Siberia and European Russia, 2 6
Atrocities of the Finnish White Guard in Karelia, 14 15
Atrocities, Vilna, 14 6
Atrocities of the Volunteer Army, 18 16
Atrocity, A New Bolshevik, 18 13
Attack on Kronstadt, The, 19 11
Automobiles, 25 16
Aviation, Red, 26 9

B

Bailis's Prosecutor in Court, 15 6
Baltic, British Fleet in the, 28 23
Baltic Peace Negotiations, The, 24 9
Baltic Region, Economic Significance of, 25 6
Baltic Region, Germany's Aggressive Policy in, 26 5
Baltic Region, "Northwest Russia" Adventure, 20 4
Baltic States, "Governments" of Lettonia, 7 5, 13 14, 17 12, 25 24, 26 11-17, 27 1-20, 30 9
Barbusse, Henri, 28 18
Barter, 11 4
Battle for Peace, The, 22 29
Beauties of the French Occupation of Odessa, The, 26 26
Before the Storm in Siberia, 28 10
Bela Kun and Lenin, 14 23
Belated News from Japanese Newspapers, 12 4
Benevolence, Japanese, 12 6
Berne Conference, 11 9
Bessarabia, Population of, 4 16, 5 13
Bessarabia, Treacherous Conduct of Roumania in, 11 15
Bessarabian or Roumanian Front, 13 9
Bestialities of the Polish White Guards, 17 22
Biography, Lenin, 27 2, 30 22
Black Struggle Against Soviet Russia, The, 26 22, 30 17
Bloch (Siefried), 17 21
Blockade, 4 1, 12 8-9-11, 13, 22-23, 17 8-12, 18 7-8-9, 19 10, 21 10, 25 20, 26 11-17-27-30-31, 27 13, 28 10-23, 30 11
Blockade, American Labor Party Demands Removal of the, 27 22
Blockade, An English View of the, 26 31
Blockade, and American Exports to Russia, The, 10 15, 15 7
Blockade and Germany, 28 21
Blockade and the Neutrals, 27 13
Blockade, Can They Endure, 10 15
Blockade Diplomacy, Allied, 2 16, 3 11, 4 10, 10 15, 29 12
Blockade Prices, 9 5
Blockade Editorial, 4 1
Blockade Editorial, 5 1
Blockade, Lack of Work and Distress Consequences of the, 30 11
Blockade, Protest French Workers, 24 13
Blockade of Russia, The, 13 23
Blockade, The Russian, 13 22
Blockade of Russia, French Labor Unions Will Take Action Against the, 26 30
Blockade of Russia, The, 26 11
Blockade Trade, 5 9, 15 7
Blockade, U. S., Editorial, 19 13
Blockade, Wilson, 13 23
Blockade, Women Workers Demand Lifting of, 26 29
Bold Deeds of the White Guards in Esthonia, The, 23 3
Bolshevik, Control, 25 13

Bolshevik Fellow of the Royal Society, 8 4
Bolshevik, The Making of a, 27 2
Bolsheviks Now Control Siberia, The, 25 13
Bolsheviks and the Foreign Legations, 27 10
Bolsheviks, The, and Persia, 27 10
Bolshevism Among the French Sailors, 12 16
Bolshevism Hounded, 22 29
Bolshevism, Jews and—A New Light, 30 8
Bonds—Finance—Investments, 17 18
Bourgeois Officers, 9 7
Breshkovskaja, A Siberian Paper on Madame, 14 3
Brest-Litovsk—Lenin, 9 3
Brest-Litovsk Treaty, 10 9
Britain, Great, and Russia, 23 16
British Atrocities, 22 17
British Fleet in the Baltic, 28 23
British Imperialism and Intervention in Russia, 25 20
British Naval Raid on Kronstadt, 23 15
British Officers, Official Murder by, 9 13
British Policy to Soviet Russia—Editorial, 26 16
British Policy in Russia Discussed in the Commons, 29 20
British Seek Trade with Russia, 30 10
British Soldiers, How, Are Forced to Fight in Russia, 21 1
British Supplies, Payment for Denikin's, 23 13
British Tanks, Against Unloading, 21 15
British Trade with Russia, 5 10
Broken Swedish-Russian Relations, The, 22 10
Brown, Stella, 27 8
Bryant, Louise, 1 12, 13 1
Budget, Education, Kolchak and Russia, 3 7
Budget for Education in Russia, 7 7
Budget, Soviet—Editorial, 17 13
Budget; Schools, 27 11
Budgets, 27 15
Bullitt, William C., 2 2, 15 8, 16 2, 18 9-15, Bullitt Commission, 19 5
Bullitt on Russia, 18 15
Bullard, Arthur, Message to Colonel House, 8 7
Bureau, Soviet, 26 17
Bureau, Soviet, Commercial Department, 7 6, 9 6
Bureau, Soviet, Lush, 3 3, 4 3, 5 2-5
Bureau, Soviet, 1 1, 5 4-5, 25 14-15, 27 14-23
Bureau, Soviet, Statement, 29 14
Bureau, Soviet, Technical Dept., 12 9
Bureau, Soviet, Trade, 4 3

C

Cabarets or Schools, 23 20
Cadet "Democracy", 14 2
Cadet Party, 14 2
Cadets, Monarchist, 28 10
Cadets, Siberia, 10 13-14
Can the Blockade Endure, 10 15
Candor of the Soviet Government, The, 19 8
Capy, Marcelle, 27 4
Catholic Opinion on Intervention, A, 4 8
Causes of the Downfall of Czarism, The, 23 2
Censorship, Kolchak's, 18 13
Censorship, Post War, on News About Russia, 29 20
Censorship, Press, in Siberia, 12 15
Censorship, Siberia, 14 8, 15 10
Chemicals, 7 8, 10 2, 16 1, 27 6
Chicherin, George, 6 13, 17 2, 19 9
Chicherin's Appeal, 23 16
Chicherin, Diplomacy, Soviet, 5 13

Chicherin, George, 13 13
 Chicherin-Rakovsky, 11 15
 Child Welfare, 27 11
 Children, 13 3, 15 7-8, 21 10, 25 16, 28 7, 30 1-14
 Children, Abnormal, 11 1
 Children, Atrocities, 25 1
 Children, Homes for, 11 1
 Children, Hospitals for, 28 8
 Children, Illegitimate, 11 1
 Children, The Kingdom of the, 30 1
 China, 14 13, 27 9
 China, Diplomacy, 4 8
 Chinese, Soviets Purchasing from, 4 8
 Chinese Workers in Russia, 3 7
 Chronological Record of the Guerilla War in Siberia, A, 20 8
 Church Free Under Soviet, The, 15 5
 Church, Russian, and Bolsheviks, 27 19
 Church Support, 27 19
 Churches, 20 21
 Churchill, Winston, 10 16, 18 2-15, 28 16
 Churchill's "Intelligence" Caught Napping, 20 20
 Civil War in Siberia, The, 20 9
 Civil War Summary, 13 20
 Civilizing Work of the Workers' Co-operative of Moscow, 28 10
 Clemenceau, Georges, 3 3-6, 18 2
 Coal-Dom, 10 4
 Coal-Donetz Basin, 13 10-18
 Coal-Export, 10 2
 Colonies, Children, 27 11
 Comment, Press, 6 21
 Comments on Kolchak's Rule, 5, 12
 Commercial Concessions, Russian, 8 5
 Committee of State Constructions, The, 6 14
 Communes, Agricultural, 11 1
 Communes, Foreign, 28 10
 Communes, Peasant, 30 2
 Communication Between Soviet Russia and Turkestan Restored, 28 10
 Communications, Official, 25 19
 Communication, Official—Life at Orenburg, 28 7
 Communication, Official—Soviet Government, 23 14
 Communications, Official, of the Soviet Government, 24, 16
 Communications Reopened, 11 5
 Communism, 17 9
 Communist League, Young People's, 28 7
 Communist Party of Russia, Polish Socialist Party to the, 21 11
 Communist Solidarity, 28 7
 Communist State, The Family and the, 28 14
 Communists, Execution of, 17 1
 Compromise with the Soviet Government, 23 5
 Concessions, 6 16, 10 7
 Concessions, Commercial, 8 5
 Concessions, Foreign, 15 5
 Conditions Back of the Front, Description, 30 18
 Conditions in Soviet Russia, 11 6
 Conference, The Dorpat, 28 11
 Conference of Engineers, 28 8
 Conflict With the Baku Press, 17 20
 Congress of Finance, The All-Russian, 27 15
 Constituent Assembly, 7 10, 9 7, 11 14
 Constituent Assembly, Siberia, 9 7-14
 Construction, 20 6
 Constructions, Government, 11 1
 Consumers' Organizations, 3 8
 Copenhagen, Dorpat and, 30 9
 Correspondence, Official, Between Soviet Russia and Poland, 21 11
 Coup d'Etat in Hungary—Editorial, 11 10
 Cooperatives, Raids on the, in Siberia, 14 7
 Cooperatives, 14 7-9, 28 10
 Cooperatives, Consumers', 7 11
 Cooperatives, Workers', 8 2
 Cooperators, 2 6, 4 3, 7 9, 9 14
 Copenhagen, 30 9
 Copenhagen, Conference, 28 16, 27 12, 30 6
 Copper-Urals, 10 4
 Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Finland, Further, 19 9
 "Cossack Anti-Semitism," 4 3
 Cossacks, 8 11, 17 20, 19 10
 Cossacks, Don, 29 1
 Cossacks, Don, Refuse to Fight Against the Soviet Army, 30 23
 Cossacks, Kuban, 29 1
 Cossacks, Siberia, 9 13
 Cossacks Were Fooled by Denikin, How the, 19 10
 Cost of Counter-Revolution, 28 19
 Cost of the Russian Adventure, The, 28 19
 Cotton, 10 13, 16 1-14, 18 6, 26 10
 Cotton for Russian Textile Industry, 18 13
 Cotton, Industry, 11 3
 Council of the All-Siberian Cooperatives and the Unions of Cooperatives, 14 7
 Counter-Revolution, 1 5, 9 10, 11 15, 13 24, 14, 5-6-14-16-20, 15 10, 18 18, 17 14, 18 13,

19 8-11, 28 7-18, 21, 2-6, 28 1-2-6-7-12-19-27-29-31, 27 12-16, 28 9, 30 11-17
 Counter-Revolutionaries, Feud Among the, 27 23
 Counter-Revolution, Germany, 25 22
 Counter-Revolutionary Plot Against Soviet Russia, 12 16
 Counter-Revolutionist, 14 14
 Counter-Revolution, Russian, 22 23, 28 22, 27 23
 Counter-Revolution Suppresses Strike, 19 11
 Counter-Revolution, Aiding the, 5 12
 Counter-Revolution, Victims of, 11 1
 Counter-Revolutionary Documents Seized, 8 21
 Crimea, 9 12, 14 14, 18 1
 Crops in Siberia, Expected Yield of, 15 13
 Cultural Items from Soviet Russia, 27 11
 Culture Under the Soviets, 22 13
 Currency in Soviet Russia, 11 3
 Czarism, Causes of Downfall of, 23 2
 Czech, 30 4
 Czechs, 25 18
 Czechs Guard Rails Against Great Odds, 9 9
 Czech Proletariat and the Russian Revolution, 17 4
 Czech-Slovak, 14 23, 17 17, 19 10
 Czech-Slovaks, 5 9, 6 2, 7 2, 9 9, 10 7, 18 19, 17 4, 28 1, 19 10
 Czech-Slovak Adventure, Czech-Slovak on the, 17 17
 Czech-Slovaks in Siberia, 7 2, 8 14
 Czech-Slovaks, Disillusionment Among the, 16 19

D

Danish Red Cross, 30 21
 Death of a Red Regiment, The, 17 1
 Death Train, 1 12
 Decrees, 18 10
 Decrees, Kolchak, 14 8
 Decrees, Soviet, 15 13, 17 4
 Delayed News From Russia, 11 16
 "Democrat" Kolchak, Fleecing His Subjects, 6 3
 "Democracy," Cadet, 14 2
 Democracy, in the Name of, 2 3
 "Democracy," Kolchak, The, 19 13
 Democracy and the Soviets, 11 13
 Democracy Under Denikin, 13 2
 Democracy Under Kolchak, 13 2
 Demonstration, Anti-Kolchak, 3 2
 Demonstration by French Sailors, 3 16
 Denikin, 2 11 4 1-10, 5 11, 7 1-2-14, 8 6-12, 9 7-8-11-15, 10 4-9, 12 5-7-10-15, 13 1-2-10-13-18-20, 18 13-23, 17 6-12-18, 18 5-8, 19 5-8, 20 6, 21 7, 25 1-12-13-21-22, 28 7-12-16, 27 16, 28 2, 29 1, 30 20-17
 Denikin, Adventure, 25 2
 Denikin and the Allies, 28 7
 Denikin Company, The, 30 20
 Denikin Editorial, 23 12
 Denikin Forces, 28 12
 Denikin Front, 14 12
 Denikin Gets the Order of the Bath, 7 2
 Denikin, Kolchak, 11 9, 28 12
 Denikin, Lenin, or, 16 23
 Denikin Massacres Jews, 19 18
 Denikin-Military South, 13 10
 "Denikin Rear, The," 29 1
 Denmark, Steamships Communication Between Russia and, 6 12
 Deportations, 25 14
 "Deportations From North Russia," 8 5
 Desertions, 15 13, 25 8
 Diary of a Russian Counter-Revolutionist, The, 14 14
 Dietrichs, 25 3
 Diplomacy, Allied, 1 3, 3 2-3-6-10-12-14, 4 1-4-5-8, 5 1-2-12-14, 6 1-19, 7 1, 8 1-5-6-11-21-23, 9 4-3-8-9-13-16, 10 3-7-8-11-15-19, 11 15, 12 5-8-10, 13 1-5-11-12-13-14-15-16-22, 16 22, 20 1, 27 12, 28 9, 29 11-12, 30 5
 Diplomacy, Allied English, 1 14, 2 1-2, 4 1-4-11, 5 1-9-13, 6 18-20-22, 7 1-9-13, 8 4-6-9-10-21, 9 10-11-13, 10 7-11-17-23, 12 12, 13 1-11-22-23, 14 5, 16 12, 17 8-13, 18 2, 25 13-20, 28 1-4-11, 29 12-20, 30 6-12
 Diplomacy, Allied French, 3 10-16, 4 6-10-14, 5 1-3-12-15, 6 20-21, 7 4, 8 5-6-7-10-14-18-20, 9 7-8-12, 10 3-7, 11 16, 12 13-16 13 12-13-22, 27 10, 28 9
 Diplomacy, Allied Intervention, 6 19, 8 20, 9 12
 Diplomacy, Allied Italy, 4 11-14, 8 10-18, 9 15, 10 6, 11 15
 Diplomacy, Allied Japan, 3 13, 4 14, 5 9, 6 3-5, 7 13, 8 1-12-15, 9 7-13-14-16, 10 7, 12 5-6, 13 1-17-19, 28 10, 29 13
 Diplomacy, Allied-Kolchak, 2 12, 3 1-6-7-15, 4 1-2, 5 9-11, 6 2-22-23, 7 2, 8 13-20, 9 9-14, 10 8-17-22, 12 12-15, 13 1
 Diplomacy, Allied-United States, 2 14, 3 3, 4 3-8-14, 5 1-2-3-4-5-9, 6 20-21-23, 7 13,

8 7-16, 9 10, 10 16-19, 12 4-12, 13 1-17, 17 12, 18 16, 20 17, 25 14-22
 Diplomacy, England, 20 1, 21 2
 Diplomacy, Finance, 28 1
 Diplomacy, Finland, 4 8, 5 1-12-14-15, 6 21, 10 20, 16 20, 19 9
 Diplomacy, France, 19 5, 20 1
 Diplomacy, Foreign and Bolsheviks, 27 10
 Diplomacy, German, 3 10-14, 4 7, 7 5, 8 7, 9 4-7, 13 13-14-16, 18 8
 Diplomacy, Greece, 4 15
 Diplomacy, Kolchak, 6 3-5, 7 3
 Diplomacy, Poland, 21 11
 Diplomacy, Roumania, 5 13
 Diplomacy, Secret, 2 2
 Diplomacy, Soviet, 1 7, 4 8, 5 2-3-13-15-16, 6 16-18, 7 11-14, 8 5-6-9-14-17-22, 9 3-7-10-12-13-16, 10 3-4-5-6-7-8-10-11-16-20-21, 11 15, 12 8, 13 9-13-17, 14 18-21, 15 5-9, 16 5, 17 5, 19 8-9, 21 11, 28 30, 29 1, 30 7
 Diplomacy, Soviet: Dorpat, 29 15
 Diplomacy, Soviet: Open, 29 15
 Diplomacy, Sweden, 8 19, 30 11
 Diplomacy, Swiss, 27 10
 Diplomacy, Switzerland, 10 10
 Diplomacy, Ukraine, 9 12, 13 8
 Disillusionment Among the Czech-Slovaks in Siberia, 18 17
 Disintegration of Kolchak's Power, The, 15 13
 Disorganization, 15 10
 Disorganization of the Kolchak Army, The, 14 9
 Disposal of Meeting, 18 13
 Dissemination of Lies, The, 12 11
 Distribution, 5 6, 11 3
 Documents, 17 2
 Documents, Official, 13 3
 Documents, Official Soviet, 13 3
 Documents on the Atrocities Against Jews, Committed by Denikin Forces, 28 12
 Don Cossacks Refuse to Fight Against the Soviet Army, 30 23
 Dorpat Conference, The, 28 11
 Dorpat and Copenhagen, 30 9
 Drugs, 7 8, 27 6
 Drama, 18 10

E

East, The South and the, 27 16
 Eastern Europe, 13 22
 Eating Houses, Free, 11 1
 Economic Activity, 29 9
 Economic Conditions, 25 11
 Economic Life, Phases of, 4 11
 Economic Notes on Soviet Russia, 8 23
 Economic Problems, Immediate, 15 5
 Economic Reconstruction in Soviet Russia, 3 7-8, 28 9
 Economic Significance, 28 5
 Economic Significance of the Baltic Region, The, 25 6
 Economic Situation in the Province, 28 7
 Economic Situation in Russia, The, 29 6
 Economic Soviets, 11 3
 Economy, Council of National, Moscow, 29 6
 Editorials, 1 1, 2 1, 6 1, 8 6, 10 12, 12 8, 13 12 14 12, 15 8, 17 12, 18 8, 21 8, 22 16, 24 12, 25 12, 26 16
 Editorials, Blockade, 4 1
 Editorials, Blockade Against Russia, 5 1
 Editorial, Denikin, 23 12
 Editorial, Denikin's Forces and Their Method, 7 1
 Editorial, Goods, W. T., 19 12
 Editorial, Kerensky, 18 9
 Editorials, Kolchak, 3 1
 Editorial, Kolchak's Zemstvo Congress, 19 13
 Editorial, Lithuania's Part, 19 12
 Editorial, Maurice, General, 18 9
 Editorial, Military Aid of Allies to Denikin, 18 8
 Editorial, Springfield Republican, 19 8
 Editorial, Swedish Paper, 28 4
 Editorial, Times, 1 11, 16 12
 Editorials, Truth About Soviet Russia, The, 9 1
 Education, 6 13, 8 2-3, 14 7, 16 3-13, 18 10, 25 16, 26 7, 27 11-21, 30 1-14-23
 Education, Agricultural, 6 13
 Education, Budget, 3 7
 Education, Budget, Kolchak and Russia, 3 7
 Education, Classics, 8 3
 Education, Commissariat, 8 2
 Education in Russia, Budget for, 7 7
 Education, Literacy, 2 13, 6 6-7-8
 Education, Literacy Among Male Population, 6 11-12
 Education, Museums, 9 7
 Education, Newspapers, 5 6
 "Education in Soviet Russia," 6 2

Education in Soviet Russia and in Siberia, 14 7
 Education, Schools, 2 14, 5 7-15, 8 2-3, 10 1, 20 16
 Education, Siberia, 4 3, 7 12
 Education, Women, 12 2
 Educational Activity and Political Propaganda, 6 13
 Educational Schools, 18 10
 Effect of the War Upon Russian Industry, The, 18 6
 Efimenko, The Murder of Mrs., 25 2
 Effort, Incentive to, 6 2
 Eisenberger, Joseph, 9 14
 Either War or Peace, 2 14
 Elections, Peace, 18 14
 Electric Power Stations, 20 6
 Embargo, 11 4
 Emerson, Geo. H. (Col.), 25 18
 Engineers, 20 7
 Engineers, Conference of, 28 8
 England, 14 5, 16 13-14, 18 7-14-15, 19 1, 25 13, 26 15-27
 England, Aiding Counter-Revolution, 14 5
 England, Commons, House of, 2 1-2
 England Finance, 28 31, 30 6
 England Government, 1 7
 England, Lying in, Too, 16 14
 English, 21 16, 28 5
 English Atrocities, 25 23
 English Colonel Agitating for Kolchak, 16 23
 English and Finnish Piracy Against the Steamship Eskilstuna III, 25 23
 English Fleet, 28 23
 English Impressions, 17 23
 English Parliament, 13 22-23
 English Piracy in the Finnish Gulf, 24 23
 English Rule in North Russia, The, 25 7
 English Under a Prussian Command, The, 24 11
 English News, 26 31
 Englishman's Impression of Russia, An, 17 23
 Entente's Atrocities in Russia, 23 15
 Eskilstuna III, 22 31, 25 23
 Eskilstuna III, Further Details of the Finnish-English Capture of, 26 27
 Espionage, 28 11
 Esthonia, 13 17, 18 7, 28 5
 Estonian Front, 13 7
 Esthonia is Free to Do . . . What England Wants, 23 13
 Esthonia, White Guards in, 23 3
 Esthonia's, 8 12
 Ethnological, Distribution of the, 4 16
 Europe, Economic Conditions, 16 9
 European Russia, 28 5
 European Russia, Military Situation, 16 9
 Executions, 17 1, 25 9, 30 20
 Execution of Hostages, 4 16
 Execution of Hostages, 4 16, 10 22
 Execution of Hostages in Krasnoyarsk, 12 6
 Executions, Kolchak, 14 8
 Execution by Kolchak's Hangmen, With out Trial, 14 8
 Excellent "White" Ministers, 27 18
 Expected Yield of Crops in Siberia, 15 13
 Experts, 1 10
 Experts, Administrative, 11 3
 Export, American, and Blockade, 15 7
 Exports and Imports, 17 15
 Exports from Soviet Union to Soviet Russia, 14 11
 Exports to Russia, American, and Blockade, The, 10 15
 "Exposing the Powers of Darkness, 6 16
 Eye-Witness on Soviet Russia, An, 10 1

F

Fabrications, 1 13-14-15, 2 1-2-16, 3 15, 4 2-4, 6, 2-19-21, 7 2-6, 8 15-22, 9 6-9, 10 5-9-13, 11 3, 12 10-11-12, 13 12-14-17, 14 18, 17 28, 18 14-15, 20 20, 21 5-8
 Fair at Nizhni Novgorod, 15 15
 Fair Questions Fairly Put, 18 16
 Fall of Ekaterinburg, 12 10
 Family, The Communist State and the, 28 14
 Fate of Russians from the French Front, The, 8 22
 Fate of the Russian Jewry, The, 19 18
 Favor Americans—Hate British, 21 16
 Federations, Socialist, 27 11
 Feeding of Children, 13 3
 Feminist Movement, The, 26 9
 Fertilizers, 7 8
 Feud Among the Counter Revolutionary Emigres in New York, 27 23
 Fight Against the Soviets, The, 3 10
 Finance, 12 10, 15 3-7, 17 13, 25 12, 26 7-9-19, 27 15, 30 7, 30 12
 Finance Administration, 26 7

Finance, Budget, 3 8
 Finance, Budget, Expenditures, 3 8
 Finance, Congress of, 27 15
 Finance, Credit, 5 1
 Finance, Debts, 10 7
 Finance, England, 28 31, 30 6
 Finance, Loans, 10 13
 Finance, Money, 8 8, 4 15, 6 3-5
 Finance, Russian Securities, 5 11
 Finance, Siberia, 7 11
 Finances, Siberian, 28 8
 Financial Aid, 11 1
 Fine Arts, 24 10
 Finland, 10 20, 14 10-15, 15 8, 19 9, 25 3-24, 19 1
 Finland, Mannerheim 6 1, 8 12-22
 Finland and Petrograd, 9 10
 Finland and Russia, 5 14-20, 10 20, 8 22
 Finland, White Terror in, 14 10
 Finnish Gulf, English Piracy in the, 24 23
 Finnish Imperialism, 10 20
 Finnish Ministry Foreign Affairs, 17 2
 Finnish Piracy, 25 23
 Finnish White Guards, 1 3, 11 11, 14 15, 25 23, 26 27
 Finns Do Not Want to March, 8 9
 Finns, Murman Coast, 6 12
 Finns, White, 22 31
 Fish, Canned, 12 10
 Flax, 9 4, 10 1, 20 31
 Flour, 8 21
 Food, 15 7, 26 29, 29 6
 Food, Children, 27 11
 Food Conditions, 28 23
 Food Prices, 11 9, 25 11
 Food Problems, 12 2
 Food Production, 2 10
 Food, Sea, 12 10
 Food Situation in Soviet Russia, 8 21
 Foodstuffs, 3 8, 7 6-7
 Foodstuffs, Nuts, Jelly, etc, 10 2
 Foodstuffs, 15 8
 Foreign Commerce, 28 10
 Foreign Embassies in Soviet Russia, as Centers of Counter-Revolution, 24 21
 For Russia, 22 15
 Foreign Trade, 14 13
 Foreign Trade Figures, 2 10
 Foreigners in the Soviet Army, 8 22
 Foreigners, Welcome, 11 4
 Forestry in Russia, 4 9
 Forestry in Russia, 4 9-10
 Forests, 17 19
 For the Russian Martyrs, 26 1
 For Whose Benefit? 13 24
 France, Government, 1 7
 France, Repatriation of Russian in, 14 23
 France, The Russian Soldiers in, 4 6, 6 20, 8 22, 12 12, 23 21
 France and Soviet Russia, 23 21
 "Free" Press of Siberia in 1918-1919, The, 25 10
 French Agreement With Great Britain, 29 15
 French Atrocities, 21 12, 26 1-26-26
 French Democracy in Russia, 23 14
 French Diplomacy, 27 10
 French Labor Union, 26 30
 French Labor Unions Will Take Action Against the Blockade of Russia, 26 30
 French Occupation of Odessa, The Bent- ves of the, 26 28
 French Plotting, 22 30
 French Protests, 27 13
 French Rule, Odessa Under, 15 15
 French in Russia, 9 7
 French Sailors, 12 16
 French Sailors, Demonstration by, 3 16
 "French Soldiers in Southern Russia," 12 16
 French Workers Against Russian Blockade, 24 13
 Frey, Semper, 29 9
 From the Turkestan Front, 27 9
 Fuel, Wood, 29 6
 Further Details of the Finnish-English Capture of Eskilstuna III, 26 27

G

Gaida, General, An Interview With, 30 4
 Galicia, 13 3
 Garvin Comes Over, 28 13
 George, Lloyd, 2 2, 3 3-12, 16 11
 German Aid to Soviets, 18 8
 German Farmers in European Russia, 28 5
 German Policy in the Baltic, 25 7, 28 6, 27 20
 Germans, 12 5, 17 17, 26 29, 28 5
 Germans, Troops, Ukraine, 3 11
 Germany, 1 5, 10 6, 19 5, 21 2-8
 Germany After the War, 28 6
 Germany and Lettonia, 7 5
 Germany Looking for Russian Trade, 22 30
 Germany, Men Purchased in, Russian Counter-Revolution, 22 23

Germany, Revolution, 4 7
 Germany and the Russian Blockade, 28 21
 Germany and Russian Negotiations Between, 11 5
 Germany, Russian Prisoners in, 13 12, 23 14
 Germany Seeks Trade with Russia, 13 23
 Germany Trade, 9 4-10, 19 23, 13 23, 15 9
 Germany's Aggressive Policy in the Baltic Region, 25 5
 Getting Out of Siberia, 25 18
 Gold Mines, Siberia, 9 14
 Goldfields Seized, 6 19
 Goode, W. J., 14 10, 17 13, 19 12, 30 8
 Goods, 16 1
 Goods We Need and Goods We Can Sell, 16 1
 Gorky, Maxim, 8 2, 10 13, 12 7, 19 7
 Gorky, the Anti-Bolshevik, 19 6
 Gorky's Maxim, Son Shot, 12 7
 Government, Soviet, Commissariat for Social Welfare, 11 1
 Government, Soviet, Jewish Affairs, Com'st of, 29 7
 Government by the People, 2 2
 Great Britain, French Agreement With, 29 15
 Great Northern Railway, 2 11
 Great Number of Red Finns in Russia, A, 23 13
 Greece Refuses to Fight Against Soviets, 4 15
 Greece and Soviet Russia, 14 19
 Greek Catholic Church Under Soviet, 25 5
 Grigoriev, Pogroms, 12 16
 Grigorieff, 17 18
 Guerilla War in Siberia, The, 28 7-8

H

Hadjetlache, 29 12
 Hands Off Russia, 10 14
 Harbin Conference, 15 3
 Hardship, a Legacy of, 20 20
 Harmsworth, Mr. Cecil, 13 22
 Harvest, Organization of the, 26 7-8
 Harvest, Siberia, 15 13
 Harvests, Soviet Russia, 14 11
 Hansen, Arvid, 12 1, 15 13
 Hemp, 9 4, 10 1
 Hides, 7 8
 Hides and Skins, 9 5
 Hinkle, Walter Mills, 11 6
 Hospitals for Children, 26 7
 Hostages, Execution of, 10 22, 12 6
 Hostages, Order to Shoot, 11 5
 Housing, Moscow, 10 1
 How British Soldiers Are Forced to Fight in Russia, 21 1
 How the Cossacks Were Fooled by Denikin, 19 10
 How and For Whom the Russian War, 17 18
 How People Are Living in White Riga, 26 20
 How Pro-Kolchak Manifestoes Are Made, 22 15
 Hungary Coup d'Etat, Editorial, 11 10
 Hungary's Only Solution, 4 13
 Hungary, No Food for, 12 10

I

Illiterates, 16 13
 Immediate Economic Problems of the Soviet Government, 15 5
 Imports, 25 19
 Impression, Englishman's, of Russia, 17 23
 Impressions, Odessa, 18 1
 Incentive to Effort, 6 2
 Income, Soviet, 15 7
 Independent Labor Party and Bolshevik Rule, 1 14
 Industrial Data From Soviet Russia, 5 6
 Industrial Notes From the Soviet North, 5 7
 Industries, 11 3
 Industry, 3 8, 5 6-7, 6 2, 8 4, 18 6-10, 25 16-19, 27 8
 Industry, Boots, 2 11
 Industry, Donetz Basin, 13 10
 Industry, Electric Works, 2 10
 Industry, Factories, 6 23
 Industry, Flour, 2 11
 Industry, Glass Works, 2 10
 Industry, Locomotives, 2 11
 Industry, Matches, 5 7
 Industry, Metal-Wares, 5 10
 Industry, Moscow District, 29 6
 Industry, Paper, 5 6
 Industry, Reconstruction, 3 8, 5 6
 Industry, Shops, 10 23
 Industry, Siberia, 13 19, 26 7

Industry, Sugar Refining, 8 23
 Industry, Textile, 3 9-10, 6 23
 Industry, Textile, Cotton, 3 10, 5 6
 Industry, Textile, Linen, 3 10, 5 6
 Industry, Textile Machinery, 3 10
 Industry, Silks, 3 10
 Industry, Textile, Wool, 3 10, 5 6
 Industry, Weaving, 5 7
 Industry, World Would Revive Russian Trade, 10 11
 Ingrates, Russia, 14 16, 15 1, 16 6
 In the Name of Democracy, 2 3
 In Odessa, 17 6
 In Petrograd Now, 2 12
 In the Rear of Kolchak's Army, 21 6
 In Semionov's Paradise, 9 14
 In Siberia, 12 6
 In Soviet Russia, 3 15
 Institute for Public Service, 27 22
 Instruction for the "Subject" Races, 28 8
 Instructions, Public, and the Soviets, 27 21
 Instruments, Optical and Surgical, 14 11
 Intelligentsia, Jewish, 29 8
 International Congress, 28 27
 International Protest, An, 7 14
 Intervention, 4 8, 10 12, 17 8-14-23, 20 17, 22 31, 25 20, 28 31, 27 1-12-13
 Intervention, Against, 10 16, 27 13
 Intervention in Russia, Against, 4 10, 8 18
 Intervention in Siberia, American Professor on, 28 31
 Intervention, Sidelines on, 29 18
 Interview With General Gaida, An, 30 4
 Interview With Kolchak, 5 11
 Interview With Lenin, An, 30 22
 Interview With a Soldier From Archangel, 29 18
 Intrigues, Allied—Against (A Soviet Note), 10 5
 Invasion, Entente, 28 1
 Iron—Donietz Basin, 13 10
 Iron—Urals, 10 4
 Is Siberia a Republic, 22 31
 Is the Soviet Government a Tyranny, 14 21
 Italian Minister Makes a Promise, 6 18
 Italian Protests, 27 13
 Italian View of Allied Intervention in Russia, 8 10
 Italy Opposed to the Kolchak Adventure, 9 15
 Ivanoff, Victor, 16 5
 In the Kuban, 28 9

J

J'Accuse, 28 18
 Japan, 15 15, 16 12, 19 1, 22 30, 25 18, 28 30, 27 9, 30 4-5-13
 Japan, the Policy of the Bolshevik Government Towards, 28 30
 Japan—Siberia, 3 13, 6 4-5, 9 7-13-16
 Japan and Soviet Russia, 3 13
 Japanese, 20 6, 21 6, 25 3
 Japanese Benevolence in Siberia, 12 6
 Japanese Exchange, 17 18
 Japanese Gendarmes in Russia, 9 6
 Japanese Newspapers, 12 4
 Japanese in Siberia, 23 8
 Japanese Strength in Siberia, 12 5
 Japanese Terror in Siberia, 9 13
 Japanese Yen, 17 18
 Jew-baiting in Siberia, 6 22
 Jewish Literature, 29 7
 Jewish Policy of Kolchak's Government, The, 15 12
 Jews, 4 3, 5 15, 12 10, 13 3-17, 15 6-12, 16 5-13, 17 22, 20 6, 25 1, 28 12, 28 11, 30 8
 Jews, Atrocities Against, by Denikin's Forces, 26 12
 Jews and Bolshevism, 30 8
 Jews and Kolchak, 3 4-7, 14 22
 Jews, Kolchak's Treatment of, 14 22
 Jews, Lot of the, 19 17
 Jews, Massacres, Denikin, 19 18
 Jews, Massacre of, in Ukraine and Poland, 22 19
 Jews, Petrograd, 15 6-7
 Jews, Pogroms, 5 16, 10 12, 12 15
 Jews, Population, 4 16
 Jews, Siberian, in Fear of Pogroms, 8 19
 Jews, Siberia, 6 22, 8 19, 11 5
 Jews, Soviets, 17 7
 Joel: "The Paths of Greatness," 28 8
 Journey Through Siberia, 12 3
 June, Russian Fronts in, 6 19

K

Kalinin, 12 5, 15 5, 17 4
 Karelia, 14 15, 16 20
 Katayama, Sen, 3 13
 Keeling, 29 20
 Kerensky, 3 16, 7 10, 12 1, 18 9, 28 16, 27 2

Key to the Russian Situation, The, 28 17
 Kharkov and Yekaterinoslav Under Denikin, 29 21
 "Kill in 24 Hours," 13 2
 Kindergartens, 15 7
 Kirghiz Empress, 25 19
 Kitchens, Public, 15 7
 Kolchak, 1 1-3, 4 3, 6 22, 7 2-5, 8 6-10-12-21-23, 10 4-16-23, 11 11-16, 12 5-8, 13 2-10-17, 14 9-23, 15 11-12-13, 16 7-18-10-22, 17 4-6-18-23-12, 18 2-5-8-9-13-15, 19 1-10-8, 20 1, 21 6-16, 25 3-16-18-21-12, 28 16, 27 13, 28 5, 30 4-12-13-17-18
 Kolchak Adventure, Editorial, 28 12
 Kolchak, Priamur Zemstvo Against, 21 16
 Kolchak, Admiral, 3 6
 Kolchak Army, 14 9
 Kolchak's Army, In the Rear of, 21 6
 Kolchak, Ataman Grigoryeff, and His Atrocities, 10 23
 Kolchak's Atrocities in Siberia, 19 21
 Kolchakists and the Lettish Nationalists, The, 16 18
 Kolchak's Censorship, 18 13
 "Kolchak's Conscripts," 4 15
 Kolchak's "Constituent Assembly," 9 7
 "Kolchak the 'Democrat' Fleecing His Subjects," 6 3
 "Kolchak 'Democracy,'" 10 13
 Kolchak-Denikin, 11 9
 Kolchak-Denikin Adventure, The, 25 21
 Kolchak and Denikin, Editorial, 28 12
 Kolchak Diplomacy, Allied, 2 1-12-14, 3 1-2, 4 1-2, 5 3-13, 6 23, 8 7, 9 7, 10 16, 14 10
 Kolchak Diplomacy, Allied United States, 9 9
 Kolchak, Editorials, 2 1, 3 1
 Kolchak, English Colonel Agitating for, 10 23
 Kolchak Executions, 14 8
 "Kolchak in Fight," 6 22
 Kolchak German Alliance, 17 5
 Kolchak's Government, 15 12
 Kolchak Govt. Anti-Semitesm of, 3 4
 Kolchak, an Interview with, 5 11
 Kolchak, Italy Opposed to, 9 15
 Kolchak—Jews, 3 4-7, 5 16, 6 22, 6 19
 Kolchak Leaders, 5 9
 Kolchak, 1 11
 Kolchakia, License for Home Dancing Parties in, 16 10
 Kolchak, Military East, 2 1, 3 2, 4 14, 6 16-20, 9 9-10-11, 10 12, 13 5-18
 Kolchak Opposition, 5 11, 6 23, 7 14
 Kolchak's Own Troops Against Him, 9 10
 Kolchak Outlawed, 17 4
 Kolchak Policies, 3 1-16, 4 3, 5 9-12-13, 6 22, 7 9, 8 20, 10 13
 Kolchak, Reaction Under, 7 9
 Kolchak Roubles, 17 18
 Kolchak's Rule, 5 12
 Kolchak and Russia, 7 7
 Kolchak and Russia, Education Budget, 3 7
 Kolchak, Safety of Popular Leaders Under, 5 9
 Kolchak Siberia, 14 4
 Kolchak and the Situation in Siberia, 14 6
 Kolchak's Terrorism in Siberia, 27 13
 Kolchak Threatened to Quit, Allied Govts. and the United States Induced Him to Stay by Making New Promises, 16 22, 19 13
 Kolchak's Treatment of Jews, 14 22
 Kolchak, Workers' Condition Under, 14 9
 Kolchak, Women Against, 12 13
 Kolchak's Zemstvo Congress, Editorial, Koribu, 20 22
 Kollontay, A., 11 1, 12 1, 28 9
 Korniloff, 9 2-12, 13 2
 Kossovsky, 17 7
 Krassnov, General, 8 20, 16 4
 Krilenko, 15 6
 Kronstadt, Attack on, 19 11
 Kronstadt Harbor Battle, 29 20
 Kronstadt, British Naval Raid on, 23 15
 Kuban, In the, 28 9
 Kun Bela, 4 23

L

Labor: "Incentive to Effort," 6 2
 Labor—Press Siberia, 12 15
 Labor School, Uniform, in Soviet Russia, 30 14
 Labor—Siberia, 1 12, 4 3, 7 11
 Labor, the Struggle for Peace and, 24 4
 Labor: Swedish Metal-workers Demand Opening of Trade Relations with Soviet Russia, 8 19
 Labor Unions in Soviet Russia, Statistics of, 16 10
 Labor—Wages, 3 9

Lack of Work and Distress the Consequences of the Blockade of Russia, 20 11
 Legacy of Hardship, A, 20 20
 Land, 8 5, 17 9
 Land Ownership, 18 14
 Land Reform, 12 7
 Larin, W., 3 8
 Latvia (see Baltic States)
 Law and Order in Siberia, 15 10
 Leather, 7 8, 18 1
 Lenin, 4 13-15, 5 12, 6 23, 7 11, 6 13, 9 2, 10 11-13-16, 16 23, 17 21, 19 6, 28 2
 Lenin, An Interview With, 30 22
 Lenin, Bela Kun and, 14 23
 Lenin, Diplomacy Soviet, 10 10
 Lenin or Denikin, 16 23
 Lenin—Letts, 10 9
 Lenin, the Man and His Work, 28 13
 Lenin, Nansen Plan, 3 3
 Lenin—Organization, 11 3
 Lenin, Personal Recollections of, 17 21
 Lenin—Revolution, 9 2
 Lenin—Speeches, 8 3
 Lenin's 13 Points, 28 15
 Let Litvinoff Return, 16 15
 Letter to the Editor, A, 23 23
 Letter From the Murman Front, A, 25 8
 Letter From the Soviet Representative to Miss Emma Goldman, A, 20 14
 Letter From Stockholm, A, 10 23
 Letter to Secretary of State Lansing From the Soviet Representative in America, A, 25 14
 Letter to Senator Wadsworth From the Soviet Representative, A, 24 14
 Letters, Twenty, From Trotsky, 12 13
 Lettish-Lithuanian Front, 13 7
 Lettish Nationalists, 16 18
 Lettish Nationalists, The Kolchakists and the, 16 18
 Lettonia, 13 14-15
 Lettonia and Germany, 7 5
 Lettonia—Governments, 13 14
 Letts 6-7, 16 3
 Letts, Baltic States, 7 5
 Lettish Government, 20 2
 Levine, Isaac Don, 1 1-13, 3 12, 8 19, 28 16
 Libel Suits, 27 14
 Libraries in Soviet Russia, 8 3
 License for Home Dancing Parties in Kolchakia, 16 10
 Lie Bureau, Helsingfors, 12 12
 Liebknecht, 12 2-13, 13 13
 Lies, The Dissemination of, 12 11
 Lies About Russia Denied by a Danish Physician, 30 21
 Life at Orenburg, Official Communication, 28 7
 Life in Petrograd in 1919, 16 17
 Literacy in Russia, 2 13, 6 6, 15 11, 29 17
 Literature, Yiddish, 29 7
 Lithuania, 10 4, 17 5, 28 6
 Lithuania's Part, Editorial, 19 12
 Lithuania (see Baltic States)
 Litvinoff, Maxim, 1 3, 10 11, 18 9-14, 29 12, 30 9
 Litvinoff's Return, 18 15
 Lives Lost in Siberia, 11 11
 Livonia (see Baltic States)
 Lloyd George, 1 15, 25 7, 28 16, 27 12, 30 12
 Loans, 16 13, 30 7-12
 Loans—Finance, 16 13
 Loans, The Russian, 30 7
 Locomotives, 3 8
 Lomonosoff, 1 11, 7 7
 Lomonosoff—Bureau, 5 5
 London, News From, 28 23
 Lot of the Jews, The, 19 17
 Lumber, 17 19, 25 16
 Lunacharsky, A. V., 2 15
 Lunacharsky, 29 16
 Lunacharsky, Madame, 12 2
 Lush Committee, 5 2-4-5, 25 15, 27 14, 29 14
 Lusk-Stevenson Investigation, The, 5 4
 Lying in England, Too, 16 14

M

Machinery—Agricultural, 5 7, 7 6
 Magnes, Judas L., 15 14
 Making of a Bolshevik, The, 27 2
 Manifestoes—Sweden, 29 11
 Mannerheim, 8 12, 13 16, 17 18
 Manufactures, 7 7
 Map—European Russia, 6 8-9-11, 13 21, 16 11
 Marriage Law, 9 6
 Marschallaise, Editorial, 28 17
 Martens, L. C. A. K., 27 14
 Martens, Letters to Emma Goldman, 20 14
 Martens, A Letter to Senator Wadsworth, 24 14
 Martens, Letter to Secretary of State, 25 14

Martens (see Soviet Government Bureau)
 Massacre, Jews, 22 19
 Massacre of the Jews by Denikin's Bands, The, 25 1
 Maurice, General, Editorial, 18 9
 Maynard, General, Knighted, 28 15
 Meat, 7 7, 8 21
 Medical Supervision, 11 1
 Medicament, 16 2
 Medicines, 27 6
 Meeting Dispersed, 18 13
 Men Sentenced to Death in the Orient, 20 20
 Metal, 18 6
 Metal Industries, 11 3
 Metal Trade, Small, 8 23
 Metal-Wares, 8 7
 Metals, 25 16
 Michael of the Volga, 27 4
 Military Aid of Allies to Denikin, Editorial, 18 8
 Military—East, 3 2, 4 15, 5 2-3-9-11, 6 19-22-23, 8 6-16-21, 9 9-11-15, 10 6-12, 12 6-10, 13 2-5-19-20-22, 14 8-9, 17 11-14, 18 5-12, 25 3-13-21, 28 4-19-30, 27 9-16, 28 3, 29 5-9
 Military—England, 18 9, 21 1
 Military—Finland, 17 2
 Military—General, 19 1
 Military Intervention, 17 12
 Military—Japan, 12 15
 Military—Kolchak, 15 13
 Military—North, 6 19, 8 9, 10 6, 13 4, 16 12, 18 15, 21 16, 25 7, 28 19, 29 19
 Military—North—Archangel, 4 14
 Military—North—Diplomacy, Allied, 4 4-5
 Military—North—Karelian Front, 13 6
 Military—Northwest, 5 1-3, 7 1
 Military Situation, 16 9-11
 Military Situation in European Russia From the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to Date (Sept. 9, 1919), The, 18 9
 Military Situation in May and August, 1919, 13 21
 Military Situation, Official Statement on, 21 7
 Military Situation in Russia, 9 11, 28 3
 Military Situation, the, Supplementary Reflections on, 18 5
 Military—South, 4 16, 6 19, 7 1, 8 20, 9 7-8-9-11, 10 22, 11 15, 12 5-16, 13 2-9-10-20, 14 12-14, 17 6, 25 11-21, 28 19, 27 16, 28 3, 29 1-4-20-21, 30 18
 Military—South—Army, 6 19, 9 11
 Military—South—Ukrainian Front, 13 8
 Military—Soviet, 13 20, 14 6, 17 2, 21 7, 27 1, 28 22, 29 5
 Military Training, 5 7
 Military—U. S., 28 17, 30 5
 Military—West, 5 1, 6 19, 28 19
 Military—West—Estonian Front, 13 7
 Military—West—Lettish-Lithuanian Front, 13 7
 Military—West—Polish Front, 13 8
 Milk, 8 21, 11 1, 15 8
 Millyutin, 25 19
 Minding Russia's Business, 1 12
 Mine Workers' Under the Reaction, 12 13
 Mines, 8 5
 Minors, 27 11
 Miscellaneous Notes From Soviet Russia, 27 11
 Misery of the Russian Workers, 19 5
 Mobilization of the Socialist-Zionist Party, 12 10
 Model Homes, 11 1
 Monarchist Cadets, 28 10
 Monarchist Returns to His Monarchy, A, 18 12
 Monarchists Supporting Kolchak, 8 20
 Monarchy, Re-establishment of, 19 11
 Money, 11 4
 Money Abolished, 11 4
 Money, Counter-Revolution, 14 20
 Money—Currency, 12 8
 Money—Finance, 6 3-5
 Money, Soviet, for Pogrom Victims, 15 6
 More About Kolchak's Treatment of Jews, 14 22
 More Condemnation, 22 31
 Morel, E. D., 17 8
 Morris, Ambassador, 28 6, 25 18
 Morris, Ambassador, Proposal by, 16 23
 Moscow Communist Congress, 12 4
 Moscow School System, 2 14
 Mothers, 11 1, 27 11
 Movement, The Feminist, 28 9
 Municipal Elections in Siberia, 18 14
 Murder, Official, by British Officers, 9 13
 Murder of Mrs. Efimenko by Petlura's Hordes, The, 25 2
 Murderers, Stockholm, and Commercial "Anti-Bolshevism," 24 1
 Murman—Front, 25 8
 Murmansk, 6 12, 11 6, 18 9, 21 16
 Murmans, 25 7
 Murmansk—Archangel, 4 4
 Murmansk—Diplomacy, Allied, 4 6
 Music, 18 10

Musulman World, The Soviet Power and the, 25 19
 Mutiny Among Russia White Troops, 13 24
 My Journey Through Siberia, 12 3

N

Nansen, 18 16
 Nansen, Fridtjof and Soviet Russia, 14 18
 Naptha, 15 7
 Norimanov, 25 19
 Nationalization—Finance, 4 15
 Nationalization—Industry, 3 9-10
 Nationalization—Siberia, 7 11
 "Nationalization of Women," 9 6
 Nationalization of Women in Russia, The, 14 1
 Nationalization—Wood, 5 7
 Naval—West, 29 20
 Nazarov, General, Manifesto of, 29 2
 Negotiations, 11 5, 15 2
 Negotiations, The Baltic Peace, 24 9
 Negotiations Between Germany and Russia, 11 5
 Negotiations Between the Social Revolutionaries and the Soviet Government of the Ukraine, 15 2
 Nestor Bishop, 25 5
 Neutral States, 21 8
 Neutrals and the Blockade of Soviet Russia, 27 13
 New Bolshevik Atrocity, A, 16 13
 New Northwest Russian Notes, 19 17
 New Era, 22 1
 New Russia, The, 17 9, 19 14
 News, Delayed, Notes from Russia, 11 16
 News from London, 8 23
 News Notes from Russia, 11 16
 News from Russia, 10 21
 News from White Russia, 3 15
 Newspapers—All-Russian Congress of Journalists, 11 16
 Newspapers Fined, 25 10
 Nikolayev, 17 1
 Nizhni Novgorod, 15 15
 No Arms Against Russia, 27 13
 No Permission, 18 13
 No Sea Food for Russia or Hungary, 12 10
 Newspapers, Japanese, Belated News from, 12 4
 North Russia, 16 12, 25 7
 North Russia—Expedition, 4 4
 North Russia: The Truth About the Expedition, 4 4-6
 North, Soviet, Industrial Notes from, 5 7
 Northern Provinces, Sugar Refining on the, 8 23
 Northwest Government, 28 4
 Northern Russia, 22 17
 Northwest Russia Adventure, The, 28 4
 Norway (Blockade), 18 7
 Norwegian Legation at Petrograd, The, 24 21
 Norway, 25 7
 Note to Allies from Soviet Government of Ukraine, 3 11
 Note to Finnish Government from Soviet Government of Russia, 5 14
 Note (A) of the Ukrainian Soviet Government to the Government of Galicia, 13 3
 Notes, Press, 11 9
 Notes, Soviet, 15 7
 Nuorteva, Mr. S., 2 9
 Nurseries, 11 2

O

Occupation Statistics, 21 16
 Odessa, 13 18, 17 6, 18 1, 26 26, 30 16-20
 Odessa, The Beauties of the French Occupation of, 26 26
 Odessa Impressions, 18 1
 Odessa—Military—South, 13 9
 Odessa—Press, 11 15
 Odessa Under French Rule, 5 15
 Officers, Bourgeois, 9 7
 Official Anti-Semitic Propaganda in Siberia, 11 5
 Official Communications, 25 19
 Official Communication—Life at Orenburg, 26 7
 Official Communications of the Soviet Government, 23 14, 24 16, 25 19
 Official Correspondence Between Soviet Russian and Poland, 21 11
 Official Murder by British Officers, 9 13
 Official Soviet Documents, 13 3
 Official Statement on the Military Situation, 21 7
 O'Grady, 28 11-16

Oil—Petroleum, 8 21, 10 4
 Okunoff, 16 3
 Omsk Executions, 17 17
 Only Twenty-seven Shot, 25 9
 Opening of a Workers' Faculty at the Institute of Public Economy in the Name of Karl Marx, 2 15
 Opishkin, Foma, 20 22
 Opportunities for Trade With Russia, 2 9
 Optical and Surgical Instruments, 14 11
 Order to Shoot Hostages, 11 5
 Orenburg, Life at—Official Communication, 26 7
 Organization of the Harvest, 28 8
 Organization, Need of, 11 3
 Orient, Men Sentenced to Death in the, 30 20
 Orphans, 11 1
 Outlawed Kolchak, 17 4

P

Packard, Prof. Lawrence, 28 31
 Palace, The Workers', 28 8
 Pankhurst, E. Sylvia, 10 1, 11 3
 Paper, 25 16
 Paper, Russia Needs, 7 8
 Parties, Political, 13 15
 Paths of Greatness, The, 28 8
 Pavlovitch, 6 16
 Payment for Denikin's British Supplies, 23 13
 Peace, The Battle for, 22 29
 Peace, Brest-Litovsk, 16 9
 Peace, But There Is no Peace, 28 9
 Peace Conference—Allied Diplomacy, 4 2, 5 1
 Peace Conference—Paris, 13 15
 Peace Demands, 25 24
 Peace and Labor, The Struggle for, 24 4
 Peace Negotiations, The Baltic, 24 9
 Peace Offer, 13 3
 Peace Offers, 14 12, 16 2-5, 28 1, 30 7-23
 Peace Proposals, Soviet Government, 2 2
 Peace, Soviet Russia Not Opposed to, 16 5
 Peasant Communes, 30 2
 Peasant Rebellions in Siberia, 8 9
 Peasants—Land, 4 11
 Peasants—Land Reform, 12 7
 Peat, Electricity From, 11 4
 Peat, Fuel, 25 16
 Pensions, 13 12
 Permission Refused, 18 13
 Persia and the Bolsheviks, 27 10
 Personal Recollections of Lenin, 17 21
 Petlura, 9 12, 13 8-9, 17 12, 19 5, 28 4
 Petlura—Antisemitism, 13 3
 Petlura Atrocities, 25 2
 Petlura Pogrom, A, 13 3
 Petlura—Pogroms, 8 19
 Petlura's Soldiers Carry on Pogroms, 8 19
 Petrograd, 2 12, 8 12-22, 9 12-15, 10 3, 11 7, 13 16, 16 17, 18 9
 Petrograd in 1919, Life in, 16 17
 Petrograd, Fall of, 21 5
 Petrograd—Foreign Legations, 8 6
 Petrograd, The Jews in, 15 7
 Petrograd—Yudenitch, 5 14, 6 1, 9 10
 Petroleum, 16 1
 Pettit, 15 8
 Pharmacy, 27 6
 Pharmacy in Russia, 27 6
 Phases of Economic Life, 4 11
 Phedon, 8 22
 Piracy, English, in the Finnish Gulf, 24 23
 Piracy, English and Finnish, 25 23
 Pitch, 10 2
 Platinum, 9 5
 Platon, Metropolitan, 27 12
 Plotting, French, 22 30
 Poale—Zion, 12 10
 Pogroms, 8 19, 12 10, 13 3, 16 13, 17 7, 28 6, 25 1, 26 12
 Pogroms Imminent Under Kolchak, 5 16
 Pogroms—Siberia, 3 5, 6 22, 8 19
 Pogrom Seiflers, Aiding, 16 13
 Pogroms—Ukraine, 9 12, 12 15
 Pogrom Victims, Soviet Money for, 15 6
 Poland, 1 11-15, 17 22, 19 1, 20 6, 21 11, 25 22
 Poland, Official Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and, 21 11
 Policy of the Bolshevik Government Towards Japan, The, 28 30
 Policy, British, to Soviet Russia, 26 16
 Policy, Germany's Aggressive, in the Baltic Region, 28 5
 Policy, Jewish, 15 12
 Polish Representative, Russian Soviet Government to the, 21 12
 Polish Socialist Party to the Communist Party of Russia, The, 21 11
 Political Propaganda and Educational Activities in the Villages, 6 13
 Political Truth and Honesty, Teaching, 27 22
 Politics—England, 17 20

Polish Bolshevism, 14 6
 Polish Government, 17 5
 Polish White Guards, Bestialities of the, 17 22
 Politics—England, 13 23, 18 2, 26 19
 Politics—French, 17 5
 Politics—German, 27 20
 Politiken, 26 22
 Politiken—Stockholm, 26 8
 Politics—Poland, 14 6
 Politics—U. S., 18 16
 Population—Bessarabia, 6 12
 Population—Petrograd, 2 16
 Population of Russia, The, 1 15, 4 12
 Population in Russia, Urban, 1 8, 7 15 ---
 Population of Russia, 4 12-13
 Population—Russia, 4 13
 Position of the Workers, The, 14 7
 Postoffices, 27 21
 Post-War Censorship on News About Russia, A, 29 20
 Potential Customer of the United States Russia, A, 17 15
 Powers of Darkness, Exposing the, 6 16
 Preedin, O., 13 14, 16 18, 25 6, 28 5
 Present "Government" of Lettonia, 13 14
 Press, 1 13-14, 18 14-15, 19 9, 21 8, 29 20
 Press—Allied, 8 17
 Press—American, 2 2
 Press—Associated, 2 3
 Press Censorship in Siberia, 12 15
 Press Comment, 4 14, 6 21, 13 22
 Press Comments, American and Foreign, 1 13
 Press, "Free," of Siberia, 25 10
 Press—Italian, 9 15
 Press—Labor, 12 15
 Press Notes, 11 9
 Price, M. Phillips, 9 1, 10 3, 11 12
 Prices—Blockade, 10 15
 Prices—Food, 2 16, 11 9
 Prices—Sugar, 8 23
 Prinkipo Conference, 1 3
 Prinkipo Conference, Soviet Government's Reply to the Invitation, 1 7
 Prisoners, American, 21 16
 Prisoners, Revolt of Russian, in Parchim, 3 14
 Prisoners, The Russian, in Germany, 1 5
 Prisoners, Russian, in France, Germany and Finland, 4 6
 Prisoners, Russian, 13 12-13-14, 19 5, 21 12, 26 1
 Prisoners of War in France, Russian, 6 20
 Problems of Soviet Government, Immediate Economic, 15 5
 Proclamation, British, 17 20
 Production, 9 2, 11 3
 Professional Alliances, 11 13
 Prohibition, Soviet Official on, 15 13
 Proletarian Culture, 25 16
 Promising Situation, 22 12
 Propaganda, 9 11, 16 5
 Propaganda, Allied, 5 23
 Propaganda, Anti-Bolshevik, 2 1-2
 Propaganda, Anti-Semitic, 17 7
 Propaganda, Anti-Soviet, 9 6-15, 12 10-11-12, 27 22
 Propaganda, Kolchak, 29 23
 Propaganda, Soviet, 6 13, 10 2, 12 5
 Propaganda, Soviet, Ukraine, 12 15-14
 Proposal by Ambassador Morris, 16 23
 Protest, 25 14
 Protest Against the Blockade, French Labor Unions, 26 30
 Protest, Against Unloading British Tanks, 21 15
 Protest, American Labor Party, 27 22
 Protest, Don Cossacks, 30 23
 Protest, French Workers, Against Blockade, 24 13
 Protest, An International, 7 14
 Protest, Swedish Workers, 18 7
 Protest, Workers, 28 23
 Protest, A Year Old, 28 1
 Protests, 1 14, 26 16-30, 27 22
 Protests, French, 27 13
 Provinces, Economic Situation in the, 26 7
 Provisions, 15 7
 Prussian Command, The English Under, 24 11
 Public Instruction, The Soviets and, 27 21
 Public Sentiment in Russia Against Intervention, 17 14
 Publications—Education, 8 3
 Public Works, 6 5-15
 Purchases—Moscow, 11 11
 Purchasing for a Nation, 1 10
 Pyeshkov, Lieut., 13 14

R

Race Discrimination in Siberia, 28 7
 Radek, 8 3, 9 7
 Radiograms, 1 7

Radiograms, Soviet, 9 7
 Raids on the Cooperatives in Siberia, 14 9
 Railroads, 1 16, 26 7, 29 6
 Railroad, Chinese Eastern, 28 11
 Railroads—Murmansk, 4 4
 Railroads, The Situation of the, 28 9
 Railways, 6 16-15, 8 5
 Railways—Locomotives, 5 6
 Railways—Russia, 10 23
 Railways—Siberia, 7 5, 8 9, 9 8, 12 3-8
 Railway and Transportation Notes, 2 11
 Railway—Trans-Siberian, 13 19
 Rakovsky—Chicherin, 11 15
 Ransome, 15 14
 Ransome, Arthur, 3 9, 6 14, 8 2-4, 13 14
 Rappoport, Charles, 26 2
 Rationing, 8 21, 11 4
 Rations, 11 1
 Raw Materials, 11 11, 12 9
 Reaction, Mine Workers Under the, 12 13
 Reaction Under Kolchak, 7 9
 Reactionary Even in Spelling, 19 11
 Reading Matter on Russia, 1 16
 Real Help for Kolchak, 13 17
 Real Population of the Murman Coast, 6 12
 Rear, Denikin, The, 29 1
 Reasons for Sending the Army to Siberia, 30 5
 Recent Russian Notes, 1 15
 Reconstruction, 5 6, 25 16, 26 7
 Reconstruction, Economic in Soviet Russia, 3 7
 Reconstruction, Economic, 26 9
 Red Army, 14 6, 17 1, 28 22
 Red Army, The Siberian, 10 23
 Red Army, Veterans, 11 1
 Red Aviation, 26 9
 Red Cross, 1 12, 30 6
 Red Cross, American, 9 6
 Red Cross, Dutch, 19 9
 Red Cross, French, 14 23
 Red Cross, International, 4 7
 Red Cross, Russian, 6 20
 Red Cross, Siberia, 4 15
 Red Cross, Swedish, 21 10
 Red Regiment, Death of, a, 17 1
 Red Finns in Russia, A Great Number of, 23 13
 Red Guards, Families of, 11 1
 Red Russia(Poem), 27 8
 Re-establishment of Monarchy, For the, 19 11
 Reform, Land, 12 7
 Reputation of Rumor of German Influence in Soviet Russia, 18 8
 Released U. S. Prisoners, 21 16
 Religion, 6 14-16, 8 9, 10 2, 15 5, 28 21, 25 5, 26 30, 27 19
 Religion—Church, 10 2
 Religion—Museum, 9 7
 Religious Sentiment, Revival of, 26 30
 Remarkable Report, 22 26
 Reply to Prinkipo Invitation, 1 7
 Reputation of Russians in France, The, 14 23
 Representative, Soviet, 25 14
 Resolutions, 27 22
 Resources, 1 10, 5 7, 14 11, 15 13, 16 1, 17 18-19, 20 6
 Resources—Coal—Export, 5 10
 Resources—Fish, 2 11
 Resources—Fuel, 29 6
 Resources—Gold, 6 19
 Resources—Metals, 5 10
 Resources—Naphtha, 3 9
 Resources—Natural, 8 13
 Resources—Petroleum Oils, 2 10
 Resources—Siberia, 6 23
 Resources—Timber, 4 9-10, 6 16
 Resources—Wood, 29 6
 Restoration of Communication Between Soviet Russia and Turkestan, 26 10
 Retirement to Tula, 23 15
 Revival of Religious Sentiment, 28 30
 Revolt of Russian Prisoners in Parchim, 3 14
 Revolution—Bolshevik, 10 10
 Revolution—Russian, 9 1 10 10
 Revolutionary Tribunal, 15 6
 Revolutionists, 13 12
 Revolutions—Siberia, 29 10
 Revolutionized Russia, Schools and Scholars on, 29 16
 Riga, Conditions in, 26 29
 Roads, Forests, 17 19
 Roubies—Czar and Kerensky, 11 4
 Roumania, 1 15, 11 10, 14 12, 30 20
 Roumania—Bessarabia, 11 15
 Roumania, Russian and Ukrainian Soviets Opposing, 5 13
 Rubber Industry, 11 3
 Rubles, Russian, 15 3
 Russia, An Englishman's Impression of, 17 23
 Russia, Bullitt on, 18 15
 Russia, Economic Situation in, 28 6
 Russia, European, 16 9

Russia and Finland, 10 20
 Russia, French Democracy in, 23 14
 Russia, The French in, 9 7
 Russia and the Future, 30 10
 Russia in 1919—Book Review, 15 14
 Russia, Literacy in, 29 17
 Russia, The New, 17 9, 19 14
 Russia a Potential Customer of the United States, 17 15
 Russia, Situation in, 6 20
 Russia, The Situation in, 23 22
 Russia, War in, 19 1, 29 4
 Russia, White, 3 15
 Russian, 14 11
 Russian Blockade, 13 22
 Russian Blockade, Strategy of the, 19 19
 Russian Booty, The Struggle for the, 27 20
 Russian Church and Bolsheviks, 27 19
 Russian Commercial Concessions, 8 5
 Russian Counter-Revolutionary Army, 14 14
 Russian Counter-Revolutionists Purchasing Men in Germany, 22 23
 Russian Fronts in June, 6 19
 Russian Information Bureau, 2 1, 9 9, 10 12
 Russian Ingrates, 14 16, 15 1, 16 6-7
 Russian Jewry, Fate of the, 19 18
 Russian Loans, The, 30 7
 Russian Needs—Trade, 10 11
 Russian Notes, New Northwest, 19 17
 Russian Notes, Recent, 1 15
 Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare, Activity of the, 11 1
 Russian Prisoners in France, Germany and Finland, 4 6
 Russian Prisoners in Germany, The, 1 5, 23 14
 Russian Prisoners of War in France, 8 20
 Russian Raw Materials and American Business, 9 4
 Russian Revolution and the Czech Proletariat, 17 4
 Russian Scandal, 30 6
 Russian Situation, Key to the, 28 17
 Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, To the (Poem), 19 17
 Russian Soldiers in France, The, 12 12
 Russian Soviet Government Bureau (see Soviet Government Bureau)
 Russian Soviet Government to the Polish Representative, 21 12
 Russian Soviet Government Stronger Than Ever, The, 25 13
 Russian Trade Would Revive World Industry, 19 11
 Russian and Ukrainian Soviets, 5 13
 Russian War, 17 18
 Russian Wars, 21 2
 Russian War—How, Why and for Whom, The, 17 18
 Russian War Prisoners Detained in Finland, 6 20
 Russian Workers, Misery of the, 19 5
 Russian Workers and Peasants, 12 5
 Russian, 14 23, 25 13
 Russian, Fate of, Form the French Front, 8 22
 Russians, Finland, Prisoners, 4 8
 Russians, France, Prisoners, 4 6-7
 Russians, Germany, Prisoners, 4 7
 Russians in Switzerland and Swiss in Russia, 10 10
 Russian Policy of the Allies, The, 1 3
 Russia's Reactionaries, 3 16
 Russian Trade Would Revive World Industry, 10 11
 Rykoff, 11 3

S

Safety of Popular Leaders Under Kolchak, 5 9
 Saghalien Island, 16 12
 Salvage Operations at Odessa, 8 20
 Sample of Kolchak Propaganda, A, 29 23
 Schaffgotsch Count Xavier, 12 3
 Schools, 10 1, 14 7, 15 6, 16 13, 25 16, 27 21, 30 14
 Schools, Academic, 6 13
 Schools—Budget, 27 11
 School Budget, 30 23
 "Schools of Cabarets," 23 20
 Schools, Labor, 30 14
 Schools—Scholars in Revolutionized Russia, 29 16
 School Servants and the Workers' School, 16 3
 Schools—Children, 8 3
 Schools, 5 15, 6 3
 Schools—Industrial, 5 7
 Schools—Siberia, 7 12
 Schools—Villages, 6 13
 School, Workers' 18 3
 Sea War, The, 26 17

- Seeds, 25 16
 Seeds—Hemp and Flax, 9 6
 Semenov, 5 9, 9 14, 10 19
 Semenov, 6 23
 Semionov, 12 6
 Semionov Fleeing, 22 30
 Semionov—Siberia, 8 20
 Servants' School, 16 3
 Seventy Million Pounds for Counter-Revolution, 14 20
 Sheepskins, 10 2
 Shoes, 7 8, 27 11
 Shooting of Soviet Army Officers, 2 11
 Small Shop in Soviet Russia, The, 10 22
 Shops, Soviet and Cooperative, 2 12
 Shops, Artisans', 10 23
 Siberia, 1 1-3-12, 7 9-10, 10 23, 12 3-5-6, 14 8, 15 13, 16 7-19-23, 17, 4-11-14, 18 2-5-13-14, 19, 9-10-11, 20 1-7, 21 2-6-15-16, 22 23, 25 10-13-18, 26 30-31, 27 13, 28 10-11, 30 4-5-13-18
 Siberia, American Professor on Intervention in, 28 31
 Siberia, American Soldiers in, 28 20
 Siberia, Antisemitism in, 3 5
 Siberia, Before the Storm in, 28 10
 Siberia, Censorship in, 14 8
 Siberia, A Chronological Record of the Guerilla War in, 28 8
 Siberia, Civil War in, 29 9
 Siberia, Counter-revolution, 7 14
 Siberia, Czech-Slovaks in, 7 2, 8 14
 Siberia, Diplomacy—Allied, 2 3, 5 2-3, 6 23, 7 3, 8 22, 10 7
 Siberia, Disillusionment Among the Czech-Slovaks in, 16 19
 Siberia, Economic Situation, 6 23
 Siberia, Education in, 14 7
 Siberia and European Russia, Atrocities in, 2 6
 Siberia, Guerilla War in, 29 7
 Siberia, Harvest in, 15 13
 Siberia, Hostages in, 11 5
 Siberia from the Inside, 7 10
 Siberia, Japanese Terror in, 9 13
 Siberia, Kolchak's Atrocities in, 10 21
 Siberia, Kolchak and the Situation in, 14 6
 Siberia, Kolchak's Terrorism in, 27 13
 Siberia, Law and Order in, 15 10
 Siberia, Lives Lost in, 17 11
 Siberia, Municipal Elections in, 18 14
 Siberia, Official Anti-Semitic Propaganda in, 11 5
 Siberia, Press Censorship in, 12 15
 Siberia, Prohibition, 7 14
 Siberia, Race Discrimination in, 26 7
 Siberia, Raids on the Co-operatives in, 14 9
 Siberia, Reason for Sending the Army to, 30 5
 Siberian Industry, 20 7
 Siberian Paper on Madame Breshkovskaya, A, 14 3
 Siberian Red Army, The, 10 23
 Siberia, The Soldiers in, 14 8
 Siberia, Soviet Agitation in, 10 22
 Siberia, Soviets, 7 12
 Siberia, Trade, 12 8
 Siberia, White Troops, 9 15
 Siberian Workers, 12 13
 Siberian Finances, 28 8
 Siberian Impressions, 18 1
 Siberian Jews in Fear of Pogroms, 8 19
 Siberian Protest, 17 6
 Siberian Situation, Editorial, 26 16
 Sidights on Intervention, 20 18
 Silk, Industry, 11 3, 12 9
 Sinclair, Upton, 12 9, 15 14
 Sir Denikin—New White Hope of the Allies, 13 1
 Situation of the Railroads, The, 28 9
 Situation in Russia, The, 8 20, 23 6, 23 22
 Small Metal Trades, 8 23
 Small Shop in Soviet Russia, The, 10 22
 Soap, 15 7
 So-called Democracy and Soviet Russia, 11 13
 Social-Democratic Parties of Baltic States and Finland Demand Peace with Soviet Russia, 25 24
 Social Revolutionaries, Negotiations, 15 2-4
 Social Welfare, 11 1, 20 20, 25 16, 27 11, 30 1
 Social Welfare, Commissariat, 12 3
 Socialist Parties, All, United, 27 11
 Socialists—France, 4 10, 8 18
 Socialists—Finland, 5 14, 8 23, 9 10
 Socialists—Italy, 9 15
 Socialists Rallying Around the Bolsheviks, 26 10
 Socialists, Siberia, 2 2, 5 10-12, 6 21, 9 14
 Socialists, Siberia, 18 14
 Socialist Soviet Republic, Ukrainian, 12 15
 Socialists, Spain, 12 13
 Socialists, Sweden, 7 14
 Socialists, U. S., 4 3
 Soldier from Archangel, An Interview with, 28 18
 Soldiers, French, 12 16
 Soldiers, Old Army, 11 1
 Soldiers, Russian, 13 13
 Soldiers in Siberia, The, 14 8
 South and the East, The, 27 16
 South Eastern Russia, 25 11
 Souvraire, Boris, 13 22
 Soviet Agitation in Siberia, 10 22
 Soviet Aid, 16 13
 Soviet Alliance with Afghanistan, 13 17
 Soviet, All-Russian Congress of, 2 3
 Soviet Army, 18 8
 Soviet, Central Exec. Committee, 2 3
 Soviet and Democracy, 11 13
 Soviet Diplomacy, 15 4
 Soviet Documents, Official, 13 3
 Soviet Enemies, 14 6
 Soviet Finances, 4 15
 Soviet Government Bureau Statement, 21 9
 Soviet Government, 25 5-13
 Soviet Government, Candor of the, 19 8
 Soviet Government, Official Communication of the, 24 16
 Soviet Government, Suppression of Pogroms by the, 17 7
 Soviet Income, 15 7
 Soviet Money for Pogrom Victims, 15 6
 Soviet Notes, 15 7
 Soviet Official on Prohibition, 15 13
 Soviets and Public Instruction, The, 27 21
 Soviets Purchasing from the Chinese, 4 8
 Soviets Put Down Pogroms, 8 19
 Soviet Radiograms, 9 7
 Soviet Representative's letter to Miss Emma Goldman, 29 14
 Soviet Representative, Letter to Senator Wadsworth from the, 24 14
 Soviet Representative, Telegram to Secretary of State Lansing from the, 28 17
 Soviet Russia, Education in, 8 2
 Soviet Russia, Eye Witness on, 10 1
 Soviet Russia, An Eye Witness on, 11 3
 Soviet Russia and Finland, Further Correspondence between, 10 9
 Soviet Russia, The Food Situation, 8 21
 Soviet Russia, Foreign Embassies in, as Centres of Counter-Revolution, 24 21
 Soviet Russia, Forests of, 17 19
 Soviet Russia, France and, 23 21
 Soviet Russia and Fridtjof Nansen, 14 18
 Soviet Russia Not Opposed to Peace, 16 5
 Soviet Russia, Reputation of Rumor of German Influence in—Editorial, 18 8
 Soviet Russia and so-called Democracy, 11 13
 Soviet Russia, The Truth About, 9 1, 10 3, 11 12
 Soviet Russia, Yiddish Books on, 29 7
 Sovietism to Be Fought to the Death, 28 7
 Soviets, Soldiers, 9 3
 Soviet Tolerance, 3 16, 5 15
 Soviet Troops, 22 31
 Soviets, Women, 12 1
 Soviet Workers, 9 3
 Specialists, 15 7
 Speeches at the Opening of a Workers Faculty, 2 15
 Spirodonova, Marie, 11 3, 12 1
 Stabbing a Fellow in the Back, 20 1
 State Constructions, Committee of, 6 14
 State Department, 26 17
 Steamship Communication, 6 12
 Steamships, 8 20
 Steel, 7 7
 Street Venders, 11 1
 Sugar, 8 21
 Sugar, Beet, 8 23
 Sugar, Ukraine, 8 23
 Sukhanov, 6 16
 Sundry Industrial Items from Papers in Soviet Russia, 2 10
 Swedish Metal-Workers Demand Opening of Trade Relations with Russia, 8 19
 State Department, U. S.—25 14
 Statements by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau—See Russian Soviet Government Bureau
 Statistics, 14 20, 15 11, 16 9-10
 Statistics of Labor Unions in Soviet Russia, 16 10
 Statistics, Occupation, 21 16
 Statistics, Population, 1 8-15
 Statistics, Soviet Army, 28 22
 Statistics of Soviet Russia, Occupation, 21 16
 Stockholm, Letter from, 10 23
 Stockholm Murderers and Commercial "Anti-Bolshevism," 24 1
 Stockholm, Sensational Revelations at, 26 20
 Strategy of the Russian Blockade, The, 19 19
 Shiffrin (Jewish Daily Forward), 17 1, 25 1
 Strikes Against Unloading British Tanks, 21 15
 Strikes in Siberia, 22 23
 Strikes in Siberia Again, 23 22
 Strikes Suppressed, 19 11
 Strom, Frederick, 25 13
 Struggle for Peace and Labor, The, 24 4
 Struggle for the Russian Booty, The, 27 20
 Sugar, 25 16
 Sugar Refining in the Northern Provinces, 8 23
 Sugar From the Ukraine, 8 23
 Summary of Civil War Situation, 13 20
 Superhuman Energy of the Workers, The, 27 8
 Supplies to Counter-Revolutionaries, 17 18
 Supplies, Medical, 18 8
 Suppression of Pogroms by the Soviet Government, 17 7
 Supreme Council of National Economy, 11 3, 15 3, 25 19
 Surveyors, 15 7
 Sweden, 18 7
 Sweden and Russia, Trade Between, 2 10
 Swedish Diplomacy, 30 11
 Swedish Editorial, 28 4
 Swedish Foreign Office, 22 26
 Swedish Labor Party, 28 11
 Swedish Legation, 27 10, 30 11
 Swedish Newspaper, 28 22
 Swedish Protests, 28 12
 Swedish Red Cross, 21 10
 Swedish Representative, 25 13
 Swedish—Russian, 22 10
 Swedish Steamship, 25 23, 26 27
 Swedish Trade, 14 13, 21 10
 Swedish Vessel, 22 31
 Swedish Workers, 18 7, 23 23, 30 11
 Swedish Workers Demand Re-opening of Relations With Soviet Russia, 18 7
 Swedish Workers Halt Loading of Cargo for Vladivostok, 18 7
 Swiss, 18 16
 Swiss Diplomacy, 27 10
 Swiss in Russia and Russians in Switzerland, 10 10
 Switzerland, 17 21
- ## T
- Tanks, British, 21 15
 Tanneries, 25 16
 Taxes, 8 5, 15 7
 Tchaikovsky, 13 11
 Teaching Political Truth and Honesty, 27 22
 Tea, Coffee, 10 10
 Telegram to Secretary of State Lansing from the Soviet Representative, 28 17
 Terror, English, 25 7
 Terror, Kolchak's, in Ufa, 19 21
 Terror, Red, 5 3, 8 18, 9 3, 10 4-9, 12 4, 17 9, 30 21
 Terror in Siberia, Japanese, 9 13
 Terrorism, Kolchak's, in Siberia, 27 13
 Terror, White, 5 3-14, 6 18, 8 17, 10 4-9, 14-20, 11 15, 12 5-16, 13 1-2, 14 10, 15 8, 14-20, 11 15, 12 5-16, 13 1-2, 14 10, 15 8, 17 1-9-18-22, 25 9, 7 13
 Terror, White—Finland, 14 10
 Terror, White, in the Don Region, The, 10 22
 Terror, White—South Russia, 29 1-2-21
 Terror, White—European Russia, 2 7-8, 5 4
 Terror, White—South, 10 22
 Terror, White—Siberia, 2 6-7, 4 16, 5 10-12, 8 20, 10 8-22, 12 4
 Terror, White—Siberia, Japan, 2 3, 6 15, 9 13
 Terror, White—Siberia Kolchak, 3 6-7, 5 4, 8 9, 10 18-21-22-23
 Terror, White—Ukraine, 2 14, 8 7
 Textile, Cotton, 7 8
 Textile Industry, 11 3
 Textile Industry Under Soviet Control, 3 9
 Textile Knitted Goods, 7 7
 Textile Underwear, 7 8
 Theatres, 6 13, 10 1-2
 Theatres, Siberia, 7 12
 Three Diplomatic Documents, 17 2
 Timber, North Russia, 8 5
 Timiryashev, K. A., 2 15
 Timiriazov, Prof., 10 4
 Tobin, Mrs. Gertrude M., 7 10
 Tobin, Mrs. G., 28 20
 Today and Yesterday, 8 1
 Torture Chamber, 22 30
 To the King of Sweden, 29 11
 To the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic (Poem), 19 17
 Trade, 1 10-12, 22 30, 27 23
 Trade, American, 15 7
 Trade, British Seek, With Russia, 30 10
 Trade—Diplomacy Allied, 5 1, 9 4, 10 11
 Trade—England, 5 10
 Trade—Export, 5 8, 9 4
 Trade—Export, Coal, 5 10

Trade—Export, Lumber, 5 7
 Trade—Export, Metal, 5 7
 Trade—Export, Timber, 4 9-10
 Trade—Export, U. S., 5 7, 7 8
 Trade—Germany, 9 10, 10 23, 13 23, 17 15
 Trade—Imports, U. S., 7 8
 Trade Rivalry, 25 20
 Trade—Japan, 15 15
 Trade—Russia, 14 11, 15 15, 17 15
 Trade—Russian, United States and, 5 8
 Trade—Russian, Would Revive World Industry 10 11
 Trade—Saxon, 14 13
 Trade—Scandinavia, 15 15, 17 15
 Trade—Small Metal, 8 23
 Trade—Sweden, 14 13
 Trade—Swedish, 21 10
 Trade—Ukraine, 14 11
 Trade Unions, Miners', 12 13
 Trade Union Protests, 23 23
 Trade Unions, Russian, 14 9
 Trade, United States, 2 7, 4 3, 5 8-9, 7 6-7-9, 10 23, 17 15
 Trade With Soviet Russia Urged, 11 11
 Tragic Condition of the Ukrainians, 17 20
 Treacherous Conduct of Bourgeois Officers in Red Army, 9 7
 Treacherous Conduct of Roumania in Bessarabia, 11 15
 Trotsky, 4 14, 15 7-9, 11 5, 12 13
 Trotsky-Nansen Plan, 3 3
 Trotsky Revolution, 9 3
 Trotsky's Train Not Blown Up, 23 15
 Trotsky, Twenty Letters From, 12 13
 "Truth About Soviet Russia," 10 13, 11 11-12, 15 10
 Truth About the Searches in Swedish Diplomatic Offices, The, 30 11
 Tula "Retirement," 23 15
 Turkestan, 17 12, 22 20, 26 4-10, 27 9
 Turkestan Front, From the, 27 9
 Turkestan Industry, 5 6
 Twenty Letters From Trotsky, 12 13
 "Two Accusations," 6 18
 Two Years of the New Era, 22 1
 Typhus, 22 20, 30 18

U

Ukraine, 5 16, 8 7-21-23, 9 12, 11 15, 12 15, 15 4, 16 13, 19 5-8, 21 2, 28 4
 Ukraine, Allied Atrocities in, 8 7
 Ukraine Pogrom, 12 10
 Ukrainians, 17 20
 Ukrainian and Russian Soviets Opposing Roumania, 5 13
 Ukraine Soviet Government, 13 3, 30 3
 Ukraine Soviet Government of Note to the Allies, 3 11
 Ukraine Negotiations, 15 2
 Ukraine Troops, Allied, 3 11
 Ukraine Anarchy, 10 4
 Ukraine Army, 8 22
 Ukraine Jews, 8 19
 Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, 12 15
 Ukraine, Export, 14 11
 Ukraine, Sugar From the, 8 23
 Ukrainians, Tragic Condition of the, 17 20
 Under Bolshevik Rule, 23 23
 Unemployed, 11 1
 Uniform Labor School in Soviet Russia, 30 14

The Russian Policy of the Allies, 1 3
 Soviet Government Reply to the Invitation to the Prinkipo Conference, 1 7
 Radio, Feb. 12, 1919, 3 7
 Note to the Allies from the Soviet Government of Ukraine, 3 7
 Russian Prisoners in France, Germany and Finland, 4 6
 Two Accusations, 6 18
 Kolchak in Flight, 6 23
 Russian Prisoners of War in France, 8 20
 Radio, Feb. 20, 1919, 5 10
 The Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Governments Opposing Roumania, 5 13
 Note to the Finnish Government from the Soviet Government of Russia, 5 14-15
 Deportation from North Russia, 5 5
 Allied Atrocities in Ukraine, 8 7
 The Food Situation in Soviet Russia, 8 21
 Economic Notes on Soviet Russia, 8 23
 Soviet Radiogram, 9 7
 Allied Intrigues Against Russia, 10 5
 Russia and Finland, 10 20-21
 Treacherous Conduct of Roumania in Bessarabia, 11 15

A Statement Handed to the Press, 16 2
 Official Statement on the Military Situation, 21 7
 A Letter to Senator Wadsworth from the Soviet Representative in America, 24 14

Unions, Labor, 16 10
 Union With Turkestan, The, 22 20
 Unions, Trade, 12 15, 14 9
 United States Blockade—Editorial, 10 13
 United States Prisoners, Released, 21 16
 United States and Russian Trade, 5 5
 United States Trade, 10 15
 Uprising in Yenisseisk, 10 22
 Ural, 17 14
 Urban Population in Russia, 7 15
 Urban Population, 1 8
 Urban Population of Soviet Russia, The, 1 8
 Urban Population in Russia, 7 15
 Urges Trade With Soviet Russia, 11 11
 Ussuri, 16 12
 "Utilization of Waste Products," 8 4

V

Veering From Kolchak to Denikin, 12 5-6
 Vilna, Atrocities, 14 6
 Vladivostok, Arrests at, 10 17
 Vladivostok, 18 7-13, 25 11
 Vladivostok, Soviet, 7 3-4, 8 14
 Vocational Study, 11 1
 Volunteer Army, 15 16, 19 10
 Volunteers Meet Ill Success, 20 20
 Vonovsky, 15 20

W

Wadsworth, Senator, A Letter From the Soviet Representative to, 24 14
 Wage Earners, 21 16
 War Against an Idea, The, 17 8-23
 War in Eastern Europe, The, 13 22
 War Against Russia—Editorial, 20 6
 War or Peace, Either, 2 14
 War in Russia, The, 13 4, 19 1, 21 2, 25 3, 26 4, 28 2, 30 13
 Ward, Col. John, 18 2-12
 Warehouses, 15 8
 War With Russia, 3 12
 War Upon Russian Industry, Effect of the, 18 6
 Waterways, 25 16
 Welcomed to Russia, 13 24
 Wharves, 15 8
 What Divides Great Britain and Russia, 23 16
 White Guards in Esthonia, 23 3
 White Guard, Finnish, 14 15
 White Guards in Ukraine, 2 14
 White Ministers, Excellent, 27 19
 White Riga, How People Are Living in, 28 29
 White Guards, Fugitives From, 11 1
 White Russia, News From, 3 15
 White Terror in Finland, The, 14 10
 White Terror in the Don Region, The, 10 22
 White Terror in Siberia and European Russia, 2 6
 Why Are the Allies Still at War With Russia, 3 12
 Why the Soviet Enemies Are Weak, 14 6
 Will the Anti-Soviet Blockade Be Raised? 10 10

Will They Dare Treat With Kolchak? 2 12
 What England Wants . . . Esthonia is Free to Do, 23 13
 Wilson, President, 1 3, 2 2-12, 3 3-12, 7 3, 8 16, 10 11
 Wilson Blockade, 13 23
 Wilson, President, Diplomacy, 4 4
 Wireless, 25 19
 Wireless Note, 17 2
 Women, 3 15, 26 7
 Women Against Kolchak, 12 13
 Women, Army Red, 11 16
 Women, Conference, 12 2
 Women, Congress, 12 2
 Women, Educational Activities, 12 2
 Women, Nationalization, 2 16, 3 15, 9 6, 14 1
 Women, Newspapers, 12 1
 Women, Propaganda, 12 2
 Women, Red Army, 12 13
 "Women in Soviet Russia," 12 1
 Women Workers, 26 27
 Women Workers Demand Lifting of Blockade, 26 29
 Wool, 7 8, 10 2
 Workers, 11 1, 18 6
 Workers Control, 11 3
 Workers' Conditions Under Kolchak, The, 14 9
 Workers' Cooperative of Moscow, Civilizing Work of the, 20 10
 Workers Demand the Reopening of Russian Connections, 23 23
 Workers, The Superhuman Energy of the, 27 8
 Workers' Faculty, 2 15
 Workers' Palace, 26 7
 Workers, The Position of the, 14 7
 Workers' School and the School Servants, The, 10 3
 Workers and Peasants Support the Soviet Power, Russian, 12 5
 Wretched Practice, A, 28 21

Y

Yablonsky, 18 1
 Yakushoff, Ivan, 19 1
 "Year Old Protest, A," 28 1
 Yekaterinoslav and Kharkov Under Denikin, 29 21
 Yen and Kolchak's Rouble, 17 18
 Yenisseisk, Uprising in, 10 22
 Yesterday and Today, 8 1
 "Yiddish Books in Soviet Russia," 29 7
 Y. M. C. A., Hinkle, 11 6
 Y. M. C. A., 9 6
 Young People, The Communist, 28 7
 Yudenich, 5 14, 25 3-12, 26 11-16, 28 2-3
 Yudenich, Military North, 13 6
 Yudenich, Northwest, 5 12, 8 12-13

Z

Zanetti, Armand, 8 10
 angwill, 16 14
 Zemstvos Opposed to Kolchak, 21 16
 Zippin, Max M., 3 4, 5 1, 7 2, 8 14-22, 10 17, 16 7, 27 2, 29 1

Notes of the Soviet Government

A Note of the Ukrainian Soviet Government to the Government of Galicia, 13 3
 Official Soviet Documents, 13 3
 Export from Soviet Ukraine to Soviet Russia, 14 11
 Soviet Russia and Fridtjof Nansen, 14 18
 Greece and Soviet Russia, 14 19
 The Immediate Economic Problems of the Soviet Government, 15 5
 Soviet Notes from Recent Wireless Messages, 15 7
 Goods We Need and Goods We Can Sell, 16 1
 Soviet Russia Not Opposed to Peace, 16 5
 Three Diplomatic Documents, 17 2-3
 Kolchak Outlawed, 17 4
 Bestialities of the Polish White Guards, 17 22
 Further Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Finland, 19 9
 Official Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Poland, 21 11
 British Atrocities in Northern Russia, 22 17

A Ukrainian Soviet Message to Greece, 22 22
 A Remarkable Report to the Swedish Foreign Office, 22 26
 Official Communications of the Soviet Government, 23 14
 What Divides Great Britain and Russia, 23 16
 France and Soviet Russia, 23 21
 The Struggle for Peace and Labor, 24 4
 Official Communication of the Soviet Government, 24 16-17-18-19-20-21
 The Russian Soviet Government Stronger Than Ever, 25 13
 Official Communications of the Soviet Government, 25 19, 26 7-8-9
 Miscellaneous Notes from Soviet Russia, 27 11
 The South and the East, 27 16
 A Year-Old Protest, 28 1
 The Economic Situation in Russia—Radio, 29 6
 Lenin's Thirteen Points, 29 15
 The Truth About the Searches in Swedish Diplomatic Offices, 30 11

Soviet Bureau (New York) Statements

A Letter to Secretary of State Lansing from the Soviet Representative in America, 25 14
 Statement by the Russian Soviet Bureau, Nov. 15, 25 15

Telegram to Secretary of State Lansing from the Soviet Representative, 26 17
 Statement of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, 27 14-23, 29 14
 A Letter from the Soviet Represent: five to Miss Emma Goldman, 29 14

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
To the Reader	1	Purchasing for a Nation	10
The Russian Policy of the Allies	3	Minding Russia's Business, by Louise Bryant	12
The Russian Prisoners in Germany	5	Press Comments, American and Foreign	13
Reply to Prinkipo Invitation	7	Recent Russian Notes	15
The Urban Population of Soviet Russia	8	Reading Matter on Russia	16

To the Reader.

"Soviet Russia" is published in order to acquaint the people of the United States with the real conditions in Russia and to combat the campaign of deliberate misrepresentation which is being waged by enemies of the Russian workers in order to destroy the sympathies which the toiling masses throughout the world intuitively feel toward the struggle of the workers in Russia. The only aim of this publication is to do away with such prejudice which stands in the way of the establishment of relations between Soviet Russia and the United States.

"Soviet Russia" is published by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in the United States, and is the official organ of that Bureau.

There exists much hysterical prejudice against so-called "Bolshevik propaganda" in the United States. The propaganda this publication expects to carry on does not interfere in American affairs. It confines itself exclusively to the presentation of facts tending to attain the aim above stated. There is nothing secret, sinister or opprobrious about this publication. On the contrary, we feel convinced that we are rendering a genuine service to the people of this country by aiding them to obtain an understanding of the situation in Russia based on actual facts and by making them understand the vast majority of the Russian people.

Sinister and insidious propaganda really threatening the life and the liberty of the people of the United States is to be found elsewhere than in this publication or in the Bureau which is publishing it. There are several publications in the United States more or less secretly financed by Russian counter-revolutionists who want to re-establish in Russia the rule of the few over the many. They prefer to conceal the sources of their funds. They interfere in American affairs by trying to seduce and bully the people of America to spend their money and their lives in the re-establishment in Russia of that rule of the few. Nevertheless it is they who enjoy the moral and material

support of influential circles in this country, and it is we who are being constantly threatened with suppression and persecution.

Just now a tremendous campaign is being waged by enemies of the Russian working people, aiming at the recognition of a military Russian adventurer as the ruler in Russia. Those in favor of such recognition do not stop at anything in their efforts. By unblushing lies they are trying to overcome the doubts America quite naturally has as to their propositions. By similar methods they are trying to incite America against the Russian workers. It will be our task to counteract these attacks against Soviet Russia and aid the American people in forming an intelligent judgment of the problems presented by the Russian Revolution.

The Russian policy of the Allies is something which vitally affects the whole world situation. Steps taken in pursuance of this policy, if they are not based on actual facts, are apt to bring disaster to the world as a whole.

A Russian policy is being contemplated by the Allies, involving, as we are told, the recognition of the so-called Omsk Government, with all the consequences of this step. The idea of granting recognition to Kolchak is based on these allegations: 1. That the Soviet Government does not represent the majority of the Russian people and that Kolchak does; 2. That Soviet Russia is in a state of anarchy and that Kolchak will bring order; 3. That the power of the Soviet Government is waning and that Kolchak's strength is increasing.

In the May 31st issue of the "New York Globe" is a dispatch from Moscow sent by Mr. Isaac Don Levine, a correspondent of that paper. It is reprinted in another part of this issue. Mr. Levine, before he went to Russia, was quite prejudiced against the Soviet Government. He himself was instrumental in printing and publishing fancy stories depicting the Bolsheviks as a lot of cruel hoodlums and murderers. Now he emphatically

states that the conditions in Soviet Russia are diametrically different from the pictures drawn in this country. He was one of those who asserted that the Soviets were backed by a minority only, and he shared in the opinion that the Soviet Government was tottering. Now he states that the Soviet Government never was as strong as it is now, that Russia never had a Government that enjoyed more authority among the population and that the renewed attacks against Russia by Kolchak and his supporters not only have not weakened the strength of the Soviet Government but have increased the numbers of the supporters of that Government, so that it today undoubtedly is backed by at least one hundred million of people who are willing to give their lives in the defense of their institutions.

In an article in the "Hearst Magazine" for June, which throughout breathes a spirit of hostility toward the Bolsheviks, an American Army Intelligence officer in Siberia makes the flat statement that 95 per cent of the people in Siberia are with the Bolsheviks, and that only the presence of foreign troops and the terroristic methods employed by Kolchak's Government keep the population from taking the government into their hands.

Such is the testimony of people not biased in favor of the Soviets, who are in a position to state on the basis of personal observation just what is the situation today in Russia and who represents the majority of the Russian people.

* * *

Recognition of Kolchak is being advocated also in the interest of "order." Yet it cannot have escaped anyone's attention that reports coming from the territory occupied by Russian counter-revolutionists, such as Kolchak, Denikin and others, speak of disorganization, misery and privation of a most desperate nature. Considering the fact that Kolchak and his co-workers get from the Allies every kind of material support, that there is an American Railway Commission busy trying to rehabilitate the Siberian railway, that General Denikin's forces communicate with the Allies through the ports of the Black Sea and that supplies of all kinds are being constantly sent to these ports, it is quite significant that we find such chaos there, and that we are able to contrast it with the order prevailing in Soviet Russia, which is suffering under an absolute blockade. Yet this does not seem to disturb the equanimity of men who want the establishment of Kolchak's rule in the "interest of order" as opposed to "Bolshevik disorder."

We shall not dwell in this periodical on the accusations of terrorism flung against the Soviet Republic. We shall reprint clippings from Russian newspapers in Siberia and in European Russia (clippings from organs of the opposition to the Bolsheviks—which in spite of all reports to the contrary are issued without interference in Moscow). These clippings will bear witness to unheard of atrocities committed by Kolchak and his forces in the territory occupied by them. Whatever "ter-

ror" there may have been and may still exist in Soviet Russia altogether fades away in comparison with the terror in Kolchak's domain.

We find in a New York paper of recent date an editorial in which Kolchak atrocities are frankly admitted and condoned with the explanation that a war-time government in the midst of civil war is, of course, likely to employ stern methods. But why should one lose sight of the fact that the Soviet Government also is a war-time government in the midst of civil war—the only difference being that the Soviet Government is opposed by much more formidable forces in as much as they include all the Allies and that the sternness of its measures against the opposition is immeasurably less than on the other side.

* * *

Has Kolchak's military power really increased? Has he a chance to reach Moscow in any other manner than as a convicted felon? It may be admitted that this question is of some interest to the Allies in view of the propositions to recognize Kolchak.

When about a month ago the campaign for the recognition of Kolchak started with the printing in the American press of dispatches alleging victories of his forces, our Bureau issued a statement warning the American people against too much confidence in these reports. Kolchak was reported in April as having taken Samara. The fact is that he never was within hundreds of miles of Samara and that he today is farther away from Samara than he was a month ago. When the rivers in the southern Ural district began to thaw up, Kolchak succeeded in penetrating as far as Ufa and to take the towns of Sterlitamak and Belibey, which he had lost to the Soviets a few months earlier. (Now he has again lost these towns.) His forces are obviously on the retreat just now on the Ural front and his power has already been weakened in Siberia itself. Papers here print constantly news of Bolshevik military activities in Siberia—right in the heart of Kolchak's domain. Last week's newspapers contained reports of strikes throughout Siberia among railroad men and miners. A dispatch recently printed in America speaks of martial law having been proclaimed in Vladivostok and the surrounding district. All this certainly does not testify to the strength of Kolchak's rule.

Turning to the southern front, we find that Soviet forces within the past three weeks have occupied the entire Donetz basin. There were reports in the newspapers that Kiev had been captured from the Bolsheviks. This is admittedly false. Not only is Kiev still in the hands of the Soviet forces, but their power in the Ukraine has been immensely strengthened and Rovno, an important railroad center in Western Russia, has been taken by the Soviet troops.

What the military situation is on the northern front it is somewhat difficult to understand. We have had so many reports of tremendous forces being concentrated around Petrograd, that British

and French fleets are ready to attack the former capital of Russia, that Esthonian and Finnish and Karelian and "loyal" Russians, and what not, are just about to strike the death-knell of Soviet rule in Petrograd, that the city is on fire, that it is being bombarded by the British fleet, etc., etc. Now it ought not to be a very difficult proposition for forces of such formidable character to capture Petrograd, which is suffering from privation more perhaps than any other city in Russia, and which is cut off from the rest of Russia by insufficient means of communication. Still, somehow, nothing tangible has come out of all these attacks. Anyhow, one need not be a strategist to understand that even if the opponents of Soviet Russia should conquer Petrograd with their formidable resources and with the help of the bloody and treacherous Finnish White Guard regime, fresh from its alliance with the German Kaiser, nothing would be solved thereby.

A United Press dispatch from Budapest, dated May 31st, quotes a statement made by the Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Chicherin. It gives a striking, yet very natural, explanation of the reasons for the fictitious stories about "Kolchak victories." It reads as follows:

"I am informed that the Allied Governments have decided to give recognition and support to Admiral Kolchak. In view of this fact I wish to give the American public the truth about Kolchak's alleged offensive. Paris circles hinder President Wilson from receiving the truth. Paris press reports follow the same object.

"Kolchak's troops are not advancing. On the contrary they are retreating in disorder. Kolchak's position is worse every day.

"Regarding the situation in Petrograd, press

dispatches reporting fires and explosions of ammunition stores, as well as evacuation of the city, are all untrue. Petrograd resembles an armed military camp. The workmen are armed and hold military exercises daily. Even the women have joined the militia. The Petrograd workmen's battalion have forced the enemy advancing upon Gatchina to retreat.

"In spite of Gen. Denikin's clever tactics and local successes, we are advancing steadily on the southern front.

"News regarding any change in our policy is untrue. Our policy is always the same. We are and were always ready to enter serious negotiations for peace. We are not guilty of shedding blood. We were always on the defensive. This news is just as false as the news regarding our critical condition. All these lies are obviously meant to induce Wilson to adopt a course of armed intervention which is contrary to American interests.

"In the name of truth, I ask you to communicate my remarks to the American public."

We might add that the short-lived successes of Kolchak's army are very easily explained. In a speech delivered in the fall of 1918 before the Petrograd Soviet (published in the "N. Y. Call" of April 18), Trotzky openly outlined the Soviet Government's plan of military campaign for the winter. He pointed out that before spring the Soviet Republic could not be threatened from the north or from the east and that the centre of attention for the winter will be directed toward the south. Now, after a Soviet Republic has been firmly established in Ukraine, and Denikin and Krassnoff are hard-pressed in the Don region, the Soviet Government has once more turned its attention to Kolchak's forces in the east. From now on there will be no more successes for Kolchak.

The Russian Policy of the Allies.

In his note of December 24, 1918, to President Wilson, Maxim Litvinoff, former Soviet Representative to Great Britain, said: "... there are now only two courses open to the Allied Statesmen. One is continued open or disguised intervention on the present or on a still larger scale . . . The other is . . . to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government, to withdraw the foreign troops from Russian territory and to raise the economic blockade . . ."

Ever since the power passed to the Soviets, and even before that, the Allied governments have consistently followed the former course of open or disguised intervention on behalf of the counter-revolutionary elements trying to regain their lost privileges. The Allied representatives in Russia encouraged and supported the Korniloff insurrection and the insurrections that followed the October revolution. Every counter-revolutionary attempt was organized not only with their connivance and approval, but with their direct and indirect assistance. Finally they instigated the Czecho-Slovak adventure,

which was followed by open intervention and the sending of Allied troops to Russia. During this period the Soviet Government made repeated efforts to come to an understanding with the Allied governments, but all its efforts failed. Tchicherin's note to President Wilson, asking the Allied governments to state their terms of peace with Soviet Russia, remained without an answer, as did all the other notes of the Soviet government.

There was but one apparent break in this policy of aggressive hostility toward Soviet Russia. On January 22, 1919, the peace conference at Paris addressed an invitation to all Russian factions for a conference on Prince's Islands. The invitation in part said:

"... They (the associated powers) recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without dictation or direction of any kind from the outside. They do not wish to exploit or make use of Russia in any way.

"They recognize the revolution without reservation and will in no way and in no circumstances aid

or give countenance to any attempt at counter-revolution.

"It is not their wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others."

Was this proposal for a conference made in good faith? Even while the Allied representatives at the peace conference were making this solemn declaration that they will "in no way aid any attempt at counter-revolution" the Allied governments continued to give every kind of aid to every counter-revolutionary group in Russia; their troops remained on Russian territory, killing Russian workers and peasants, and a blockade was maintained which was intended to starve the Russian people into submission. Moreover, the very proposal of a conference—to which "organized groups" whose very existence depended on Allied support, were invited on an equal footing with the Soviet government, representing about ninety per cent of the Russian people—was only a thinly disguised form of intervention. And it is interesting to note that the proposal coincided, on the one hand, with the growth of opposition in the Allied countries to intervention in the internal affairs of Russia and, on the other hand, with great victories of the Soviet army on all fronts.

In spite of all this, the Soviet government, anxious to put an end to unnecessary suffering and bloodshed, did not refuse the invitation. On February 4, 1919, the Soviet government in a note to the governments of Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States (which is printed elsewhere in this issue) accepted the invitation to the proposed Prinkipo conference and declared its readiness to make important concessions, with the object of establishing peaceful relations with these countries.

It was not, therefore, the fault of the Soviet government that the Prinkipo conference did not take place. The Allied statesmen have given up this plan, without considering it worth while to inform the peoples of the Allied countries of their reasons for this change of mind, and have again turned to more open forms of intervention. The next proposal, the so-called Nansen plan of feeding Russia, was nullified by the demand that Soviet Russia cease fighting, thus giving a free hand to the Allied favorites, the counter-revolutionary "governments," to whom this demand did not apply. This "humanitarian" offer was rightly rejected by the Soviet government.

And now, according to the latest reports from Paris, the Allies have decided to recognize Dictator Kolchak and to furnish him with financial assistance, ammunition, technicians, military instructors, etc. This offer is alleged to carry with it the condition that Kolchak promise to convoke a Constituent Assembly on the basis of a "democratic" franchise after he reaches Moscow.

No one who knows anything about Kolchak's "All-Russian government" would take this condition seriously. The Kolchak "government" is openly autocratic, it depends on foreign support, it has dissolved all popular organizations, and maintained its

"authority" through brutal suppression and mass murder. Can such a government be expected to convoke a Constituent Assembly, even though, like all parliaments, it would really leave the power in the hands of the possessing classes? Obviously this condition is mere camouflage.

But there are other, more important and more essential, conditions. Under the heading "Big Five Demand a Split-up of Russia as Price of Help," the "N. Y. World" of May 28 carries an Associated Press dispatch from Paris with reference to the proposed recognition of Kolchak, which in part says:

"Under the proposed agreement, Admiral Kolchak shall promise to recognize the autonomy of the various governments established within the confines of old Russia, such as . . . the trans-Caucasian and trans-Caspian Administrations.

"The provision that Admiral Kolchak shall recognize the autonomy of the trans-Caucasian and trans-Caspian administrations is an important diplomatic victory for Great Britain. After the armistice with Turkey, British troops advanced into both these regions. British naval forces now dominate the Caspian Sea.

"Autonomous states here would give Britain two new buffers against a Russian advance toward India. Britain would also get a free hand in Persia, of which Russia formerly claimed the northern half as her sphere of influence. *The immensely rich oil fields of the trans-Caucasus region would come under British influence.*"

This dispatch does not mention the "diplomatic victories" of France and Japan, but Russia is large and Great Britain's fairness to her Allies was proven at the peace conference.

And so, "a split-up Russia" is the price of the recognition of Dictator Kolchak, and, above all, he must get to Moscow, he must suppress the people and overthrow their chosen form of government.

Are these reports true? Both the invitation to the Prinkipo conference and the Nansen plan showed the Allies to be anxious to obtain the cessation of hostilities in Russia. Will the Allied statesmen, after having solemnly declared that "they recognize the absolute right of the Russian people to direct their own affairs without any dictation from the outside," that "they will in no way aid any attempt at counter-revolution" and that "they do not wish to favor or assist any one of the organized groups as against the others," definitely commit themselves now to a policy of intervention?

Europe is in ruins, the masses of the people are suffering from starvation and economic chaos, and everywhere the people are longing for peace. Soviet Russia is anxious to make peace with the world and to turn its energies to the development of its rich natural resources, not only for the benefit of Russia, but for the benefit of the world. Soviet Russia has but one condition of peace: that the people of Russia be allowed to work out their own destiny in their own way. In the face of this, will the Allied statesmen persist in the policy of intervention, which in the words of Litvinoff, means a prolongation of war, further embitterment of the

Russian masses, intensification of internal strife, unexampled bloodshed, and perhaps total extermination of the Russian bourgeoisie by the exasperated masses, final devastation of the country, and, in case the interventionists after a long struggle shall obtain their end, a white terror eclipsing the atrocities of the Finnish white guardists, the inevitable intro-

duction of military dictatorship and restoration of the monarchy, leading to interminable revolutions and upheavals, and paralyzing the economic development of the country for long decades.

The masses of the people in Russia and elsewhere will know where to place the responsibility for this bloodshed and suffering.

The Russian Prisoners in Germany.

When the history of the Great European War is written, it will include the narration of changes greater than those produced by any other war of modern times. Not the least among these is the actual shifting of great bodies of men over great distances, sometimes resulting in their being settled in new environments for years to come. The example of the Russian prisoners of war taken by Germany, and the sufferings experienced by them during their almost permanent stay in that country, is a chapter in the history of warfare that is unique, and its unusual quality is by no means lessened by the fact that this peculiar form of detention is likely to last for some time.

It will be remembered that the Imperial German Government did everything in its power to weaken its enemies not only by military attack, but also by arousing separatist tendencies in the enemy's country. Numerous attempts were made to pervert feelings of discontent in foreign countries into internal racial strife, and for the pursuit of this aim, Russia was perhaps the most favorable field. Propaganda was carried on by German agents in the various parts of the country, to arouse racial feeling between its component parts, and in this way it was hoped by the Imperial German Government that Russia might be broken up into a number of weak and disconnected states.

The numerous prisoners from the various parts of Russia, who fell into the hands of Germany in the course of the war, became the object of a peculiarly characteristic form of propaganda. They were concentrated in camps where many new educational devices were applied. Ukrainians and Poles who had been permitted to remain illiterate under the Czar, were taught their native Ukrainian and Polish tongues, with the object of developing in them whatever latent feelings of aggressive nationalism they might have possessed. The Imperial German Government wished to implant in the hearts of the various races of Russia a hatred of the Russian central government that would prevent them from ever again feeling any solidarity with the masses of the Great Russian people, and the process of imparting to them the rudiments of an education in their native tongues appeared to be the most effective way of giving them a tangible feeling of difference from their Great Russian neighbors. It was hoped that after these men were returned to their native homes, they would become able defenders of narrow provincial ideals, as opposed to general Russian ideals, and that they

might therefore advocate alliances with Germany rather than with Great Russia, thus weakening the coherence and unity of the then powerful Russian Empire.

We shall now point out that the effort to use the war victims captured from the enemy, for weakening the enemy from within, has also been made by certain Allied powers, but with this interesting difference: the old German Government was dealing with Czarist Russia and made use of nationalist strife in this process; while the Allies are facing a revolutionary Russia and are using the same victims for purposes of counter-revolution. (See the Paris despatch on the revised armistice terms in the "New York Times" of January 18, 1919.)

In the "New York Times" of April 3, 1919, Mr. Frank Bohn, a renegade Socialist, contributes an extremely interesting article entitled: "The American Peace Mission and Russia—Our Policy Condemned as a Support of Bolshevism and a Betrayal of Democratic Russian Elements." In the course of this article, Mr. Bohn proves beyond doubt, although this was hardly his chief intention in writing it, that he was active in the attempt to win over the Russian prisoners in Germany for purposes of counter-revolutionary aggression within their native country. Speaking of the time when the so-called "American Socialist Mission" was approached by "the United Russian Democracy," to aid in mobilizing the Russian victims of Czar and Kaiser against the Soviet Government, Mr. Bohn says, among other things:

"As all the most active workers in this democratic group are Socialists, they naturally came to the American Socialist Mission for help. Our mission met their executive group in general council. For weeks after, various members of both groups met often. We examined very carefully into the facts they presented and into their arguments and plans. Our American Mission delegated me to assist them in securing support for their policy. The request we wished to make was simple and, we thought, reasonable enough. We decided to take up only the matter of the Russian prisoners of war. Let me here emphasize the fact that these sixteen hundred thousand Russians were our allies. They were captured while fighting bravely in our cause during the first three years of the war. On November 11 they were in rags, barefooted, and subsisting in many camps by eating the bodies of those among them who had died of starvation and disease. Why were the American, the French, and

the British prisoners of war rescued and the Russians left to perish like rats in a trap? Who dare say that it was not a sacred duty on the part of ourselves and our allies to treat these men as our very own? However, two months had passed before we took up this matter in the way described above, and planned to conduct democratic propaganda and organization among these prisoners while they were being fed and clothed."

The "democratic propaganda" conducted by Mr. Bohn's interesting organization was—to gather the implications of the above paragraph—an effort at systematic recruiting of Russian war prisoners for use in counter-revolutionary offensives against their home government. And the revised armistice terms that were accepted by the German Government on January 16th included provisions that unfortunately were well suited for the purpose of rendering possible a distortion of the announced pretensions behind the transfer of Russian war prisoners from German to Allied control. While the new armistice terms provide for a transfer that is to result in better feeding, housing, and transportation conditions for these unfortunate victims of the world war, the condition after Mr. Bohn's "democratic propaganda" organization got to work seems to be this: feeding, clothing, and housing the Russian workers became mere devices to entice them into counter-revolutionary recruiting offices.

Now, in spite of the clear language of the armistice terms on the subject of the desirability of a humane treatment of the Russian prisoners in Germany, reactionary influences in the councils of the Allied powers have, as Mr. Bohn's article only too clearly shows, made the ostensibly kindly intentions of the revised armistice terms a means of gaining cannon-fodder in the service of reaction in Russia.

Already in January, the Armistice Commission had exposed itself to a possibility of uncharitable interpretation on this question, as is shown by the following news item in a Norwegian daily of January 27th:

"Berlin, January 27.—Alleging that Russian prisoners of war in Germany are being sent home only in order to strengthen the military forces of the Bolsheviks, the Allied representatives of the Armistice Commission demanded last Saturday that the home-sending of Russian war prisoners should stop. The German Commission protested against this order and maintained that such an act would lead to revolts as the Russian prisoners already for some time had been notified of their impending return."

But when this item was printed in the Norwegian daily, the Russian Soviet Government had already learnt of the new clauses in the revised terms and had already protested, in the following interesting message, against any misuse of Russian prisoners for counter-revolutionary purposes. We print in full the protest of the Soviet Government (also taken from a Norwegian newspaper of January 27th):

Petrograd, January 22d. (Official Wireless of

the Russian Government). The Russian Soviet Government has sent the following note of protest because of demands made by the Allied powers, that they control matters concerning Russian war prisoners in Germany.

With the greatest astonishment the Russian Soviet Government has learned through wireless dispatches that among the new armistice agreements entered into between the Central Powers and the Allies is a clause which provides that the Allies shall control matters concerning the Russian war prisoners in Germany and their return home. The Russian Government declares that such an agreement has been made without the approval of the Russian Government and even without its knowledge. The care of Russian war prisoners in Germany is the concern of the Russian Government, and the Russian Government alone is competent to assign the administration of this matter to another power. The Russian Soviet Republic was not vanquished by the Allied powers and it has not entered into any agreements with them. The violation of the rights of the Russian Soviet Government therefore is an infamous and villainous act. In as much as the German Government is a party in this international crime against the Russian war prisoners who are found on its territory, we place the entire responsibility for the consequences of such an act on the German Government.

This act on the part of the Allied and German Governments causes us all the more anxiety as we have sufficient knowledge of the unscrupulous methods employed by representatives of the Allies who tried to induce Russian war prisoners in Hungary and on the Balkan peninsula to enlist in the White Guards who are fighting against the Russian Republic.

The Russian Soviet Government brands before the whole world this barbarous act on the part of those who are ignoring the most elementary human feelings and who would compel the returning Russian prisoners of war to fight against their own country.

Likewise we brand before the whole world the abominable practice of these representatives of the Allied powers, who make Russian soldiers who refuse to lend themselves for such purposes, the victims of all kinds of persecutions and atrocities. The Russian Soviet Government is aware of the barbarous crimes which representatives of the Allies have perpetrated against Russian war prisoners on German territory occupied by the Allies. Attempts have been made in those territories as well, to compel Russian war prisoners to fight against the Russian people. For instance, in Cologne, Russian prisoners of war who refused to enlist in the White Guards to be sent against the people of Russia, have been beaten in the prisons with rubber clubs by colored French soldiers and interned in dark cells where they have been kept without food for several days and finally threatened with court-martial and execution.

The barbarous unscrupulousness of the Allied powers who have without cause and without declaration of war invaded Russia, where they have perpetrated a multitude of crimes, is sufficiently known, and these, their new crimes against the Russian war prisoners are to be classed with the system already so well known to us.

If, however, the German Government supports such acts, it is placing itself on the same level as the Allied powers in this respect, and we will have to regard this act of the German Government against Russian war prisoners as a deliberately hostile act against the Russian Soviet Republic. We also declare that German comrades who are in Russia will not in any way be held responsible by us for such acts on the part of the

German Government which murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
Chicherin.

Unfortunately, the condition of the Russian prisoners held in Germany has not yet improved in this respect, and it is not surprising to find that the prisoners resent it even to the extent of making riotous demonstrations. Certain persons in the councils of the Allies appear to have learnt too well the lesson of the Imperial German Government in its propaganda methods, and the assignment of foreign (American) officers to conduct the propaganda here mentioned, among the Russian prisoners, will be found noted, with the names of the officers in question, in the "New York Times" of February 17th. We shall probably have occasion to revert to this subject again.

Soviet Government's Reply to the Invitation to the Prinkipo Conference.

Radiogram of People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs.
(Complete text.)

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of North America:

The Russian Soviet Government has learnt, through a radiogram which contained a review of the press, of an invitation stated to have been addressed by the Entente Powers to all de facto governments of Russia, to send delegates to a conference on Princes Island.

As the Soviet Government of Russia has received no such invitation addressed to it, but has learnt—and again through a radio review of the press—that the absence of an answer from the Soviet Government is interpreted as a refusal to reply to this invitation, the Russian Soviet Government desires to remove any false interpretation of its actions. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the foreign press systematically reports its actions in a false light, the Russian Soviet Government takes advantage of this opportunity to express its attitude with the utmost clearness and frankness.

In spite of the fact that both the military and the internal condition of Soviet Russia are constantly improving, the Soviet Government is so anxious to secure an agreement that would put an end to hostilities, that it is ready to enter at once into negotiations to this end, and, as it has more than once declared, is even willing in order to obtain such an agreement to make serious concessions, provided they will not menace the future development of Soviet Russia. In view of the fact that the power of resistance of the enemies which Soviet Russia has to fight depends exclusively on the aid which they receive from the Entente powers, and that these are, therefore, its only real adversaries, the Russian Soviet Government addresses to these powers a statement with regard to those questions on which it would consider such concessions possi-

ble in order to put an end to all conflicts with these powers.

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.

Thirdly, in view of the great interest which foreign capital has always evinced toward the question of the exploitation in its interests of the natural resources of Russia, the Soviet Government is willing to grant to subjects of the Entente Powers concessions in mines, forests and other resources, which must be carefully formulated in such manner that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall be in no way violated by the internal regulations of these concessions.

The fourth point which, in the opinion of the Russian Soviet Government, might be dealt with in the proposed negotiations is the question of territorial concessions, for the Soviet Government does not intend to insist on excluding from these negotiations the consideration of the question of

annexation of Russian territories by the Entente Powers. The Soviet Government adds that the presence in the territory of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Poland and Finland, of armed forces of the Entente or of forces which are maintained at the expense of the governments of the Entente or receive financial, technical, military or any other kind of support from them, should also be characterized as annexation.

As for points two and four, the scope of the concessions to which the Soviet Government will agree will depend on its military situation with regard to the Entente powers, and this situation is at present constantly improving.

On the northern front the Soviet troops have just retaken the city of Shenkursk. On the eastern front they have temporarily lost Perm, but they have regained Ufa, Sterlitamak, Belebey, Orenburg and Uralsk. As a result of this the railroad connection with Central Asia is at present in the hands of the Soviet Government. On the southern front they have recently taken the important railroad stations of Pavorino, Alexikovo, Uriupino, Talovaya, Kalatsh and Begutchar, and it thus controls the railroads of this region, while the Ukrainian Soviet troops, advancing from Lugansk, threaten Krasnov's rear from the south-east. Local Soviet troops have taken Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kremenchug, Tchernigov, Ovrutch, and many other less important cities. White Russia, Lithuania and Lettonia are almost entirely in the hands of the Soviet troops of these republics, including the large cities of Minsk, Vilna, Riga, Dvinsk, Mitaw, Vindau and others.

The remarkable improvement in the internal situation of Soviet Russia appears from the negotiations which the members of the former Constituent Assembly have begun with the Soviet Government. Their representatives, Rakitnikov (President of their Congress), Sviatitzki (Secretary), Volski, Shmelev, Gourevoy, Tchernenkov, Antonov, all of whom are members of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party, arrived in Moscow

yesterday, February 3rd. These well-known Social Revolutionists have declared themselves with great emphasis against the Entente intervention in Russia.

The improvement of the Soviet Government's relations with the elements formerly hostile to it in Russian society is indicated by the change of the attitude of the Mensheviks, whose conference has likewise protested against the Entente intervention and whose organ "Vpered" appears in Moscow without interference. The general easing up of the former tension in the internal situation of Russia is shown by the abolition of the local Extraordinary Commissions (for combatting counter-revolution). And finally, the reports in the foreign press concerning the alleged unrest in Petrograd and other places are absolutely fabrications.

Emphasizing again that the situation of the Soviet Republic will necessarily affect the extent of the proposed concession, the Russian Soviet Government, nevertheless, stands by its proposal to enter into negotiations on the above mentioned questions. As for the complaints frequently expressed in the Entente Press with regard to the international revolutionary propaganda of the Russian Soviet Government, that government declares that it is ready, if necessary, to include in the general agreement with the Entente Powers the obligation not to interfere in their internal affairs, pointing out, however, that it cannot limit the freedom of the revolutionary press.

On the above mentioned basis the Russian Soviet Government is ready to enter into immediate negotiations on Princes Island or at any other place with all the Entente Powers or with individual powers of their number or with certain Russian political groups, according to the wish of the Entente Powers. The Russian Soviet Government requests the Entente Powers to make known to it without delay the place to which it should send its representatives, as well as the time and the route.

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
Chicherin.

Moscow, February 4th, 1919.

The Urban Population of Soviet Russia.

According to the census of 1897 the urban population of the Empire constituted 13.4 per cent of the total population. This figure, however, was far below the actual urban population. The following explanation is given in the introduction to the first volume of the General Review of the Results of the Census.

"The insignificant percentage of the urban population in Russia is due to the narrow definition of the term 'city.' There are in the Empire 6,376 settlements with a population ranging from 2,000 to 41,000 (the Izhovsk mill town), and aggregating 18.5 per cent of the total population of the Empire, yet they are not considered cities and their population is counted as rural. In a majority of the countries of western Europe all such settlements

would be counted as cities. In Russia, however, they are classified as rural settlements. If the inhabitants of these settlements were counted as urban the urban population would be raised to almost 32 per cent." (p. V.)

The urban population of European Russia at the census of 1897 represented 12.9 per cent of the total population as defined in Russian official statistics.

There was a widespread belief among writers of the "Populist" school that this urban population was also largely agricultural. The statistics of occupations collected at the census of 1897, however, disproved that preconceived notion. According to the data of that census there were among the 16,828,395 inhabitants of incorporated cities and

towns of the Russian Empire only 1,528,863 persons supported by agricultural pursuits, which included both breadwinners and dependents. This represented 9.1 per cent of the total population of these settlements. The percentage for European Russia was somewhat smaller, viz. 8.4 per cent.

These statistics confirmed the view expressed by a well-known Russian statistician, Mr. V. N. Grigoryev, before the publication of the results of the census of 1897, that "the number of urban settlements of an agricultural character was very small, and the total number of inhabitants in those settlements, compared with the total urban population was quite insignificant."*

On the other hand, a considerable part of the population described in official statistics as rural was engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. Of the 108,811,626 inhabitants of rural settlements throughout the Empire, 16,974,625, or 15.6 per cent, were supported by non-agricultural pursuits. This number includes both breadwinners and dependents.** This percentage comes very close to the percentage of inhabitants of those settlements which are urban in character though rural from a legal point of view, as shown above.

There are no accurate data to show the growth of the urban population in Russia.*** The available statistics for the growth of great cities, however, indicate a large exodus from rural to urban districts within recent years. The population of 62 cities in European Russia, with over 25,000 inhabitants at the time of the census of 1897, for which official estimates for the year 1885 are available, shows the following growth:

Year	Total Population	Percent of Increase
1885	4,485,318	—
1897	6,495,344	47

This is equivalent to an increase of 38 per cent for a ten-year period. The population of 79 cities with over 25,000 inhabitants at the census of 1897 for which official estimates are available for the years 1910-12 shows the following growth:

*The Influence of the Yields and Prices of Breadstuffs. (St. Petersburg, 1897), vol. II, p. 126.

**The corresponding percentage for European Russia alone was 14.6 per cent.

***According to Tegoborski, in 1851, ten years before the abolition of serfdom, the urban population of European Russia was 9 per cent of the total. (Productive Forces of Russia, pages 96-97.) This shows a very slight increase. In view of the preceding explanation, however, these figures are of no significance.

Years	Total Population	Percent of Increase
1897	7,664,332	—
1910-12*	11,233,670	47

This increase is equivalent to 34 per cent for a ten-year period. The increase of the total population of European Russia was estimated at 1.36 per cent annually.** This increase is equivalent to 14 per cent for ten years.

It thus appears that the increase of the urban population was two and a half times as fast as the increase of the total population of European Russia.

Very instructive statistics are available for the city of Moscow where enumerations of the population were made by the municipal government in 1882, and again every five years after the general census of the Empire, in 1897.

These statistics are presented in the following table:

Population of Moscow

Date of Enumeration	Total
January 24, 1882.....	753,469
January 28, 1897.....	1,038,591
January 31, 1902.....	1,092,000
February, 1907.....	1,360,000
March, 1912.....	1,617,157

During the 30-year period from 1882 to 1912 the population of Moscow increased 114.6 per cent. This increase was faster than that of the city of Philadelphia, whose population during the 30-year period 1880 to 1910 showed an increase of only 82.9 per cent. The rates of increase for the last decade in Moscow, Philadelphia, and Chicago, are shown next below:

City	Period	Per cent of Increase
Moscow	1902-1912	48.1
Chicago	1900-1910	28.7
Philadelphia.....	1900-1910	19.7

This extraordinary growth of the population of Moscow was due entirely to industrial development.

According to a recent estimate of the population of Soviet Russia which was published in the official "Izvestia" of February 18, 1919, it appears that there has been a large "back-to-the-land" movement, in consequence of the disorganisation of industry caused by the war, the revolution, and the blockade.

*The estimates for most of the cities relate to the year 1910. For two cities, however, estimates were made in 1912, for 23 in 1911, and for one in 1907.

**See article by B. I. Pokrovsky in "Influence of Yields and Prices of Breadstuffs." Vol. II, page 196.

Purchasing for a Nation.

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaires, Nationalizing Foreign Trade

Article 1. All foreign trade is to be nationalized. Commercial transactions relative to purchase and sale of products (raw materials, manufactures, agriculture, etc.) with foreign countries and private foreign commercial organizations are controlled directly by the Russian Republic through specially organized organs. All foreign transactions not known to these organs are prohibited.

Article 3. The Council of Foreign Trade is arranging a plan of exchange of goods with foreign countries, which is being worked out by the Commissariat of Trade and Industry. The duties of the Council of Foreign Trade are the following: To keep a register of the demand and supply of exported and imported goods; to organize foreign purchases through the government based on requisitions made by cooperative societies and firms; to regulate the prices of imported and exported goods.

Article 4. The Council of Foreign Trade is divided into subdivisions according to different branches of industry and important groups of export and import. The chairmen of these branches are representatives of the People's Commissariat of Trade and Industry. The chairman of the whole is also a representative of this commissariat.

Modern Soviet Russia has adopted a page from America's experience. It is adapting the American science of efficiency—as expressed in the Taylor system and in other systems—to the newly created social and economic conditions.

The organization of the purchasing power of the Russian people under a single direction, that of the Council of Foreign Trade, represents the Socialist conception of unified co-ordinated common activities.

Under this new form of organization of foreign trade it is possible to purchase materials in vast quantities, and to effect great economies in these purchases, through

1. The creation of definite standards for manufactured articles, thus eliminating needles and wasteful duplication of styles, shapes etc.
2. The distribution of purchases over the most favorable territory, where conditions of production (raw material, transportation, etc.) are most favorable.
3. The spreading of contracts over certain periods of time to eliminate dull or slack seasons, etc.
4. The elimination of duplicating private purchasing organizations, competing for trade, for goods, for shipping space, etc.

The economies thus effected can in turn be applied to improving the quality of material required, to giving preference to establishments working under trade-union conditions, to providing necessary safeguards for the life and health of the workers, etc.

The requirements of the Russian people as represented in the Russian Soviet Republic at the present time are for a variety of manufactured products, foodstuffs and cotton, the total value of which might well run into hundreds of millions of dollars. The normal imports of the Russian Empire prior to the war came to about \$700,000,000 annually. At present, considering the extra needs of the reconstruction period, of rebuilding the rail-

way system, of creating new factories and workshops, European Russia alone, i. e., the country controlled by the Soviet Government, could well buy in the world's markets double the amount named. The initial orders received by the Commercial Department to date would entail expenditures of

\$150,000,000 for Railway Material and Equipment.
30,000,000 Agricultural Implements and Tractors.
10,000,000 Machinery and Machine Tools.
5,000,000 Hardware and Metals.
30,000,000 Boots and Shoes.
20,000,000 Textiles, Dry Goods, etc.
5,000,000 Paper, Rubber, etc.
25,000,000 Cotton.
25,000,000 Foodstuffs

or a total of \$300,000,000, to be placed in this country alone.

Payments for these purchases will be made out of the Russian Gold Reserve, a part of which, to the credit of the Commercial Department upon the completion of proper arrangements, and any excess to be paid for by the export of raw materials, such as flax, hemp, sugar beet seeds, hides, bristles, platinum, etc., of which very important stocks have been accumulated in Soviet Russia.

The natural resources of Russia, as is well known, are enormous, and, as experts say, hardly scratched on the surface. Picture Soviet Russia as it is: a country nearly as large as the United States, with a population exceeding that of the United States, with a stretch of over 200,000,000 acres of the richest black soil (humus) known. For centuries, Russia was the granary of Europe; she possesses vast deposits of coal, oil, metals and minerals; of iron ore; has 50 per cent. of the world's supply; of potash, platinum, manganese and other metals great stores; she has 37 per cent. of the world's forests, 35 per cent. of the furs and skins, 30 per cent. of fish; her rivers can develop power to turn every wheel in the country, as well as to afford cheap and convenient transportation. In 1913 Russia produced 1,275,000 tons of manganese ore, 460,000 tons of flax, 3200 tons of bristles, 7000 tons of hops, 70,000,000 lbs. of hides, etc.

The exports from the United States direct to Russia were rather insignificant before the war. Only \$25,315,679 in 1913 and \$30,039,887 in 1914. During 1916 and 1917 great quantities of American machinery and war supplies were exported, bringing the total up to \$178,694,800 in 1916, and \$428,688,107 in 1917. However, the United States export figures do not record the total value of American products that found their way into Russia, as the greater part was handled through England and Germany as intermediaries. This is strikingly illustrated in the case of cotton exports.

According to United States data there were exported to Russia, in 1910, 84,941 bales. Russian sources, on the other hand, give imports of American cotton for the same year as 568,500; the difference of 483,559 bales evidently having come through England and Germany.

The predominance of English and German trade in Russia, up to the year 1914, was so great, that even in agricultural machinery—a distinctly American specialty—England had an enormous lead over the United States, as the following figures show:

Total imports of

Agricultural Machinery	1910	1911	1912
.....	\$19,550,000	\$27,000,000	\$25,600,000
From U. S.	5,191,954	7,567,035	5,826,805

Of course, British manufacturers claimed that their machinery was "more solid and durable," though admitting it was higher in price.

Whether England, Germany or the Scandinavian countries shall continue to absorb the Russian market, even to the extent of reselling American products there, is for the American manufacturer to say. Some of these countries are making a bid for that trade at the present time. If the United States continues to maintain the blockade against Soviet Russia, its trade will flow into channels open to it; should the United States decide to lift the blockade, it will place itself in a most favorable position.

Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, in his speech made before the Economic Club on May 26, stated that Europe is suffering from paralysis of industry and transportation, and a shortage of raw materials, and as a remedy proposed the extension of long term credits by the United States to the stricken countries. Russia, too, before the Revolution required long credits. This was one of the chief obstacles to greater trade between the United States and Russia, and the reason, at the same time, why Germany controlled so large a part of the Russian foreign trade. The situation is entirely changed through the nationalization of the foreign trade by the Soviet Government. It is now fully able to finance its foreign purchases on a cash basis.

American manufacturers have expressed their desire and readiness to do business with Soviet Russia, as the hundreds of offers received by the Commercial Department from the most reputable American firms unmistakably disclose. What, then, is the hitch—what is in the way of doing business? Russia needs American goods, and can afford to pay for them. America can supply these goods; it needs the market offered by Russia, and the raw material stored there, to keep its own industries going. In fact, where do American manufacturers expect to place their enormous surplus productive ability—something like 3 billion dollars a year—if the Russian Soviet market is closed to them? "The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their

good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.'

Should intelligent and unselfish sympathy on the part of the American people be overshadowed by bias and prejudice? Should not their common sense prevail, so that they may inform themselves of the true facts about Soviet Russia, and judge these facts on their merits? Russia is now undergoing tremendous changes; but these are changes aiming to provide life, liberty and happiness to 180,000,000 men, women and children, changes so fundamental and already ingrained in the nature of the people and the country to such an extent that no amount of violence, no amount of abuse or suffering through Allied blockades and starvation will eradicate them from the Russian soil.

AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR HAS NEW JOB

The "N. Y. Tribune" of May 30th, reports the appointments of ambassadors of the Paderewski Government of Poland to various foreign governments, including that of Prince Casimir Lubomirski to the United States. Of particular interest to Americans is the name of Count Adam Tarnowski von Tarnow, who was appointed Austrian Ambassador to the United States after Dumba, his predecessor, had been sent home, but spent only a short time in America, never actually assuming the duties of his office. Count von Tarnow has just been made Ambassador of the new Polish Government to Japan, and the "Tribune" emphasizes his identity with Dumba's successor. Apparently the Polish Government finds the former functionaries of the former Austrian Imperial Government to be *persona grata*, which is in itself an interesting characterization of the present Polish Government.

INTERESTING MATERIAL ON KOLCHAK

The "Nation" (New York) of May 31st, has three articles on Kolchak. One is by Professor G. V. Lomonosoff, former Director of the Railway Department of the Russian Soviet Bureau, and is entitled "Kolchak Democracy." All three are worthy of the attention of serious students of Russian affairs.

RECOGNIZING KOLCHAK.

"It is becoming increasingly difficult not to take sides, at least passively, in the Russian civil war. In the World war against Bolshevism, just as in the world war against Germany, there is neither satisfaction nor profit for those who stay out until the issue is decided."

The above is not an attempt on the part of a pretentious super-radical to put a deterministic dilemma with savage pointedness. It is merely the conclusion of an editorial in the *New York Times* of May 29th, urging that Kolchak be recognized.

Minding Russia's Business.

By Louise Bryant.

"Newspaper correspondents would understand the situation better if they could realize that all Siberia, all Russia, is a "front." Our forces walked into that front when they stepped off the boat at Vladivostok. **Ninety-five per cent. of the people in Siberia are Bolsheviks.**"

Is this a statement of a Socialist? Not at all. It is the sweeping assertion of a captain in the Naval Intelligence. It is a quotation from the article of Captain Frederick F. Moore, A. E. F., Siberia, in the June number of Hearst's Magazine. Surely no one will accuse the Captain of Bolshevik propaganda, or of an attempt to influence American opinion in favor of the Soviet; he relishes a little too obviously the cruelty practised on the Workers and Peasants by the invading forces. We might very safely then accept his estimate as correct. In that case the alleged recognition of Kolchak by the allied governments as the true savior of Russia would be a terrible blow to all the principles of a war for democracy. But after all, the "self-determination" forced down the throats of an unwilling Russia by Kolchak will not be any more of a farce than the self-determination given to the Chinese in Shantung and various other slices of territory handed over to France and England and Japan by the Peace Council.

Just what has been done by the Americans in Siberia since the armistice was signed and all honorable excuse for remaining there has vanished? Let us refer again to Captain Moore. He explains in his article that the Russian masses carry on a thorough sabotage against the forces of Kolchak. Everywhere they encounter unnecessary delays, trains run off the track, messages are not delivered, soldiers who are forced into the army fire into the air. . . . If the captain had been in Belgium during German occupation he would have seen very much the same state of affairs. If the Japanese, for instance, were one day to invade America, the Captain himself might be "guilty" of sabotage. And yet it is impossible for him to understand why the Russians do not welcome foreign bayonets. He gives an illuminating example of how the civilian population is taught submission. "Cossack officers would lead out batches of horn-blowers (railway employees) and flog them with iron bars until they were inert masses of human flesh, bloody and unconscious on the tracks."

Some time ago the Labor Unions in Siberia, now outlawed, issued an appeal to all the working men and women of America, in which this paragraph appeared:

"After the forcible invasion of our country . . . began a terrible oppression for the Russian working class. Thousands upon thousands of working people, peasants and students were shot. In Khabarovsk, a city of about seventy thousand inhabit-

ants, twelve hundred were butchered by Japanese and Cossacks. In the city of Krasnoyarsk thousands were slain by the Russian White Guard with the help of the Italian regiments. English regiments also participated in the suppression and massacre of thousands of peasants. Every day new cemeteries had to be laid out . . ."

But it is the official organ of the American Red Cross which gives the most lurid details of horrors, going on under the Allied occupation, in an article by Rudolph Buckely, formerly an American banker in Honolulu and now with the Red Cross in Siberia. Mr. Buckely's story was "cut" by the Red Cross Magazine because "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable." It is a story of the famous "death" trains upon which unfortunate people were herded like cattle because they were accused of being Bolsheviks and were then sent back and forth across Siberia and not allowed to land anywhere. I quote Mr. Buckely:

"I have seen, through the windows of box cars whose dimensions were twenty-four feet by ten, forty animals who were once human men, women and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as human beings. Stark madness and terror stared from their eyes. And over all the unmistakable sign of death.

"It is impossible to tell in print the story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions.

"I have talked to a woman doctor who was doing Red Cross work with the Red Guards. She would have done the same work for anyone. A highly educated, intellectual woman, forty years old. . . ." "I have talked to a girl under eighteen years of age, beautiful, refined, intellectual. . . ."

"Yesterday one of the women was taken out of the car by a Russian officer. He will return her when the train pulls out. . . ."

"As we walked past the train a man hailed us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted that the door be opened and this is what we saw: Lying right across the threshold was the body of a boy not over eighteen years old. . . . What agony that boy must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation and exposure."

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead on the second tier of bunks amongst the living. Nearly every man on that car was sunken-eyed, gaunt and half-clad. They were racked by terrible coughing."

"It (the death train) left Samara approximately six weeks ago. It had on board twenty-one hundred prisoners. . . . They were apparently civil prisoners. Between that day and the day before

yesterday, eight hundred of these wretches have died of starvation, filth and disease. Since last night six have died. . ."

"Were it not for the kindness of poor villagers, who often with tears running down their cheeks, men and women alike, give them what they can afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment."

This is an instance of the "democratic" rule of Admiral Kolchak,, whom the Allies have now taken to their bosom.

With the recognition of Kolchak a chill goes over the world. The Jews fear a massacre, a mighty and terrible massacre worse than those sanctioned by that other pet of the most reactionary elements among the Allies—Paderewsky. I quote the Evening Post's correspondent: "If Admiral Kolchak achieves the mastery in Russia it is almost inevitable that a nation-wide man hunt will follow . . . that the ignorant soldiery under Kolchak will make Bolshevism an issue of race and religion, instead of a political issue."

The Constituent Assembly was to be the safeguard of the people's liberties and now it shall sit in glory over the blood of the oppressed, and be permitted, as a reward, to declare its acceptance of that marvel of our age, the "League of Nations."

Some men appear still to have spirit enough to resist the new developments. Mr. William Bullitt, Assistant Secretary of State and Attaché to the American Commission to negotiate peace, who was recently sent by the President to interview Lenin and investigate conditions in Russia, has this week dramatically handed in his resignation. "I can convince myself no longer," writes Mr. Bullitt in his letter of resignation, "that effective labor for a 'new world order' is possible with this government."

And to the President he thus addresses himself: "I am sorry you did not fight to a finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men like myself in every nation who had faith in you."

But perhaps Mr. Bullitt, whose soul is not without idealism, has not been practical enough to comprehend the full significance of the recognition of Kolchak. This item from a British paper may clear the situation. At any rate it will explain why the British are fighting so hard to outstrip the Japanese and even the White Guard Russians in their race to overthrow Red Petrograd.

"The Department of Overseas' Trade has prepared a scheme designated to promote an early resumption of trade relations between this country and non-Bolshevist Russia, the main feature whereof is a Government guarantee against abnormal risks. The Department's theory is that Great Britain lost markets to Japan and America during the war, and Russia being the only big world market, Great Britain now is in a favorable position for securing her trade."

Press Comments.

American and Foreign.

TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA

The American press, almost without exception, has been waging and continues to wage a most shameless campaign of abuse against Soviet Russia. Its pages are filled with fabrications of all sorts, often so exaggerated that their character of slander and calumny is manifest on the face of them. And the average American newspaper reader has no other source of information on Soviet Russia than the large sheets of his daily papers, and is led by these sources to believe that Russia is a land of "anarchy" and disorder, in which wicked man-eating creatures practise their barbarous vices.

On very rare occasions it happens that the truth does penetrate into the columns of one of the daily papers, and one of these occasions has just come to pass. An article appeared on May 31st in the "New York Globe," which represents a serious effort to understand and depict the present conditions in Russia. We refer to the following article, printed as a "Special Dispatch to the New York Globe and Chicago Daily News, by Isaac Don Levine, from Moscow." We reproduce this article in full below:

"Moscow, Russia, May 19.—There is no anarchy either in Petrograd or Moscow, and there is no chaos in Soviet Russia. Never since its inauguration has the Soviet government been more powerful than it is to-day. Never in the history of modern Russia has any government had more real authority than the present Soviet system. When one penetrates Soviet Russia one is struck by the fact that whatever Bolshevism may be it is not anarchy. After having passed some time within the frontiers of the communist republic one is surprised at the situation here, for it is absolutely the opposite of what the American people imagine it to be. There is no disorder; there is even too much order. One is safer in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow than in New York or Chicago. Imagine what would happen in Chicago at night if the streets were unlighted, and imagine, further, what would happen if the police disappeared from the city. There are no policemen in Moscow, and because of the coal crisis the streets are unlighted; yet one can traverse the streets after midnight in perfect safety.

"Before coming to Russia I was informed that the Soviet government was tottering and would soon fall. The newspapers here publish the wireless dispatches sent from Paris to America. These are absolutely contrary to the facts, and even people most violently opposed to Bolshevism cannot find anything here to support such assertions. On the contrary, numerous signs show that the Soviet government has grown considerably in the last few months. Since Admiral Kolchak's recent successes the masses have arisen to uphold the Soviet gov-

ernment. The allies' blockade of the Baltic has embittered all classes and augmented the government's support.

"The allied terms to Germany are considered here by every one as unfair. The Franco-British aim is to dismember Russia and reduce her to slavery. The result of all this has been to make 100,000,000 Russians firmly resolved to fight for the defense of their country and government. In Soviet Russia every man capable of fighting is ready to die rather than surrender. The government mobilization is proceeding throughout with less disorder than attended the draft in the United States. There was a time when the Soviet government was dominated by the minority, who had seized the reins of power, but that time has passed. Even a blind observer here quickly sees that a formidable majority of the nation favors the Soviet government.

"The food question in Petrograd and Moscow is very serious. Will America now extend a helping hand to the famished population and send food and merchandise to Russia? These questions are on everybody's lips. The people want peace. The government has also declared that it wants peace with the world and is ready to make concessions to the Allies. The people desire only to let the rest of the world alone provided they are let alone. They are fighting for peace in Russia, and not for social revolution in western Europe."

May we not say that comment on this article would be superfluous?

(The London Times, Tuesday, April 22, 1919.)

I. L. P. AND BOLSHEVIST RULE

"Campaign of Lies"

PEACE TREATY DENOUNCED

(From our Labor Correspondent)

Huddersfield, April 21.

It is characteristic of the methods of Labor gatherings that the most significant decision of the Independent Labor Party conference today was taken on written additions proposed ostensibly as after-thoughts to two of the resolutions on the agenda. The first resolution as printed expressed pleasure that an International Socialist Conference had at last been held in Berne, but demanded that the old Internationale should be promptly reconstructed, and that it should be representative of every section of the Socialist and Labor movements of all countries. The Administrative Council of the Party, who were responsible for this resolution, added a statement concerning the Russian Bolsheviks. It is worth giving textually:—

This Conference, in full agreement with the

declarations of the International Socialist Congress, firmly adheres to the principles of democracy and firmly declares that a reorganized society, more and more permeated with Socialism, cannot be permanently established unless it rests upon the triumph of democracy, and is rooted in the principles of liberty. It is of opinion that true socialization implies methodical development in the different branches of economic activity under the control of democracy, and declares that those institutions which constitute democracy, including freedom of speech and the Press, the right of association and assembly, universal suffrage, a government responsible to, and co-operating with, the people, also should be used to their fullest extent for the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth.

Strong objection was taken to this rather clumsy formula by Mr. C. H. Norman, an ex-conscientious objector, on the ground that it was virtually a condemnation of the Russian Soviet Republic and the Republics of Germany and Hungary. Many of the delegates took the same view, and on a card vote the resolution as a whole was rejected by 251 votes to 245—majority six. Mr. Norman and some others claimed the right to take a vote on the resolution without the addition, and, after some demur by the Chairman (Mr. Snowden), the question was put, and the resolution carried unanimously.

The next resolution stood on the agenda in the names of 10 branches, including Scarborough, Lewisham, Hitchin, and West Islington. It expressed suspicion and alarm at the hostility of the governing and capitalist classes in this and Allied countries to the new-born democracies of Germany and Russia, and it called for the withdrawal of Allied troops from Russia. Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, one of the little group of Liberal ex-M.P.'s who have found refuge in the I. L. P., in moving this resolution, announced that the following had been added to it:—"This Conference warns the people against any kind of stigma which may be applied to the Russian Soviet Republic, or any methods it is compelled to adopt under the peculiar circumstances. The Conference declares that there is not sufficient material available for a just judgment, and knowing that the shameful campaign of lies of the Press and agents of the various ruling Powers of the countries during the war continues unchanged to-day, is of opinion that, by passing premature judgment on political methods, we should be the victims of the manoeuvres and misrepresentations of Imperialist Governments." The addition went on to condemn the refusal of passports to the members of the mission to Russia appointed at Berne.

"I refuse," said Mr. Ponsonby, "to condemn the Soviets and Lenin (loud cheers) until I have far better evidence than we have at this moment. British soldiers are being sent out on false pretences. We have an alternative. Make terms with the Soviet Government and withdraw the expedition." (Cheers.) The resolution was adopted unanimously without further debate.

NEED FOR CLEARNESS ON RUSSIA

In the course of an editorial entitled "Mr. Lloyd-George's Speech," dealing with one of Lloyd-George's recent speeches on general problems of the proposed peace, "The Manchester Guardian", in its issue of April 17th, says the following with regard to the bearings of this speech on the Russian situation:

"It is not only on the question of an indemnity that there have been the rumblings of a threatened storm; the rumor of a possible transaction with the Bolshevik Government has also been the occasion of shocked alarm. This Mr. George did his best to dispel. Russia, he admitted, is a difficult subject, and, in a passage of curious but creditable candor, he acknowledged that whatever he decided he felt he might be wrong. That is a natural and indeed inevitable result of cutting off all communication with Bolshevik Russia and relying for information on the wild reports spread by partisans and the evidence of casual returning travelers, who tell the most conflicting tales. Yet it is on such an absurdly inadequate basis that the Government is compelled to determine their policy in a matter so difficult and so complicated. The result is a not very hopeful compromise. There is to be no further military intervention, for the simple reason that no country is prepared to furnish the necessary troops. Even when most hard-pressed, Germany was compelled, Mr. George tells us, to maintain in the occupied districts of Russia an army of a million men. But we are not told what is to become of the troops already in Russia and engaged there in little wars against the Bolsheviks, nor are we told how the Baltic Provinces are to be cleared of Bolsheviks and established, along with Poland and Rumania, as a military barrier from the Baltic to the Black Sea. That is a considerable enterprise, and it is not certain that the States in question are capable, unaided, of holding their own in a military sense, still less how their oppressed and disinherited peasantry are to be rendered immune from the desire to possess the land, which is the great spiritual weapon of Bolshevism. Koltchak in Siberia, Denikin and Krassnoff in the Don region and the Caucasus, are to receive further aid in munitions and money. But this is not a policy; it is simply a waiting upon Providence. And all the time Mr. George sadly admits that the problem of Russia is crucial, and that "until we make peace in Russia it is idle to say that the world is at peace." Is it not time that we abandoned the procedure of the ostrich and made ourselves really and intimately acquainted with the internal condition of Russia? It is proposed to feed Bolshevik Russia. That implies establishing some sort of relations with the Bolshevik Government. There never has been, as Mr. George says, any question of 'recognizing' it in the diplomatic sense. But we shall make no progress towards rational relations with it till we know a great deal more about it, and this elementary condition will now, we may hope, be fulfilled."

Latest Data on Soviet Russia.

THE LATEST DATA ON THE POPULATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The following estimate of the population of Soviet Russia as of February 1st, 1919, and its distribution by occupations appeared on February 18th, 1919, in the "Izvestia," the official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic.

European Russia.....	77,000,000
Soviet Turkestan.....	7,000,000
Soviet Latvia.....	2,000,000
Total.....	86,000,000

The population of European Russia was distributed, as to means of support, as follows:

Industrial wage earners and their dependents (exclusive of domestic servants)	11,000,000	14.2
All other urban population.....	6,000,000	7.8
Agricultural population.....	60,000,000	78.0
	77,000,000	100.0

Of the eleven millions representing the industrial wage earners and their dependents, there were 4,500,000 bread-winners and 6,500,000 dependents.

The second group of urban population consisted of independent artisans, small shopkeepers, domestic servants, professionals, tradesmen, etc.

The percentage of persons supported by agriculture at the census of 1897 was 74. The estimates, accordingly, show an increase of the agricultural population as compared with the year 1897. This increase is due to the disorganization of industry as a result of the war, the revolution, and the blockade, which has forced a great many factories to suspend operations and others to reduce their working force. As a result there is recorded a great movement of factory operatives back to the land.

The industrial wage earners mentioned above were distributed as follows:

Factory operatives.....	1,800,000
Employed in railway and river transportation	1,200,000
All others.....	1,500,000
Total.....	4,500,000

MANUFACTURE OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

(By Radiogram) Moscow, March 6, 1919.

The Congress of Provincial Bureaus of Metals, which has just ended, has made the following program for agricultural machine production: from March to June there will be made 233,810 plows, 8,543 threshers, 20,000 pitchforks, 26,000 hatchets, 126,000 grafting-tools, 22,000 rakes and 100,000 miscellaneous agricultural implements.

RAILROAD CONSTRUCTION IN RUSSIA

According to figures recently published, construction work was carried on for 54 railroad lines with a total length of 11,671 versts in 1918. At the beginning of 1919, 2,447 versts were ready to receive rails and according to present estimates 2,000 versts will be ready at the end of 1919. During 1918 2,603 versts of rails were laid down, and, according to present estimates, 1,531 will be laid down in 1919. Among the 54 lines under construction, there are 24 branch lines, of which 12 will be finished in 1919. Some of these latter are very important for the food-supply, particularly Fatege-Malo-Arkhangelsk (46 versts); Tchembor Bakhmakovo (48 versts); Somov lines (31 versts); Slobodka (46 versts); Uba Line (15 versts, important for the transportation of coal in the Moscow region); and Gornotop (2 versts). The other lines will be finished in 1920-22.

Reading Matter on Soviet Russia.

The Bureau of Information of Soviet Russia receives so many requests for information of a general nature concerning the present social, political and economic programs of the Soviet Government, that it has asked us to insert a list of books and other publications that deal with these subjects in a truthful manner. We take pleasure in calling the student's attention to the following pamphlets, books, and articles:

Pamphlets

Published by the Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York.
The Russian Constitution.
Decrees of the Russian Government.
Reprints of Articles on Russia.
Russian Land Law, price 10 cents each.

Published by Rand School, 7 East 15th St., N. Y.
Arthur Ransome, Open Letter to America, 5 cents.

A. R. Williams, The Bolsheviks and the Soviets, 10 cents.
Lenin, N., The Soviets at Work, 25 cents.

Published by the Socialist Publication Society, 243 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

One Year of Revolution, 15 cents.
Price, M. P., The Soviet, the Terror, and Intervention, 10 cents.
Price, M. P., The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia, 10 cents.
Radek and Ransome on Russia, 5 cents.
Trotzky, Leon, From October to Brest-Litovsk, 35 cents.
Lenin, N., The State and Revolution, 50 cents.
Educational Decrees and other Educational Documents of the Soviet Government, 25 Cents.

Published by the Dial, 152 West 13th St., N. Y.
A Voice Out of Russia, 10 cents.

Published by the People's Institute, 1256 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Trotzky, Leon, What is a Peace Program? 5 cents.

Lenin, N., Lessons of the Revolution, 10 cents.

Books

E. A. Ross, Russia in Upheaval.
Bryant, Louise, Six Red Months in Russia.
Beattie, Bessie, The Red Heart of Russia.
Reed, John, Ten Days That Shook the World.
Lenin and Trotzky, The Proletarian Revolution in Russia (published by the Revolutionary Age, 885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.).
Various Soviet Authorities, A Year of Proletarian Dictatorship (published by the N. Y. Communist, 43 West 29th St., New York, N. Y.).

Articles

"The Liberator," November, December, 1918; January to May, 1919.
"The Survey," February 1, 1919.
"The Public," January 25, 1919.
"The Intercollegiate Socialist," February-March, 1919.
"The Class Struggle," all issues since beginning of publication in June, 1917.
"The Metropolitan Magazine," June, 1919.
"The Revolutionary Age," Boston; most of the issues since beginning publication in November, 1918.
"The New York Communist," No. 1-5, 1919.
"Hearst's Magazine," June, 1919.

Soviet Russia

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

Published by the

Russian Soviet Government Bureau

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

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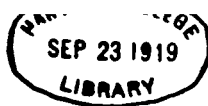
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SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

Vol. I.

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No. 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorials	1	Railway and Transportation Notes	11
Government by the People	2	Will They Dare Treat with Koltchak? from <i>L'Humanité</i>	12
In the Name of Democracy, by M. Zippin	3	In Petrograd Now, from <i>Le Populaire</i>	12
Atrocities in Siberia and European Russia	6	Literacy in Russia	13
Opportunities for Trade with Russia, Address by S. Nuorteva	9	Either War or Peace	14
Trade between Russia and Sweden—Food Production	10	Speeches at the Opening of a Workers' Faculty	15

In the British House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law last week stated that Koltchak's advance had been definitely checked and that it "would be very unwise to encourage any exaggerated hopes in that quarter."

This ends one of the biggest bluffs ever attempted by the Russian counter-revolutionists in their perpetual war of lies against Soviet Russia and against the right of the Allied nations to determine their policy toward Russia on the basis of actual facts.

There have been many campaigns of a similar nature inaugurated at times when the Allies felt inclined to deal with Russia as she actually is. A veritable deluge of absolutely false tales, purporting to show that the counter-revolutionists were just about to gain a decisive victory over the Soviet, was started. Lacking reliable channels of information of their own and wishing to believe stories of this character, the Allies always succumbed to the "lie drive." Where it did not result in concessions and privileges granted to counter-revolutionists, it at any rate was sufficient to thwart for the time being such negotiations as had been already decided upon. During the past four months there have been three definite instances of such character. The first appeared in connection with the invitation to the Princes Island Conference. The second took place at the time of the proposition to send supplies to Russia through a neutral commission headed by Fridtjof Nansen. The third is the one mentioned in the above paragraphs.

A recent dispatch to the "Chicago Daily News" from their correspondent in Russia reveals the reason for this last campaign, which in strength and persistence outdid all previous records. It seems that the Paris Conference sent an armistice proposition to Moscow which the Soviet government accepted. We find now that the lie drive was successful in as far as it really seems to have prevented the further development of this interesting proposal. The full text of this proposition will be printed in the next issue of "Soviet Russia".

Mr. Bonar Law is now willing to admit that

Koltchak's advance has been checked. Dispatches printed in the daily press make it clear that Koltchak not only is checked, but that his forces simply are routed. It is admitted that Koltchak lost about the middle of May 50,000 prisoners and huge amounts of war materials. In as much as we know from experience that non-socialist newspaper correspondents never exaggerate the extent of Soviet victories we may take the above statement for granted. Koltchak's troops at the Ural front never were claimed to be more than 100,000 strong. We, therefore, may well concur in Mr. Bonar Law's conclusion that it is very inadvisable to encourage extravagant hopes from Koltchak's quarters.

* * *

Nevertheless the campaign for Koltchak's recognition goes merrily on. Full-page advertisements in all the big papers of the United States are printed by the so-called "Russian Information Bureau," a branch of the so-called Russian Embassy in Washington. This advertising campaign, which costs hundreds of thousands of dollars advanced by mysterious sources, is a desperate effort to show that "democratic elements" in Russia support the recognition of Koltchak. It was a part of the "lie drive" mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs to show "evidence" of such support from Russian "democratic organizations." So, for example, some persons in New York had the brazenness to speak in the name of twenty million Russian co-operators, alleging that such co-operators all were in favor of the recognition of Koltchak. It may, however, interest the public to know that the gentlemen who speak in these page advertisements in the name of Russian co-operators have absolutely no authority to speak for the bulk of the Russian co-operators who are in European Russia, and that their authority to speak for the Siberian co-operators is very doubtful, to say the least.

The co-operative movement in Central European Russia has now acquired a purely labor character and fully supports the Soviet Government. It goes

without saying that the gentlemen who speak in full-page advertisements in the name of co-operation in Siberia, have nothing in common with those millions of Russian co-operators who hate Koltchak and the Czarist regime which he is trying to re-establish.

The full-page advertisement of Koltchak's adherents also mention Socialist groups in Siberia as favorable to Koltchak rule. But to any one following events in Russia closely it is clear that the authors of this advertisement are juggling with the words "Socialist groups." Those whom they designate as Socialists are renegades to the basic principles of Socialism, deserters of the Russian workers' and peasants' cause—mere refuse, cast aside by the powerful movement of a people sacrificing its life in the rebuilding of Russia upon a Socialist basis.

Behind Koltchak in Russia there stand only the ultra-monarchists and reactionaries. He is rejected even by elements whom no one can suspect of sympathizing with the Soviets. And surely it is a bad service which is now being rendered to the American people by the American press, in opening its columns to an organized campaign that aims to reestablish in Russia the bloody rule of the knout.

* * *

Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech before the House of Commons of Britain, some time ago denied that any peace propositions have been made to the Soviet Government or that any peace propositions have been received from Russia. The correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News" who is responsible for the publication of the proposition, categorically states that it was brought to Russia by Mr. William Bullitt on behalf of President Wilson and Lloyd George. On the other hand the suggestion has been made that the proposition is the one which was sent by Lenine to the Peace Conference at Paris.

Whoever may be the author of this proposition, there seems to be no doubt—in view of the fact that the correspondent of the Chicago Daily News is cabling the text of the propositions from Soviet Russia with the assurance that it has been accepted by the Soviet Government, that it contains terms on which the Soviet Government is ready to make peace with its opponents and to establish relations with the rest of the world. There is nothing in the propositions which ought not to be accepted by the Allies and the United States. It safeguards Allied economic interests in Russia. It also does away with the only plausible argument advanced by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons against peace with the Soviets, when he said that the Allies are in duty bound to protect against the revenge of the Russian workers those counter-revolutionists who at the instigation of Britain have been carrying on a war against Soviet Russia. Guaranteeing general political amnesty to all its opponents and consenting to discuss the claims of various "governments" supported by the Allies to the territory which actually in their hands, the Soviet Government certainly gives evidence of a

far-reaching desire peaceably to solve the problem of Russia's foreign relations.

We recommend the above-mentioned propositions to the careful consideration of all those who have been under the impression that there is no way of coming to terms with the Russian Soviets.

Government by the People.

One of the pet arguments of the enemies of the Soviet Republic of Russia in their attempt to veil the real reason for their hostility toward the Soviet Republic—their desire to crush the revolution and to re-establish the old order—is the assertion that the Soviet order is not democratic, that it is a rule of the minority. Coming from the over-night converts to "democracy," the Koltchaks, Sazonoffs and Lvoffs, this argument would hardly deserve any refutation, were it not for the blockade of news and the barrage of lies which make Russia a land of mystery to the average citizen of the Western countries. An analysis of the basic and essential features of the Soviet order would prove that under the Soviets the rule of the majority becomes for the first time in the history of the world an actual fact. In this article, however, we intend merely to call attention to one feature of the work of the Soviet Government, which should prove to all thoughtful persons its truly democratic character.

All governments representing and defending the interests of minorities necessarily shroud their work in secrecy. This is true not only of their foreign policies—secret diplomacy has become a by-word—but also of their internal policies. The will of the ruling minority is imposed on the majority through a corrupt and servile bureaucracy. But none of these faults can be attributed to the Soviet Government of Russia. Its work is carried on in the open. One of its first acts was the publication of the secret treaties concluded by the Government of the Tsar and closely guarded by the Lvoff and Kerensky Governments. The Soviet Government has kept the people constantly informed of its negotiations with foreign Governments, making public every note sent by any foreign Government.

But the internal work is of much greater significance. Coming into power in October, 1917, the Soviet Government encountered a bureaucratic machine which was absolutely unfit to share in the work of Socialist reconstruction. It did not create a new bureaucracy, but, instead, rallied the popular organizations to this colossal task. The organization of production and distribution and of the defense of the Soviet Republic against internal and external attacks was accomplished through the efforts of local Soviets, workers' control committees, co-operative societies, professional unions, and through the village committees of the poor—all of which are in close contact with the masses of

the people. The Council of People's Commissaires is, therefore, only a co-ordinating centre. Its plans and policies must be approved by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which meets at least twice a year, and by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, which is the supreme governing power during the intervals. But even with their approval no important step could be carried out without popular support.

The Soviet Government inherited from the old régime an exhausted, disorganized, bankrupt country. The Soviet Government knew that only the

energetic activity of the masses of the people could save Russia, and it tried to attract ever greater numbers of workers and peasants to the work of reconstruction. It aroused and is arousing new sections of workers and peasants to active participation in the Government of the country.

This alone can explain the astonishing power of resistance that was displayed by Soviet Russia during the last year and a half, surrounded, as it was, by enemies on all sides. For the workers and peasants of Russia know that the Soviet Government not only represents them and defends their interests, but that it actually governs *through* them.

In the Name of Democracy

By Max M. Zippin

In April this year there appeared in the newspapers an Associated Press dispatch from Siberia stating that at one place in the Amur region the American soldiers had refused to take part in some kind of an attack on the Bolsheviki there, and that the Japanese High Command had, therefore, censured the American military unit. Further details of this affair revealed the fact that the American Commander-in-Chief in Siberia, General Graves, upheld the particular American military unit in its refusal to obey the orders of the Japanese Commander, as the attack was made not on Bolsheviki, but on a civil population who had revolted against maltreatments and terrorism at the hands of the Koltchak forces. The Japanese Government, on the other hand, as related in press dispatches, has insisted to the last that the action of the Americans was incorrect, that the American soldiers had no right to disobey the orders of the Japanese Commander, who had been selected as Chief on that front, and that a Japanese regiment was completely annihilated by the Bolsheviki there as a result of this refusal to fight by the Americans.

What, then, did happen there?

The following, being true translations from official communiqués of the Japanese Military Staff at Blagovieshchensk, and quotations from a correspondence that appeared in a "highly respectable" Russian newspaper, a Cadet newspaper, tell the whole grim story. The Americans were right. It was not an act of war against the "common enemy," the Bolsheviki. It was a cold-blooded and complete extermination of one of the richest and most populous villages in the Amur region, Ivanovka, a village inhabited, at the time of this barbarous deed, only by old men, women and children, and the partial annihilation of two other villages in the same neighborhood. Furthermore, this appalling act of extermination of a peaceful and helpless population was a sort of finishing touch to a series of acts of ravage, plunder, persecution, and inquisition, perpetrated over a long period in the villages of Amur by bands of nomadic murderers and degenerated Cossacks in the employ of Koltchak, acts

that were, if not actually sanctioned by the Allies, at any rate tolerated by them.

The Japanese version of this black deed is related in an official announcement that appeared in the "Priamurya" of Blagovieshchensk, apparently an official organ of the Japanese Government, dated March 28. The announcement is headlined "The Extermination of the Church-Village (Sielo) of Ivanovka." A second headline, in parenthesis, reads: "A Communication from the Japanese Military Staff at Blagovieshchensk."

It is given here in true translation, and whatever polish and finish of the sentences, as well as coherence of the whole composition there are, are all—Japanese.

The Communication follows:

"When the Japanese High Command of the division quartered at the Station of Bachkariievo learned of the appearance of Bolshevik bands at the village of Ivanovka, a big detachment, consisting of all arms, was speedily despatched to that region from Bachkariievo, carrying with it four cannons and several machine guns. On March 22nd this detachment passed "Sredie Bieloe," and in the evening of the same date reached Ivanovka. The Bolsheviki, who were at that time at Ivanovka, met the Japanese detachment with a strong fire, in answer to which the Commander of the Japanese detachment ordered to open cannon-fire against the Reds, who had ambushed themselves there. After several houses had been set on fire by the shells, and the Reds were in confusion, the infantry was ordered to storm the village, both for the purpose of occupying the village and of driving the Reds from it. The infantry, with their energetic assault, so completely surprised the Reds, that they took to flight and left behind them on the streets about one hundred killed. After occupying Ivanovka and convincing themselves of the fact that the Reds had abandoned the village, the Japanese detachment left Ivanovka. When they left, the village was still on fire.

"Another mixed detachment of Japanese and Cossacks from Blagovieshchensk arrived at the village of Tambovka on March 22nd, where it met with Red scouts who, at the approach of the Cossack-Japanese detachment, left in a hurry and retreated to the village of Andrievka. But a part of the detachment of the Reds, from 20 to 30 men in number, barricaded themselves in six houses, and opened fire on the Japanese-Cossack unit. A heavy machine gun and rifle fire was immediately opened on the Reds; the houses were then surrounded and set on fire. All the Bolsheviks that had ambushed themselves in the houses were annihilated. The Japanese-Cossack unit later advanced on Andrievka and there the same story as in Tambovka repeated itself. The Reds fled, but from 20 to 30 of them, barricading themselves in seven houses, opened fire. These houses, as in Tambovka, were surrounded and set on fire, and the Bolsheviks that were in them perished.

"After that the Japanese-Cossack detachment again set out for Ivanovka, on the trail of the fleeing Reds.

"When, on March 23rd, the Japanese-Cossack detachment approached Ivanovka, nearly half of this village had been destroyed by fire, and many houses were still burning; but this did not disturb the Bolsheviks, who, ambushing themselves among the charred ruins and in the yet remaining houses, offered stubborn resistance to the Japanese-Cossack detachment. Only after a prolonged firing from machine guns by the Japanese-Cossack unit were the Reds forced to flee from Ivanovka in great confusion.

"The Reds left behind them about 30 men killed. Nevertheless, a part of them remained in the village, and, as was the case in Tambovka and Andrievka, a volley of shells from the houses were hailing on the heads of the Cossack-Japanese detachment. The shooting was carried on from windows and yards, and when houses were surrounded and the Cossacks or the Japanese entered into them, they were met by shots from cellars or other hiding places in the interior of the dwellings.

"All such houses were promptly set on fire and the Bolsheviks secreted there were annihilated. Twenty Reds were arrested, including ex-lieutenant Ivanov, and all their leaders. After an examination all the arrested Reds were shot.

"In the battle at Ivanovka most energetic action was displayed by the Cossack detachment. The big church-village of Ivanovka exhibits now the spectacle of heaps of ashes and ruins. After the last battle hardly 200 houses remained there, and those only on the outskirts. According to private information the big village school, the building of the Volost Zemstvo, the church house, the hospital, and other big buildings were razed to the ground in this conflagration.

"The Japanese Commander, in announcing such a sorrowful occurrence as the extermination of the

big village of Ivanovka, declares at the same time, that he has no desire whatsoever to burn down or destroy the property of the peasants in those villages not allied with the Bolsheviks. But in view of the hard struggle against the Bolsheviks, resulting as it does, from the fact that the peasants do not only not take independent action against the Bolsheviks, but, on the contrary, are helping them in many ways, giving them shelter and concealing them, the Japanese Commander will in the future act as ruthlessly as in the case of Ivanovka, with all those villages, where the Bolsheviks may find hospitality or sympathy, and from which the Bolsheviks may not be delivered to the authorities or arrested by the populations themselves.

"Hard as it is to apply such measures, the Japanese Command will not hesitate to do so, seeing as it does in this procedure a very severe, but absolutely necessary means of rooting out Bolshevism. The Japanese Command announced this fact to the population as long as a month ago, and the peasants of Ivanovka should have anticipated these results when they became guilty of a sympathetic attitude towards the Bolsheviks, and when they gave shelter to the latter. Let the sad fate that has befallen the village of Ivanovka serve as a warning to all the other villages, and they will be more prudent and cautious than Ivanovka."

That the Japanese Command had given warning to the Amur peasant population, and predicted this horrible and base total destruction and annihilation of one of the largest, richest and most advanced villages in the Amur region—population and all—and the partial extermination of two other villages, is true. And, before we give the true story of this unheard-of act of brutality, which beggars description, we shall quote in full this warning, especially as the Japanese Commander confirms, by his own words, that which was known to every one of us all the time, namely: that the "saviors" of Russia by way of Siberia have never had the masses of the people with them, save a few negligible bands of degenerates, and these mostly half-witted Buryats, Mongols, etc., and that Koltchak would not last a day were it not for the "brave" Japanese, and other Allies.

The warning of the Japanese High Command, the true translation of which follows, had appeared in the "Amur Echo" of Blagovieshchensk, on March 22nd.

The warning reads:

"For some time there have appeared in the villages of the region bands of red army-Bolsheviks, who agitate the populace against the existing government, as well as against the Japanese regiments that are stationed in the region. At the same time these bands today go with the Bolsheviks, and tomorrow against them; today serve in the Red Army and tomorrow fight against the Reds. Under these circumstances the Japanese regiments are totally at a loss to distinguish

between Bolsheviks and non-Bolsheviks, and are unable to establish in the region the order necessary for peaceful life and work.

"Finding such a situation absolutely intolerable, announcement is herewith made to the whole population of the Amur region that: 1) All church villages and villages (*sielo i derevni*), independent of their size or population, in which there will be found Red Army Bolsheviks, will be set on fire and razed. 2) Church-Villages and villages in which the populations, of their own accord, will rise against the Red Army Bolsheviks and will banish them, will be spared and not molested by the regiments. 3) In the burned down church-villages the women, children, and the old that are unable to bear arms, will find shelter and help at the hands of the Japanese regiments. 4) Whenever there appear in the villages or church-villages Bolsheviks Red Army men, or agitators, the populations are advised to arrest all their leaders and agitators and promptly inform the Japanese Staff at Blagovieshchensk of the fact, which will take such measures as are needed for the annihilation of the Red Army men and for again installing order.

"Signed: The Commander of the Japanese armies in the Amur region, Major-General Yamada."

So the populations of the devastated villages did get a "fair" warning from the Japanese Commanders. Only it is fair to ask the Japanese Commanders, the Koltchak Cossacks and their other Allies, how and by what means the poor Ivanovka villagers were to know who in their midst were Bolsheviks and who were non-Bolsheviks, since the "saviors" of Russia themselves confess their total inability to distinguish between them? Also, why were not the women, the old, and the children, who were unable to bear arms (some children, as a matter of fact, do bear arms in the Koltchak forces, being pressed into military service, as will be explained and proven on another occasion), in Ivanovka, not spared by the Japanese-Cossack regiment?

The answer is: In Ivanovka and the other two villages that were turned "into heaps of ashes and ruins," there were no Bolsheviks and Red Army men at the time the Japanese-Cossack bravados performed their black deed. And the Japanese knew it. Also the Americans. Only, while the latter refused to go so far in the "holy" war against Bolshevism, the Japanese and the Koltchaks showed no such reluctance.

What precipitated this bloody Japanese-Koltchak orgy, and what actually took place there, is told in a correspondence of the Harbin "Novosty Zhizni" of April 26, a paper that is the organ of the Cadet party, the correspondent signing his name, for obvious reasons, with a simple "B."

It appears from this correspondence that trouble was brewing in the Amur region for a considerable time as a direct result of a whole series of robberies,

floggings, assaults, requisitions, and other terrorist acts, committed against the peasants by the Koltchak execution detachment, combined with the enforced mobilization against which the peasant population vehemently protested. This terrorism raged for many months, and things came to such a point, that the peasants were compelled to organize for self-defense. The leaders of the Zemstvo tried mediation, but they were flogged by their brutal "saviors," and this resulted in the peasants losing whatever little respect there was left in them for the Zemstvos, and, on the other hand, in kindling more fiercely the fire of protest that was burning in them.

The monarchists meanwhile tried their best to drag in the Allies into this "controversy" and the old system of lie-spreading and provocation was resorted to by them. On the one hand, all kinds of exciting leaflets were spread among the populace, leaflets couched in such language as could not come from the mouths of Bolsheviks, while, on the other hand, the Japanese High Command was constantly "notified" of revolts in villages, where only the helpless women, children and the old were left. Here is one instance. A hurry call was sent on February 8th by representatives of the Koltchak regime to the Japanese, stating that 90 Russian officers had been executed by the Bolsheviks at some place near the railroad station of Tigda, while, as a matter of fact 30 Letts, that had organized themselves for the purpose of joining their national volunteer organization, organized with the permission of the Allies, themselves pro-Allies and anti-Bolsheviks, had been executed at that place in the most cowardly manner by the Cossacks.

Of course, there were battles between the Koltchak-Allied forces in the Amur region. They have continued there since the Allies have taken it upon themselves to save the Russians from—themselves, since their Soviets are representative of 95 per cent of themselves, and they will continue as long as the Russian soil is not freed from all the foreign enemies, outside and inside. But Ivanovka and the other villages were not involved in these battles, as it is the custom, or rather the strategy, of the Red Army in Siberia never to clash with the Koltchak-Allied forces at or even near villages, in order to avoid the shedding of innocent blood. A rather stubborn fight went on for about two months near the railroad station of Bachkariyev, the Bolsheviks being helped by many "deserters" from the Koltchak "loyal" army; deserters from the military point of view only, since one would hardly designate as "deserters" men that were mobilized against their own will, by forces that are their worst enemies, that treat them as enemies, killing, flogging, arresting, burning alive those they can lay hands on, and, above all, by means that are as inhuman as they are indescribable.

In this battle the Japanese-Koltchak forces, under the command of the Japanese, were beaten several times. The Bolsheviks, by avoiding an open fight with the enemy, at one time surrounded a large enemy detachment and practically annihilated it.

At any rate they have shown, and are still showing the most remarkable resistance.

But there was no battle at or near Ivanovka. And there were no Bolsheviks, in fact no men able to bear arms, in the village, when it was attacked by the Japanese-Cossack forces and turned into "heaps of ashes and ruins."

"At one time," writes B., "a rumor was spread (which later proved to be a barren provocation) that in the village of Ivanovka there were Reds in hiding. A small Japanese detachment was sent there with the result that several peasants were arrested and, as was revealed later, executed.

"But two days later a large Japanese regiment came, and, nearing the village, opened artillery fire. The old men and women, panic-stricken, fled, looking for safety in the open fields, but there a Russian Cossack detachment trapped them and, as was officially announced, "valiantly exterminated the retreating Bolsheviks." Zemstvo teacher refugees afterwards told in the office of the Zemstvo newspaper the following story:

"No one ever suspected that such a brutal vengeance was awaiting the village, since the provocative rumors of the Bolsheviks hiding there were proven to be false. Besides, when the cannonade started, only the old, the women, and the children remained there. The children were in the schools at that time and, naturally, the classes were promptly dismissed. But no sooner had the children appeared in the streets, than a hellish fire of machine guns was opened on them, and in their terrible fright the children ran into the

shells and into the fire, and many of them perished. Over six-hundred houses were totally destroyed by fire and shell, among them the best buildings, including the large vocational school, with all its shops and materials. As to the number of killed and maimed, no one can yet tell it."

There you have it: the story of the glorious and valiant fights the Allies are conducting against the Bolsheviks in Siberia. That the Americans did not participate in this cowardly extermination of innocent Russian children and old people, is, of course, praiseworthy. But American money furnished the shells that killed off the school children of Ivanovka as if they were rats. As a matter of fact, American shells did it. And American soldiers were and still are patrolling the railroads, killing off those Russians that would stop the transportation of the hellish materials that are destroying their wives and children, their parents and grandparents. And in itself the presence of American troops and officers there, the moral side of it, puts the responsibility of these outrageous black deeds of the Japanese-Koltchaks at the door of democratic America.

There is much more to be said about the Japanese and their acts and aims in Siberia. As a matter of fact, the Russian Far East and a great part of Eastern Siberia is, as a result of this absurd and criminal intervention, delivered—territory, population, and all—to the Japanese by the Koltchak forces.

There is much more to be said about the Japanese-Koltchak alliance in Siberia, but we shall return to this subject in the near future.

White Terror in Siberia and European Russia

(We can give no better support to Mr. Zippin's material than this little collection of authentic accounts, which we shall supplement from time to time.)

"Vsegda Vpered" (Always Forward), a Menshevik organ, February 15th, 1919:

A comrade who has just arrived from Siberia and had left Omsk at the end of December, gives some details of the state of affairs in Koltchak's satrapy. White Terror is rampant not only in the towns, but also in the rural districts. Entire villages are razed to the ground by artillery fire. Wholesale floggings take place. In the county of Altai the inhabitants of three whole districts have been flogged. In the towns hooliganism and robberies are the order of the day. In Omsk itself it is risky to go out after 5 p. m. At the front serious disorganization has been noticeable in the ranks of Koltchak's army. Soldiers desert at every opportunity and have to be driven into battle by their officers, who follow the attacking forces, armed with hand grenades. The emigrés from Soviet Russia support the dictatorship of Koltchak much more than the local Siberian bourgeoisie. Of the local groups, it is the co-operators who have taken up their stand with Koltchak. However, it appears that these counter-revolutionary tendencies, which exceed even those

of the Cadets, emanate from the "intelligentsia" at the head of the Co-operative Societies and from the business managers and commercial agents. But the great mass of the peasants in the Co-operative Union protests energetically against the policy of those at the head of affairs.

Quite lately a certain veering round towards liberal ideas has been noticeable in Koltchak's policy. At the demand of the Orenburg and Ural Cossacks, Koltchak has made a statement expressing his willingness to call a "National Assembly." In Omsk preliminary censorship has been abolished; however, the editors have been threatened with penalties should they "overstep the bounds." Municipal elections have been announced based on the new law, which confers the franchise at the age of 25 on persons who can read and write. The elections will not be based on proportional representation, and an absolute majority is required. With reference to the letter of the Siberian Bolshevik Boris, which has appeared in the press, a comrade who is a prominent party worker and recently arrived here, has expressed his ignorance of any agreement be-

tween the Siberian Bolsheviks and our party. Nearly everywhere the Social-Democratic Party organizations are driven underground.

* * *

"Izvestia" (Organ of the Central Executive Committee), February 11th, 1919:

It is reported from Krasnoiarsk that public opinion has been aroused by the news of the execution of the Bolsheviks Weindaum and Parazovski. It is well known that the community was on the side of the executed men and that a petition had been presented to the Siberian executioner, General Haide, in favor of commuting the sentence. As the latter treats public opinion with contempt, the death sentence was carried out.

* * *

Ufa, February 8.—"Narodnaia Sibir" (People's Siberia) reports that in the county of Ienisseisk the workers and peasants are rising, and that this movement is spreading to the Nizhneudinski district (county Irkutsk). The base of the rising is Krasnoiarsk. The punitive divisions dispatched by Koltchak's staff to capture deserters only give more impetus to the rising. These divisions behave in a disorderly manner; they flog the peasants, outrage the women and rob the people of their possessions.

* * *

Ufa, February 8.—In the night of January 27th to 28th, the soldiers of the "People's Army" in the village and district of Novotrepzsk mutinied. The mutineers comprised the 47th Taganski regiment and the 45th regiment of sharpshooters (strelki). The ringleader was a sub-lieutenant whose identity has not yet been established. The mutiny was preceded by a meeting when our proclamations were read from a platform. The soldiers threw down their rifles and tore off officers' epaulets. This outbreak lasted all night. In order to suppress the rising, the General Staff of the "People's Army" sent two armored trains, two companies of horse, a Cossack regiment and flamethrowers. The mutineers were removed to the rear. Thanks to this incident we have occupied Karganka-Troaitzkoie.

The following items are, in each case, taken from the newspaper indicated at the head of the item.

No. 229, "Izvestia," October 20th, 1918.

THE RESTORATION OF THE OLD REGIME

Rostov-on-Don, October 17.—The Rostov prison contains 1,000 persons, of whom the majority are workers. The old detective force and the gendarmes have been re-established.

No. 245, "Izvestia," November 10th, 1918.

COSSACK VENGEANCE

Voronezh Govt., November 9.—At the stations of Kagalnik, Batisk, and Koysoog, and in the city of Azov, the Cossack bands hanged old men, whose sons went with the Red Army. Their bodies were hanging for three days, as the Cossacks did not allow any one to bury them.

No. 270, "Izvestia," December 10th, 1918.

OUTRAGES IN THE MINES

Kursk, December 7.—From Almaznaya it is reported that in the Briansk mines 52 workers were flogged there by the officers of the volunteer army. The flogging was done with ramrods. The workers were put to work under a threat of being shot.

No. 267, "Izvestia," December 6th, 1918.

WHITE TERROR

Kursk, December 4.—Order No. 1 from Uzovka to the population of that town has been received here. The "order" contains telegrams from the commandant of the Moscow Mining District, in which he prescribes the following: 1. I forbid arrests of workers; they must be shot or hanged; 2. those workers who have already been arrested must be hanged on the main street and their bodies kept there for three days.

No. 265, "Izvestia," December 4th, 1918.

COSSACK ATROCITIES IN THE DONETZ BASIN

Voronezh, Dec. 2.—A comrade who has arrived from Uzovka says: The Ensign Abramoff, who expected an uprising of workers in the Donetz Basin, made public the following telegram from Denikin: "I command you to hang every tenth man of the arrested workers and to keep their bodies on the scaffolds for three days." The scaffolds are placed on the main streets. According to the comrade's statement, the streets are littered with numerous bodies.

No. 58, "Evening Izvestia," September 26th, 1918.

THEIR ATROCITIES

Voronezh, September 25.—The Chairman of the Provincial Executive Committee, Comrade Vrachev, who has just returned from the Southern front with our correspondent, relates that the Cossacks inscribe on the bodies of the Red Guards, who are taken prisoners, the words: "Land and Freedom." The dead Cossacks of the "special division" have the following inscription on their hats: "Death to the Red Army."

No. 238, "Izvestia," October 31, 1918.

DISORDERLINESS OF THE KRASNOFF SOLDIERS

When the Soviet troops were advancing towards Kalatch the Krasnoff bands beat up all the disobedient Cossacks and sacked to the cellars the poorest cottages of the toiling elements, but cruelest of all was their treatment of the toiling railroad workers; they robbed them of everything and beat with rifle-butts not only the adults, but children as well.

No. 238, "The Voice of the Toiling Peasantry," October 5th, 1918.

A STUPID VENGEANCE

Borisoglebsk, October 30.—In the regions occupied by Krasnoff's troops those who served the

Soviet Government and the peasants who supported it were driven out of the villages and their property has been confiscated. The Soviet employes, especially the military employes, were shot. The poor peasants, who could not pay ransom to the cossacks, had to give up their horses and wagons for transporting the tilling units from one front to another.

No. 267, "Izvestia," December 6th, 1918.

MARAUDERS

Borisogliebsk, December 3.—According to communications received here, the Krasnoff bands remove the clothes of the Red Guards and give them instead rags with which to cover their bodies.

No. 16, "Volya Trooda," October 3rd, 1918.

THE WHITE TERROR

Ekaterinodar, September 29.—The white terror in Ekaterinodar during the past two weeks has reached enormous dimensions. "The authorities" decided that shooting was not a sufficiently frightful measure. And so the white guards do not shoot prisoners any longer, they hang them on gallows placed on a prominent place on the banks of the Kuban. Moreover, the method of slashing the Red Guards with swords is used extensively. The officers declare publicly that they will not waste cartridges for killing the "soviet swine." The indignation of the workers who were left in the city is growing daily. The underground communistic organizations which have been revived are developing great activity.

No. 81, "The Red Army," September 25th, 1918.

PROMISES OF MERCY

Persons who have arrived in the city of Kamishing from the Don region give details of the treacherous murder committed by the Krasnoff soldiers. The revolutionary squad of the cossack Podtelkoff (who has been elected chairman of the Military-Revolutionary Committee for his struggle with the Kaledin bands), escaping from the hands of the German-Ruthenian bands, stopped over night at the Ponomarevos farm. At night the squad was surrounded by the White Guard bands, who sent delegates to them with the offer to surrender their ammunition. The commanding officer of the White Guards, Spiridonoff, promised that the Bolsheviks would be spared upon surrendering their ammunition. Notwithstanding the persuasions of Comrade Podtelkov, the overconfident fellows yielded. The ammunition was surrendered . . . and after that all of them were shot. The commanding officers, Comrade Podtelkov and Comrade Krivoshlikoff, were the last ones to be shot.

No. 166, "Izvestia," August 6th, 1918.

IN THE DONETZ BASIN

Voronezh, August 4.—The attitude of the Ukrainian White Guard towards the population of the

Donetz region is extremely cruel. Shootings, arrests and raids against the workers and their families are of frequent occurrence. The shooting is done by the so-called "free cossacks," composed of the sons of landowners. Uprisings take place very often. The population is passionately longing for a change. Every day the number of Soviet sympathizers is increasing.

No. 245, "Izvestia," November 10th, 1918.

THE SHOOTING OF PRISONERS

Voronezh, November 8.—Wounded Red Guards, who have arrived from the southern front, testify that the cossacks determine whether a Red Guard belongs to the communistic party or not by the presence of a cross on his person. "If he does not wear a cross, he must be a communist," say the cossacks, and shoot on the spot those who have no cross. The others are sent to work in the mines.

No. 18, "Volya Truda," October 5th, 1918.

WHITE TERROR IN NOVOROSSYISK

"The Kursk Biednota" publishes a description of the taking of Novorossyisk by the White Guards, as told by eye-witnesses. All the Soviets of the Kuban region, about 50 to 60 in number, were concentrated in Novorossyisk. The commandant of the city, a former army officer, announced that Denikin's army was approaching, but deliberately concealed the worst part of the truth. Three days before the fall of the city, he issued an order that a list of all persons having Soviet certificates should be taken. Many fell into this trap. Later on all the Soviet workers were rounded up with this list. There were in the city about 2,000 sailors, who were also rounded up and stripped of their clothing, and whenever any tattooing was discovered on their bodies, they were immediately shot. Many commissars committed suicide, as for instance the Commissar of Justice, and others. There were in the city about 8,000 wounded Red Guards. The White Guards, who entered the hospital, not wishing to "unnerve" the population with the noise of the shooting, began to despatch the wounded with bayonets and swords, put them into freight cars, carried them out of the city and buried them. With regard to the Chinese who had served in the international division, Denikin issued the following order: "All Chinamen, who have for some reason or other remained in Novorossyisk, must be tried by court-martial." They were rounded up, compelled to dig their own graves, and then shot. The treatment of the workers was still more cruel. Altogether about 13,000 men were killed. Having been satiated finally with these murders, Denikin issued an order that "all wounded Red Guards who came to him with an acknowledgment of their sins, might go home after having received a pass." About 200 of these reported to him, but never reached their homes. At the "Tunnelnaya" station they were taken off the trains and shot.

Trade Possibilities in Soviet Russia.

Speech by Mr. S. Nuorteva at the Knit Goods Manufacturers' Convention in Philadelphia,
June 4th

Russia is today the biggest potential market for American products. In the year 1913 the imports to Russia from all countries amounted to 1,374 million rubles, of which the United States secured 79.1 million rubles. Five years of war and revolution have, on the one hand, devastated Russia's own means of production, and, on the other hand, the social revolution which has taken place in Russia has elevated the people to a relative standard of living where the broad masses of the people are apt to require more manufactured products than they ever used before. It is therefore not an exaggeration to say that if trade were opened today with European Russia, where the bulk of the population of Russia lives, Russia would import manufactured products for at least one billion and a half of dollars a year.

On the other hand, in as far as I am able to judge the situation in the United States, this country needs a market of an absorbing capacity equal to that of Russia, and such a market cannot be found anywhere else. The industrial countries of Europe are taking vigorous steps to curtail their imports in order to protect their own industries. Before the world war American exports of domestic merchandise averaged \$2,379,000,000 (for the fiscal year 1913-1914). During the war domestic exports reached the average sum of \$6,037,000,000 (for the fiscal year 1917-1918). American exports are still extremely voluminous—yet it must be understood that the amount of manufactured products exported to Europe is rapidly decreasing. The bulk of the present exports to Europe represents foodstuffs. Europe is prepared to go on without American manufactured articles. American manufacturers thus are confronted with the possibility that the exports from America may decrease not only to the standard prevailing before the war but to a still lower level. In the South American market America will meet keen competition on the part of European industrial countries, and in China, and in Asia, in general, Japan seems ready to retain her commercial supremacy achieved during the war.

Russia, on the other hand, is clamoring for American products, and an impartial investigation of the situation there will show that she is not only ready to absorb products but that she is able to make better terms of payment than could be obtained anywhere else under present conditions.

Yet, somehow, it is not permitted at this time to establish trade relations with all Russia. Goods are being exported to some Siberian and Arctic ports—but the trouble is that in those parts of Russia there are few people to use the goods. Notwithstanding the popular opinion that the Siberian and the Arctic regions of Russia, which are now occupied by forces hostile to the entrenched authorities in

European Russia, are the only territories in which law and order prevail, the conditions in these very parts are so unsettled and so confused that regular trade can be kept up only with the greatest difficulty. On the other hand, European Russia, which is under the control of the Russian Soviet Government and comprises a population of over one hundred million people, is, contrary to many reports, fully ready for orderly relations with the rest of the world. I am not here to indulge in political propaganda and do not want to speak on the merits or the demerits of the social order prevailing in European Russia. I only want to state as a fact that Soviet Russia is able and prepared to carry on a vast amount of trade with foreign countries and to pay for her purchases in a satisfactory manner.

The impression is being created that the social order now prevailing in European Russia may change shortly and that therefore it is best not to consider the possibilities of trading with Soviet Russia. For over a year and a half predictions of the rapid downfall of the present regime in Russia have been made, although the prophecies have not been fulfilled. In spite of persistent reports, now being circulated again, predicting such an outcome, it is obvious that there are less prospects at this time than at any other time to create in Russia any stable government outside of the one existing in European Russia today.

It is natural that in political circles more or less indefinite speculations as to the future of Russia still prevail, but business men ought not to base their trade calculations on dreams. They should coldly, without political prejudice, consider the economic opportunities in their hands. Approaching in this common-sense light the possibilities of trade with Soviet Russia today, the following facts cannot be denied:

European Russia needs hundreds of millions of dollars worth of manufactured goods.

She is particularly eager to buy these goods from America; first, because America is politically more disinterested in Russia than any of the other great Powers, and secondly, because America is the country which best can fill Russian needs.

Soviet Russia is prepared to use a considerable part of her gold reserve to pay in cash for goods purchased in America and to overcome the difficulties created by the depreciation of Russian rubles. She has on hand great quantities of products, such as flax, hemp, hides, bristles, platinum, etc., to make up for additional credits.

The nationalization of industry and commerce in Russia, whatever one may think of it politically, presents inviting features to a foreign exporter, inasmuch as, by selling to the Russian Government, as the sole purchasing agency of Russia, the neces-

sity and the cost of finding individual purchasers in Russia is eliminated.

Russia's requirements in knit goods have been, up to now, satisfied to only a very small extent by American industry. In 1916, only \$52,000 worth of knit goods were exported to Russia. In 1917, knit goods to the value of \$96,000 were exported from the United States to Russia. Soviet Russia would today be willing to place at once orders of knit goods' manufactures of every kind, such as men's, women's and children's hosiery and underwear, to an initial amount of twenty millions of dollars (\$20,000,000), to be paid in cash as soon as the blockade against Russia should be lifted and Soviet Russia permitted to transport gold from Russia to the United States.

America can have a profitable market in Russia for the asking. It is within her reach at once.

SUNDRY INDUSTRIAL ITEMS FROM PAPERS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The electrical section of Council of Public Economy decided to establish at Petrograd a center for supplying various materials for electric works and enterprises.

A Spectrographic Institute in connection with the Petrograd glass works has been established to arrange for manufacture of optical glasses in Russia instead of importing all from abroad as was done before.

Due to interrupted railroad communications with Tsaritsyn, and to damaged oil conduits, over thirty million poods of crude oil accumulated at Crozny (northern Caucasus) about the middle of February; nearly thirteen million poods of refined benzine, one and a half million poods of mazut oil for fuel and 800,000 poods of kerosene are at the mills. By January fifth the accumulated supply of oil products on docks in various cities along the Volga equalled 21,895,000 poods of kerosene. On January 15th the supply of lubricating oils equalled four million four hundred and ninety-four thousand poods; on the same date the total supply of oil products was forty-two million eight hundred thousand poods. The General Oil Committee estimates export from Astrakhan during coming navigation season as follows: naphtha, 1,700,000 poods; mazut oil, 113,000,000; kerosene, 24,000,000; naphtha oils, 7,000,000.

FOOD PRODUCTION

The official daily paper of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and the People's Commissariats of Finance, Food, Trade and Industry, "Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn" (Economic Life), of February 26th, 1919, contains the following information on the food situation in Russia:

"According to the data of the People's Commissariat for Food, for the first third of the agricultural year 1918-1919 the Commissariat secured a stock of 53,052,168 poods of breadstuffs, whereas the maximum that the Czar's government had provided for the agricultural year 1916-1917 (first

third) was only 32,602,150 poods. Thus the Commissariat of Food succeeded in providing, under incredibly difficult conditions, 20,450,000 poods more than had the Ministry of Agriculture when putting forth its most intense efforts to secure foodstuffs. The operations by months are shown by the following figures:

August	45,859,700 pounds
September	291,123,771 pounds
October	865,721,289 pounds
November	774,996,864 pounds
December	486,934,828 pounds

These figures show a considerable decline for the month of December. This was due to intensified operations during the first four months of the year, as the result of active measures adopted by the Soviet authorities. Moreover, the decline of operations in the month of December is a regular phenomenon. Besides, snow drifts interfered very much with these operations during the present year.

FOREIGN TRADE FIGURES

The official daily of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, "Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn" (Economic Life), of February 23rd, 1919, contains the substance of a communication from Mr. Yazykov, of the Commissariat of Trade and Industry, relative to the immediate plans of the Commissariat concerning foreign trade:

"The Commissariat has in preparation a general plan for exports and imports, and is about to ship a stock of goods for export, namely, flax, hemp, furs, etc.

"Our whole foreign trade can be divided at present into two parts—first—trade with the countries beyond the boundaries of the former Russian Empire, and, second—trade with former sections of the Empire, viz., Finland, Latvia, Ukrainia, White Russia, etc. Inasmuch as the latter have now been recognized as independent governments, separate treaties are now about to be made with them. During the past year something has been done with regard to our trade with foreign nations. Up to and including December, 1918, the following merchandise was imported into Russia:

Kinds of Merchandise	Tons
Agricultural Implements.....	1,952
Machinery and Parts.....	688
Chemicals and Dyestuffs (Sweden)...	208
Coal (Germany).....	46,672

"In the course of trade negotiations since the nationalization of foreign trade, general standards of merchandise have been fixed. A museum of samples is being organized at the headquarters of the Commissariat of Trade and Industry. The Commissariat has recommended that the Supreme Council of National Economy organize a Board of Standards."

TRADE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN

The following data concerning the navigation season of 1918 have been published by the Petersburg Division of the Commissariat of Trade and Transportation:

"According to this information, 52 steamers arrived in Petersburg from Sweden. The imports from Sweden consisted mainly of agricultural machinery. The exports from Russia to Sweden consisted of flax, hemp, metallic junk, and a quantity of mineral oil. The total imports from Sweden to Petersburg during the past navigation season amounted to 212,000 poods (3,392 tons), and the exports to Sweden amounted to 121,000 poods (1,936 tons). Towards the end of the season, the arrivals of steamers from Sweden considerably increased, which was an indication of the establishment of regular trade between Russia and Sweden. Now exchanges with foreign countries have been temporarily suspended. We were in need of paper. Sweden and Finland had enormous stocks of paper which were shipped partly to Germany and partly to Southern Russia. Now Finland and Sweden are cut off from this market. Being in need of a market they offered us their paper at very reasonable prices. At the same time their fear of the Entente was so great that they applied to Great Britain for permission to trade with Russia, but the communications brought no results. Apparently they were forbidden to trade with us, and thus the opportunity for trading through Finland has vanished."

(From "Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn" (Economic Life), February 23, 1919.)

TRANSPORTATION AND MANUFACTURE

Production of locomobiles is being rushed at the Maltzov Ldinovsky mills. The Kolominsky mill is rushed with railroad orders.

A new method has been discovered for preparing flour from the roots of reeds growing in the swamps of the A strakhan region. Such flour may become a new export article as feed for cattle.

One and one-half million poods of fish await shipment on the Volga. Twenty carloads of fish are shipped daily. Eighty-six thousand pairs of felt boots have been manufactured in the province of Yaroslav during the winter.

Steps are being taken to prepare for export of large quantities of feathers and down.

No. 241, "Izvestia," November 3rd, 1918.

THE SHOOTING OF SOVIET ARMY OFFICERS

Rostov-on-Don, November 1.—The commanding officer of the "volunteer army," Denikin, ordered that all officers taken prisoner in the fight with the Soviet army, must be shot as traitors to their military duties, which forbid them to serve the disrupters of the country.

The Great Northern Railway

It is learned from the official publications of the Soviet government that the Committee on Public Works has approved a plan for a franchise to foreign capitalists for the construction of the Great Northern Route, which is to connect Ob with Murman, via Kotlas. According to the "Pravda" of February 20, 1919, this plan was criticized on the ground that it "amounts to a peaceable occupation of the North of Russia by foreign capital."

The Financial and Economic Soviet of the Committee on Public Works, however, was of the opinion that, although as a general principle construction by the government is more advantageous to the public interest than construction by private contractors, yet as a matter of practical necessity it was considered best that the construction of this road be left to private enterprise. In this case—it is thought—private enterprise has been directed into a field which cannot, at the present moment, be worked by the government directly. To quote the official report—"if the granting of this franchise is refused we shall be unable to build this road ourselves for decades; yet the road is of the utmost importance for the whole economic system of Russia." The franchise carries with it vast forest concessions in northern Russia.

The construction of the Great Northern Route is part of an extensive plan for the industrial development of northern Russia. The following is quoted from the official organ of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy, "Ekonomitcheskaya Zhizn" (Economic Life), February 26, 1919:

"The economic isolation of Soviet Russia during the past year has brought to the foreground the problem of the utilization of the natural resources of the North. A number of local organizations, public and private, have been at work on plans relating to the industrial development of the North. It should be remembered that private capital did a great deal for the scientific investigation of new fields. Nobel maintained a whole staff of geologists who worked in the field of purely scientific investigation. His example was followed by our Ural mine operators. . . . Attention must be called to the opportunity which is afforded to scientific inquiry in the constructive work of Soviet Russia. An expedition to Petchora is to leave Moscow within a few days. This expedition is sent by the Commission for the study and practical utilization of the resources of the North of Russia. . . . It consists of learned specialists and practical men who have done a great deal of work in the North. There are among them specialists in deer breeding and transportation by pack animals on the highways of the North; expert geologists, specialists in northern agriculture, and meteorologists. Everyone of the members of the expedition has a record of work in previous expeditions and scientific investigations."

(From L'Humanité, May 15, 1919.)

Will They Dare Treat With Koltchak?

For a number of days a regular newspaper campaign has been organized to prepare public opinion for the recognition of Koltchak by the Entente.

There is a persistent rumor in Paris to this effect; but we cannot believe it, although M. Pichon has committed blunder after blunder in his Russian policy, to say no worse. . . .

In an interview appearing in "Le Petit Parisien" for May 12th, Koltchak alludes to this possibility of recognition, on which subject he is moved to make the following hypocritical statements:

"As for any moral support which the Allies could give me by recognizing my government, I think *I could get along without it*. This act of the Allied powers, if desirable at all, is desirable only from the standpoint of a quieting effect produced on Russian public opinion, which is irritated by the fact that a government that groups around itself all the sane elements of the country, should not yet have been admitted to an open discussion of Russian conditions with other governments—in fact, should not, on a certain recent occasion, have been placed on an equal footing with the Bolsheviks."

Thus, Koltchak asserts that he will be able to get on very well without recognition on the part of the Entente, but he simultaneously expresses his astonishment that he has not been recognized earlier!

He has the audacity to maintain that around his government are rallied **all the sane elements** in the country.

This government is a government that resulted from the coup d'état of November 18th. It received no regular mandate from the Russian people; it has dispersed, imprisoned, and executed the members of the Constituent Assembly who had fled to Ufa after the dissolution of the Assembly by the Bolsheviks. What right has Koltchak to condemn the Bolsheviks, when he resorts to the same methods in attempting to establish a military dictatorship, in other words, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as are used by the Bolsheviks in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat? And, in this interview Koltchak does not conceal the fact that he will continue this dictatorship if he reaches Moscow . . . until such time as he may find it advisable to "carry on elections" and convoke a Constituent Assembly. In the matter of "dictatorships," the Russian people will prefer Lenin's "dictatorship" to Koltchak's.

Besides, all the Socialist organizations of Russia, even those of the Right, have not ceased, since November, to denounce all counter-revolutionary agitation, as well as the crimes of this dictator who has no other partisan than in the person of the renegade Savinkov.

To recognize Koltchak would be, on the part of the Entente, equivalent to dealing the Russian democracy a dagger-thrust in the back.

The cup is full.

Now that Spring has come, the Entente is resuming its plan of intervention which was relinquished for a moment by the Prinkipo invitation It hurls Mannerheim and Yudenitch against Petrograd, and Kolchak against Moscow. Meanwhile, President Wilson is silent, or, after the manner of Pontius Pilate, he washes his hands of the whole affair. American circles, to be sure, tell us that he has no intention to recognize Kolchak, but he is permitting France and England to feed the counter-revolutionists and to keep up the blockade of Soviet Russia.

The Socialist parties of France, Great Britain, and Italy can alone, by their concerted action, prevent their bourgeois governments from perpetrating new crimes against unhappy Russia.

Parliament interpellations are no longer of any use. We must not hesitate to resort to heroic measures, including the general strike, in order to save the Russian Revolution. All the proletarians of all countries should become thoroughly imbued with this idea: that the crushing of the Russian Revolution would be a prelude to the triumph of reaction all over Europe.—*Pierre*.

In Petrograd Now

Jean Longuet, in the *Populaire* of May 12th, gives the gist of an interview between himself and a distinguished personage belonging to one of the Entente countries, who had arrived only a few days before from Petrograd, where she had been sent by her Government on an official mission. She had been living in Russia for eighteen months. Longuet asked: "What is Petrograd like? Is it true that disorder, ruin, and desolation reign there? Are the streets deserted, the few inhabitants famished, the criminals triumphant, have the honest people left?"

The visitor replied: "*In the whole of Europe there is not at the present time a single capital where order is so perfect, and security so complete, as in Petrograd*. For months past not a rifle or revolver shot has been heard in the streets. I saw the Nevsky Prospect filled with thousands of pedestrians, of whom many were evidently people of leisure, covered with furs. On a sunny afternoon it was a very pleasant sight. The telephone works well. Much better than in Paris. The electric light is on every night. Carriages and motor-cars are running—but I suppose they belong to the Government."

"It is said that the shops are all shut?"

"In the Nevsky Prospect most of the grocers' and butchers' shops were closed, because they have been replaced by the Soviet and co-operative shops. But a number of shops containing *objets d'art*, pictures, copper goods, and Japanese articles were open, and the bazaars, where one could buy everything, were crowded with people."

(Continued on Page 16)

Literacy in Russia.

The general impression in America is that the great bulk of the Russian people are illiterate. Editorial comments upon Russian problems in the American press frequently assume that 90 per cent of the Russian people are illiterate. Such statements are due to sheer ignorance of the progress of Russia since the abolition of serfdom half a century ago.

The Russian census of 1897 furnishes exact statistical data on the number of persons of both sexes who can read and write. The population is divided into decennial age groups. The most numerous group is that under ten years of age, which, naturally, contains only a very small percentage of literates. The largest percentage of literates is furnished by the group from ten to nineteen years, both inclusive. All the groups following these ages show a decreasing percentage of literacy. This is quite natural, considering the recent progress of education in Russia. The older groups were not afforded the same schooling opportunities as the younger generation.

The statistics of literacy presented in the following tables are confined to the three age groups which ranged from 10 to 39 years of age in 1897. These groups represented the ages from 30 to 60 at the beginning of the Revolution in 1917. They constitute the bulk of the active population of Russia. The age groups which are now above the age of 60 represent about 7 per cent of the total population, or less than 14 per cent of the population 20 years of age and over.

The age group which was under ten years of age at the time of the census of 1897 was, at the beginning of the Revolution, between the ages of 20 and 30. It may safely be assumed that the percentage of literacy within this group is higher than that within the group which is now between the ages of 30 and 40. The figures presented in the following tables are accordingly a fair index of literacy in Russia. The statistics presented here are confined to **European Russia**. Asiatic Russia has not been included by reason of the fact that the census data relating to it are now obsolete, in view of the large immigration to Siberia, since 1897.

The percentage of literacy in European Russia, according to the census of 1897, is presented in the following table:

Age Groups		Percentage of Literacy	
1897	1917	Males	Females
10-19	30-39	52	23
20-29	40-49	50	20
30-39	50-59	44	16

The preceding figures show that **one half** of the male population between the ages of 30 and 50 can read and write. The percentage of literate persons among the women is a great deal smaller. Never-

theless, even that percentage is larger than that which is popularly accepted in current newspaper discussion in America.

The preceding table comprises the whole population of Russia. The percentage of literacy is naturally much higher in the cities than in the rural districts. In the table following, the percentages of literacy are shown separately for the population of incorporated cities and towns, and for the rural districts. It must be borne in mind, however, that the incorporated cities and towns represent only a part of the urban population, there being a large number of unincorporated places whose population is urban in character.

Urban Population

Age Groups		Percentage of Literacy	
1897	1917	Males	Females
20-29	40-49	70	52
10-19	30-39	79	60
30-39	50-59	69	43

Rural Population

10-19	30-39	48	18
20-29	40-49	44	15
30-39	50-59	39	12

It appears from the preceding table that **more than two-thirds** of the male population between the ages of 30 and 60 in the incorporated cities and towns could read. Likewise **more than one-half** of the female population between the ages of 30 and 50 in the incorporated cities and towns could read. The percentage of literacy in the rural districts was a great deal lower, and yet **two-fifths** of the most active male population could read.

The preceding figures do not bear out the prevailing idea of the general ignorance of the Russian peasantry. Still, the population of the rural districts includes others than peasants. In the following table are shown the statistics relating to literacy of persons "of the rural estates" according to the pre-revolutionary legal classification.

Age Groups		Percentage of Literacy	
1897	1917	Males	Females
10-19	30-39	49	17
20-29	40-49	46	14
30-39	50-59	39	11

The preceding figures do not differ materially from the general figures of literacy in the rural settlements. Still, persons legally enrolled among the "rural estates" resided not only in rural districts but also very largely in the incorporated cities and towns.

In the following table the percentages of literacy among the "rural estates" are shown separately for incorporated cities and towns and for rural settlements.

Percentage of Literacy

Age Groups		Urban		Rural	
1897	1917	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-19	30-39	75	46	47	16
20-29	40-49	64	35	42	12
30-39	50-59	60	26	36	10

It appears from the preceding table that the percentage of literacy among the peasants is only slightly below the average for the rural and urban settlements respectively.

The percentages of literacy in the great cities of Russia are a great deal higher than among the urban population in general. The following figures show the percentages of literacy for the same age groups in Petrograd, Moscow, and Odessa.

Percentage of Literacy

Ages in 1917

30 to 39 yrs. 40 to 49 yrs. 50 to 59 yrs.

Males

Petrograd	90	80	78
Moscow	85	75	69
Odessa	79	67	72

Females

Petrograd	81	62	53
Moscow	71	51	41
Odessa	61	53	43

The preceding figures show that the bulk of the male population of the three principal cities of Russia can read. The majority of the female population of the same cities under the age of 50 are likewise able to read.

MOSCOW SCHOOL SYSTEM

(Wireless from Moscow, February 27, 1919.)

According to information of the Moscow Education Department of the Moscow Soviet, there are in Moscow altogether 756 schools with 147,100 pupils; 396 schools have their own kitchens supplying 130,520 children with hot luncheons and 16,180 with cold ones. The Department provides many children also with warm clothes. The feeding is controlled by the children's parents. There are in Moscow Government ninety dining and five dwelling houses for children, seventy-five day-nurseries, two sanatoriums, ninety-five almshouses, five agricultural colonies.

WHITE GUARDS IN UKRAINE

Tchernigov, February 13.—People who have arrived from Zhmerinka tell of Petliura's reign of terror in Vinnitza. The arsenal is filled with arrested partisans of the Soviet Power. They are shot at night. The local mobilized troops are not taking part in the shooting; the White Guards act as executioners. They have also repeatedly fired into crowds. Petliura's Government does not allow friends and relatives to look for their dead.

Either War or Peace

Discussing the rumors that the Allies are about to recognize Kolchak, the "New York Globe" of May 28 in an editorial entitled "Kolchak and America" says:

" . . . The Allies have already recognized Kolchak in fact, and it would considerably clear the air if they were to do so formally. The Paris statement that the Allies "would be enabled to recognize and assist any force in Russia co-operating in the struggle against Soviet rule" is certainly not candid. The Allies are already aiding the enemies of the Bolsheviks at Archangel; the British navy is helping the Estonians in their advance on Petrograd; the Japanese, and to a lesser unknown extent the other Allies, are operating against the Bolsheviks in Siberia; the economic blockade against European Russia is still in force. It is hard to see what the Allies could do for Kolchak recognized that they have not done for Kolchak unrecognized."

In view of the work of the peace conference it seems rather naive to ask the Allied statesmen to be candid. Besides, it is impossible to square intervention with some of their professions, and any aid given to Kolchak after his recognition could formally be considered merely as aid to a friendly government, which, presumably, would not be intervention in the internal affairs of Russia.

With regard to the Russian policy of the American government the editorial says:

"Now if ever is the time for the American State Department to clear the air and give the people of the United States a straightforward, honest statement as to the policy of our government toward Russia. No one knows that a majority of the citizens of this country would not support a direct and honest declaration of war against the Bolsheviks an attempt to exterminate all their followers in Russia. But for our government to conduct a war, or prepare for a war, while assuring the citizens at home that there is no war contemplated, that "we have no quarrel with the Russian people," and that it is no concern of ours what form of government they choose for themselves, is a dishonest reversal of all American tradition.

"If we are going to fight the Bolsheviks to the last ditch, then let us declare war in a legitimate way, tell the people why we are doing so, put a million men into Russia, and clean the job up. If the tales about the Bolsheviks are true they have committed enough crimes to justify a declaration of war. But if we are not going to fight the Russians to the last ditch we should take our army out of Siberia, our troops—from Archangel (which has already been promised), and we should not finance and support a counter-revolution which is purely a domestic adventure."

But the American people know that the tales about the Bolsheviks are not true. Would they support a new war—against the Russian people?

"Izvestia," February 12th, 1919.

The Opening of A Workers' Faculty at the Institute of Public Economy in the Name of Karl Marx. (Former Commercial Institute.)

The G. V. Plekhanoff-Beltoff Auditorium (formerly the Marx Auditorium) is rapidly filling with student workers. The vast room is decorated with banners, red streamers and portraits of the leaders of Socialism. The full length of the screen is covered with red cloth, inscribed with G. V. Plekhanoff's well-known words: "The revolutionary movement of Russia will triumph only as a revolutionary movement of the workers; there is not and cannot be any other outcome." Higher up, above the screen, there is Plekhanoff's portrait. Among the masses of workers present there are many working-women. A. V. Lunacharsky, N. M. Pokrovsky and representatives of trade unions and associations are present at the opening.

Introductory Address by N. M. Pokrovsky

N. M. Pokrovsky is elected, amid a storm of general applause, as chairman of the meeting. Having extended greetings to the workers' faculty, Comrade Pokrovsky said: "It was my chief aim during my work in the People's Commissariat of Education to see the worker in the university. Now I see the realization of my cherished hope. We will have student-proletarians, and later on professors as well, and I hope that such examples will come in tens, hundreds, and thousands."

Then the chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Workers' Faculty, Comrade Baer (Baganin) gave a short review of the birth and organization of the workers' faculty.

Prof. Nikitinski's Greetings

The dean of the Institute, Prof. Nikitinski, when greeting the opening of the workers' faculty in the name of the teachers' committee, said among other things: "In the past very little has been done in this sphere, consequently very much is to be done now. The success of this work can be attained on the following three conditions: 1) conscious, earnest attitude of the workers; 2) the aid of the students, who have so zealously begun this work; 3) the aid and sympathetic attitude of the professors." Prof. Nikitinski closed his speech with greetings to the workers' faculty and especially to the workmen-students.

A. V. Lunacharsky's Address

In a long, animated speech A. V. Lunacharsky pointed out that formerly the workers were merely unconscious parts of the machine. The machine, this monstrous idol, sapped all the strength out of a worker and then cast him into the street. Therefore, the worker cursed the machine, as well as science and the universities. But science was born for the purpose of freeing man from slavish labor. If capitalism made of the worker an automaton, the free worker, with the aid of science, can learn

to become the director of unconscious mechanism. To be a ruling class it is not sufficient to have the power—it is also necessary to have the knowledge. This welding of economic, natural and technical science is the highway by which the workers can come to Socialism. "We will conquer and will conquer soon," was the conclusion of Comrade Lunacharsky's speech.

"The proletariat has nothing to lose," said Marx, "and the world to gain." Then Comrade Pokrovsky read the following letter sent by K. A. Timiryazev:

"Young comrades—Old age and illness do not permit me to appear in person, but I do not wish that my absence should be taken as a sign of indifference to the first free workers' faculty, which was my dream for a number of years.

"Science and democracy—a close union of knowledge and labor—this was my dream, cherished for several decades, and in your meeting of today I see the beginning of the realization of one of its main phases. The workers became a real, conscious, creative force; when the main conquests of science will be understood by them, and science will receive a true and stable support, then its fate will be in the hands of the enlightened people themselves and not of the kings and their slaves, though these may call themselves Ministers of Education, Academicians, and Professors.

"Pure universal science must not, cannot and will not be the exclusive monopolized property of those who are not the 'chosen' ones, but on the contrary, mere cast out, despised, intriguing adventurers to whom the problems of democracy are as foreign as science itself. I hail the first workers' faculty, and wish that all who unite under this name and under the protection of the red banner of labor, equalizing all, should come here only in search of the knowledge necessary for their labor and should cast aside all formalities, diplomas and the complicated examinations, ranks and distinctions, which lower the dignity of science, as well as of democracy.

"The Red Banner—I purposely mention these words for I know that my colleagues from the bourgeois camp cannot forgive me for having joined the forces under this banner in the days when the dark forces of the entire world have fallen upon it, hoping to drown it in blood once more. The red banner is a symbol of the future conquest of labor and science over their enemies. But what this conquest will give us will be peace, bread and freedom. Yes, and something else . . . less noticeable, but not less important and that is—leisure, an eight-hour working day, which will be followed, of course, by a still shorter working day. The free democracy, which has won this leisure, will become an educated democracy when it comes to realize

the necessity of utilizing this leisure for attaining the power of knowledge. That the free democracy will want it, that it will be able to do it is guaranteed best by today's meeting."

Speeches Delivered by the Representatives of the Professors

After the address delivered by the representative of the All-Russian Association of Professional Unions, Comrade Kozolev, Professors Genkin and Ougrimov delivered greetings.

"Great is the power of knowledge and at no time was knowledge so necessary for any one as it is now for our proletariat, which has now placed itself at the head of the state power—said Genkin. Today is our holiday of learning, our holiday of education, as this is the first time that a workers' faculty has been organized within the walls of a higher educational institution." The meeting was adjourned after the sending of greetings to K. A. Timiryazev and with the singing of the "Internationale."

IN PETROGRAD NOW

(Continued from page 12)

"It is said that the population of Petrograd, formerly of 2,000,000 inhabitants, had fallen to 500,000?"

"That is absolutely false. First of all the population of Petrograd has never reached two millions, except with war refugees. According to the food tickets distributed by the Government the present population is 1,200,000."

Longuet asked whether the visitor had herself tested the security of the streets. She answered: "Oh, yes, certainly! Many times I walked home at night without ever having had an unpleasant experience. There were at least fourteen theatres open every night. At the Opera I heard Chaliapine singing in "Boris Godounoff." It was filled with spectators, of whom a great number certainly belonged to the bourgeoisie."

"And the sozialization of women?"

She burst out laughing. "As a matter of fact," she said, "there are no prostitutes in the Petrograd streets. Formerly, in the blessed times of Tsarism it was one of the towns where there was the largest number. During the three weeks I was there I did not see a single one of these poor girls. Other foreigners who have lived in Russia for months tell me that the *Bolshevik regime has practically eliminated this hideous sore of the capitalist regime*. You do not see any police in the streets, only members of the Red Guard, who *hardly ever have occasion to intervene*."

"But is it not true that the people are dying of hunger?"

"The Allied blockade has certainly caused cruel sufferings to millions of innocent people. But the excellent organization of the Soviets and co-operative societies has largely relieved this painful situation. Several times I went with a friend to the market. We were

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able to procure a shoulder of mutton, veal, carrots, potatoes, and even butter, which was certainly rather dear at 140 rubles a kilo. It is rather difficult to calculate the value of a ruble as its worth depends on its kind. The old rubles are worth more than those issued by Kerensky; 140 rubles are worth about \$7.50. At the co-operative store we were able to buy a goose, a sucking pig, and honey. In the forty Soviet restaurants you could get a simple meal, but sufficient, consisting of cabbage soup, fried fish, and bread, black but eatable. At the 'Constant' Restaurant, formerly a resort of the aristocracy, but now socialized, the food was good and the tablecloths white. On producing a medical certificate you can obtain more generous fare."



Interesting Russian News for Students of Soviet Russia.

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorials	1	A Note to the Allies from Ukraine	11
Antisemitism of the Koltchak Government, by Max M. Zippin 4		Why Are the Allies Still at War with Russia?	12
Admiral Koltchak — "Democrat," by Hans Haggum . . 6		Japan and Soviet Russia, by San Katayama	13
Education Budget, Koltchak and Russia. A Moscow Radio 7		Revolt of Russian Prisoners in Persia	14
Economic Reconstruction in Soviet Russia 8		In Soviet Russia, from an Omaha paper	15
Textile Industry under Soviet Control, by Arthur Ransome 9		Demonstration by French Sailors	16

Reports in the press state that the Allied Peace Conference officially has pledged the moral and material support of the Allied nations to Admiral Koltchak and his monarchistic followers in this war against the working people of Russia.

This decision is nothing but an official admission of a policy which has been the policy of the Allies up to this time—notwithstanding all assurances that there is no intention on the part of the Allied Governments to help the Russian counter-revolutionists or to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. It is a matter of common knowledge that Koltchak was established by British authorities as the head of the Omsk Government, and it is also well known that he would have been unable to retain his position even for a day if it were not for the material support which he directly and indirectly has been getting from all the Allied Governments.

On the other hand, the decision of the Allied Peace Council does not imply official recognition of Koltchak as the ruler of Russia. The severe reverses suffered by him well justify such prudence. It also seems that the masses of people in Allied nations do not very eagerly admit the sufficiency of the empty promises made by Koltchak pledging him sometime, somehow, to call some kind of a Constitutional Assembly to speak for the "real Russian people."

The Allied decision, however, for the time being at least, definitely aligns the Allied Governments with Koltchak and becomes officially a part of the Allied efforts to "make the world safe for Democracy." It is, therefore, necessary once more to consider just what guarantees there really exist that Koltchak will justify even those very modest demands of "democracy" made on him by the Paris Conference. We shall this time use some devoted friends of Koltchak as our witnesses.

In an article in the New York Times, of June 15, Louis D. Kornfield, who recently returned from Siberia, and who, to judge from his article, has a personal liking for Koltchak, emphatically states

that the groups forming the main support of Koltchak's aspirations are extreme monarchists and have no use for any democratic institutions. As to the attitude of such elements toward the Constitutional Assembly, Mr. Kornfield states as follows:

"While they have been willing to have Koltchak commit himself officially to the allied program of a Constituent Assembly in order to bring public opinion in allied countries to the support of intervention, it was evident to many observers in Omsk besides myself that they regarded with considerable concern and disfavor Koltchak's apparent intention to stick to the letter of his promise.

"A Constituent Assembly on a broad basis of universal manhood suffrage, these elements oppose, because they fear that such an assembly, if it does not return a Bolshevik majority, must certainly return a majority of Social Democrats or Social Revolutionists . . . Many of the backers of the Omsk Government, when you get them down to brass tacks, think that the dictatorship, once installed in Moscow, should proceed to monarchy with some semblance of a Constitution, or if that becomes impossible, to a Constituent Assembly with such a restricted representation as to make impossible the presence of a Social Democratic or Social Revolutionist majority. To such a modification of Koltchak's program they feel the majority of the allied Governments would readily consent once they realized that a strong centralized Cadet Government of 'liberal tendencies elevating the people gradually to democracy' would be a far better working organization for foreign interests than the socialist or democratic republic likely to emerge from the will of a Constituent Assembly founded upon too broad a basis of suffrage."

Now that Koltchak is called upon to translate his more or less indefinite promises of "democracy" into official pledges, it seems that some other ardent friends of his are getting quite uneasy, since they well understand that there is not the slightest

chance of his complying with pledges of such a character. So, for instance, one Mr. Landsfield, the American press agent of Mr. Koltchak's supporters, in a letter published in the "N. Y. Globe" of June 16th, states as follows:

"While it is extremely desirable from our point of view that the all-Russian government under Admiral Koltchak should recover Russia from the Bolsheviks and should set up an administration without reversion to autocratic and unrepresentative forms, probably no worse way could be found of attaining this end than by insisting upon such a provision as a condition of recognition. To do so would seem like unwarranted interference with the Russians themselves and would be resented. Furthermore, we are not in a position to say, for example, that a constituent assembly must be held, or when, because that is a matter which must depend entirely upon conditions in Russia after the Bolsheviks are driven out. It may take considerable time before orderly conditions of life are sufficiently re-established to make possible the holding of a constituent assembly that would represent anything but the personal ambitions of professional agitators playing upon the weakness of a demoralized people."

The above lines need very little of comment. Their writer, together with other bitter enemies of the Soviet Government, never ceased to condemn the Russian workers because they found it necessary to dispense with the Constitutional Assembly and to replace it with the more representative All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Now he frankly admits that Koltchak might not even call the Constitutional Assembly. He asserts that it would be an "unwarranted interference with Russian affairs" to demand its convocation, an interference which would be bitterly resented by the Russian people. Mr. Landsfield has nothing against interference in Russian affairs while they are conducted by the Russian workers, but he bluntly demands unconditional recognition of the Russian aristocracy without any guarantees of democracy. He understands that a minority group would find it impossible to make good such pledges.

* * *

But why argue about the value of these pledges? This is not the issue. Everybody understands that material aid is being extended to Koltchak, regardless of any pledges he may make. Such pledges are required, at best, only to soften the resentment democratically minded people everywhere will feel on finding that, after all assurances of sympathy towards the Russian revolution the Allied Governments are bent upon destroying, at any cost, the workers' rule in Russia, because they realize that monarchists of Koltchak's brand are the only ones who have sufficient ruthlessness in this respect.

A more important question is: what are the possible results of an alliance between Koltchak and the Allies. Suppose for a moment that Koltchak really should succeed in his campaign. Mr. Lands-

field, whom we quoted in the above, in an article in the "Review," frankly admits that bloody orgies, Jew pogroms, and mass execution of Soviet adherents are naturally to be expected as soon as the "submerged" aristocracy of Russia should again regain their power. To be sure that is just what would happen. Over the bodies of hundreds of thousands of victims of such a reaction the autocracy would triumphantly establish itself. If the Allies would attempt to make these autocrats make good their pledges of "democracy" there is no doubt that they would ally themselves with the most imperialistic elements outside of Russia and openly defy the rest of the world.

All this is so axiomatically clear that it certainly could not have escaped the attention of the peace conference in Paris.

* * *

But of course Koltchak will never reach Moscow, at least not at the head of a victorious army. During the past six weeks he has suffered one defeat after another. The armies of the Russian workers have captured Ufa, thereby gaining control over important parts of the Ural. The latest dispatches show that Koltchak has retired 75 miles north of Ufa. The important city of Sarapul, on the river Kama, is in the hands of the Soviet Government. Koltchak is retiring towards Perm, and his position there is anything but promising, especially in view of the fact that Siberia is seething with revolt which threatens his rule at the very heart of his domain.

There is no doubt that within a month or so even the Allies themselves will have to admit that the hopes they have placed in Koltchak's victories are just as futile as the hopes they successively placed in Kaledin, Korniloff, Dutoff, etc. It is also highly problematical whether the peoples of Europe will allow their governments even to send material to Koltchak. Newspapers report strikes in France in protest against the aid extended to Koltchak; a dispatch from Italy, of June 16th, states that Italian labor unions actually prevented materials destined for Koltchak from leaving that country; in England the resentment against allying the people of England with monarchists of Koltchak's stamp to put down the workers of Russia is creating ever growing restlessness.

* * *

Is there any alternative? Is it true, as stated in one of the communications from the Paris conference, that the experience of the Allied governments during the past twelve months has shown it to be impossible to deal with the Soviet Government? Much capital has been made of the refusal of the Soviet Government to accept the so-called Nansen plan. We stated on an earlier occasion that if the whole truth were known about this proposition, and about the reply sent by the Government in Moscow, it would be found that the responsibility for the failure of this plan does not lie with the Soviets. We quote here Mr. William Allen White, who, speaking of famine in Europe in an article in the "Syracuse Herald," of June 15th, says as follows:

"Now we may fairly ask why civilization has permitted this famine to run unchecked. Never before in the world has such agony visited the innocent as has come to women and children in the last ten months. Yet last year America increased its food export from approximately 4,000,000 tons in 1913 to 19,000,000 tons.

"The Russians, for instance, were willing to pay for food. Lenin had fifty millions of dollars in gold to pay for food, and was anxious to buy it on our own terms. Herbert Hoover, sitting in his office during March and April, was fretting his head off trying to get American food to Russia. The allies had a scheme to sell food to Russia through a commission appointed among the neutrals and headed by Nansen, the explorer.

"Nansen was to see that all classes of Russia were treated alike in the distribution of food; that the Bolsheviks, for instance, did not deny food to those who opposed them. This plan was on the table of the allies for two weeks, waiting for the signature of Clemenceau, after the other heads of allied governments had signed it.

"Finally, when the signature came it was three weeks before the reply came from Russia. The allies proposed to sell food to the Bolsheviks only if the Bolsheviks would cease hostilities in the south, where the allies were losing. No promise was made to cease hostilities against the Bolsheviks in the north, where the Bolsheviks were losing at the time.

"Trotzky and Lenin had sent proposals in March to the effect that they were willing to cease hostilities if their enemies would cease, provided the allies would raise the blockade. England and America were inclined to accept this proposition. France did not favor it. So when the proposition came to the Bolsheviks to stop where they were winning and keep on losing where they were losing, they refused. The food did not go in."

In another part of this issue there is a dispatch from Moscow giving the text of a proposition for peace with Soviet Russia. The correspondent states that this proposition was made by President Wilson and Lloyd George and that the Soviet Government accepted it. On the other hand, it has been suggested that this proposition is the one that was made by Lenin and taken to Paris by Messrs. Bullitt and Steffens. Whatever may be the truth about this point, the fact remains that the Soviet Government would be willing to make peace on the terms stated in this proposition.

We leave to the impartial reader to decide for himself whether peace on that basis would not be preferable to the adventurous alignment with Koltchak, which promises nothing but bloodshed and misery for Russia for years to come, and nothing but dishonor and economic losses to Koltchak's allies.

* * *

Thursday, June 12th, the office of the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was brutally raided by members of the New York

State constabulary, led by a certain Mr. A. Stevenson, an amateur detective of some reputation. All the files and every shred of written or printed paper have been removed by the raiders to an unknown place, and,—in clear violation of existing statutes—have not yet been returned either to us or to the magistrate who issued the search warrant. The reasons for the raid are shrouded in mystery. Various officials disclaim all responsibility for it. The Federal authorities maintain that they have no connection with the incident. The chairman of the legislative committee appointed by the legislature of the state of New York to inquire into "bolshevik activities," at first stated that his committee had not ordered the invasion. Later on, however, an attorney for the said committee contradicted such statements by officially opposing, in the name of the committee, a motion to have the search warrant vacated.

The invasion of the office of the Russian Soviet Government was altogether unwarranted and illegal. The Russian Soviet Government Bureau has conscientiously refrained from interfering in American affairs. Its activities have always been open to investigation by anyone honestly in search of information about Soviet Russia or about the activities of the Bureau. Only the existing state of hysterical reaction diligently nursed by a persistent campaign of slander against Soviet Russia, can explain why such drastic steps were taken in a case where a simple inquiry would have brought out all the information necessary—without breaking the law and the first principles of international hospitality.

While the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government emphatically resents the wanton insult offered the Russian people and their Government through the overzealousness of the legislative committee, we get some satisfaction out of our confidence that now, at any rate, it will be publicly established that the nature of the activities of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau is strictly limited to the presentation of facts tending to bring about friendly relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. The legislative committee now has in its possession every shred of the correspondence of our office. The examination of witnesses representing the Bureau will throw additional light on the issues involved.

The manner in which the raid was conducted did not give the Bureau sufficient guarantee against the chance that some amateur Sherlock Holmes might introduce into the documents taken from the office something which was not found on our premises. Nevertheless, any degree of fairness in the investigation is bound to dispel all hysterical conceptions as to the nature of our work.

The removal of our files, including material intended for publication in "Soviet Russia," has greatly hampered our work. We want to assure our readers that notwithstanding such handicaps we shall continue to supply them with information about Soviet Russia, firmly convinced that our aim—the establishment of relations between Soviet Russia and the United States—ultimately will be attained.

The Antisemitism of the Koltchak Government

By Max M. Zippin

A Russian gentleman who professes to be a Social-Revolutionist, also a past and a prospective general, has recently denied the accusation frequently made against Dictator Koltchak, that the latter was antisemitic.

The gentleman in question, in a letter to the Editor, in the "Nation," claims never to have seen anything in the Siberian press that would confirm the charge. Now, the Russian policy of "Znat nie znaiu, Viedat nie viedaiu" ("I don't know a blessed thing about it") was good enough for peasant-soldiers, but is highly unbecoming a Socialist General. As a matter of fact, a gentleman who is a "Knight of the Struggling Russia, Koltchak Order" surely has better access to the Siberian press than has a plain mortal like the writer of these lines. Still, I am prepared to furnish this General, Socialist and defender of Koltchak with as much proof as he cares to have of the revival of the Black Hundred activities of the old Czarist days in Siberia, and in a far more "advanced" form at that.

For the enlightenment of all the Koltchak lackeys here, if they care to be enlightened, as well as for the purpose of unmasking this so-called Socialist and all his brethren, who parade here in red feathers to cover up their boss's black deeds, a few quotations from the Siberian press pertaining to this particular subject of Jew-baiting in Koltchak-land are here given.

In the "Novosty Zhizni" of Harbin, of April 6, there was reprinted from an Irkutsk newspaper the following:

"In Kustanay they have apparently found the best method of solving the housing problem. It is a method as plain as it is profitable.

"Second Captain Kovalienko, the commander of the Kustanay garrison, is the inventor of this new method of solving the housing problem. Here is his order dated February 25 and numbered 22.

"1. In view of the highly complicated housing problem I find it necessary to expel, within seven days, from the city into the country (uyezd), to a distance of one hundred versts from the railroad line, all the Jews, also all persons of all nationalities mobilized into military service.

"2. From expulsion are excluded Jews and drafted men, who happen to be doctors, nurses (feldshers), those employed at the electrical station and in apothecary shops."

The mobilized, it is explained later, are included in this order because many of them would not respond, and because the population, sympathizing with them and not with the "very popular" Koltchak government, sides with them and defends them.

A Jewish delegation, it is related further, has called the attention of the Supreme Ruler Koltchak to this matter, and he assured them that a dispatch

had been sent to the "instigator," ordering him to stop the eviction.

"But—adds the newspaper—the eviction is still going on. There are in Kustanay about 30-35 Jewish families, all old-timers, and well to do. They are all ruined now, because they had to sell in a hurry all their belongings and property to the profiteers (kulaki), who buy everything of them at 'very low prices'."

Now, from another clipping it appears that this particular "instigator" was not so original after all, and that there exists a "provisional" law setting a "pale" for the Jews in Siberia, i. e., forbidding the Jews to live within one hundred versts of the fronts. A provisional law? Doesn't this recall the old Czarist laws, restricting the rights and strangling the very life of the Jews, *but only provisionally*? And with over forty official fronts in Siberia, and new ones added every day, with, as a matter of fact, every city, town, township, village, and hamlet in Siberia a front, or a potential front, where in the world could a Jew settle in Siberia with this "provisional" law of the hundred versts restriction?

The following short notice in the "Novosty Zhizni" of April 12 is highly significant in this connection:

"A special committee, delegated by the Jewish citizens, was granted an audience by the Supreme Ruler. The committee called the attention of the Ruler to the restrictions inaugurated against the Jews in the front zone. The committee also furnished the Ruler with a great amount of material, dealing with other discriminations against the Jews, and diverse maltreatments. The Ruler promised to look into the matter and has, by the way, told the delegation that the hundred-verst restriction was only a provisional one, and that it was to be repealed."

In another item, dated April 4, a similar story is told. The delegation in this instance was sent by the Jewish National Alliance of Omsk, consisting of three Jewish representatives: Kadish, Shervensky and Rubanovsky. The results were again the same—a promise to look into the matter.

Even the old Czarist tricks of receiving delegations of the oppressed, while the smaller powers that be were continuing their black deeds as if nothing had happened, is renewed in Koltchak-land. The right hand must never know what the left is doing.

As to inciting pogroms against Jews and, in general, revising the Black Hundred activities of the Czarist days in all the territories "freed" by Koltchak, a few items are here quoted.

In "Nash Ural" of March 2, there is a long and spirited article on this particular object, which says in part:

"There are before me two proclamations

brought here from the front, where they have, as I am told, a wide circulation. One is addressed to the 'Red Army men' (Krasnoarmiytsy), and the other to 'Brothers: Red Army men' (Bratya Krasnoarmiytsy). Both are dated February 10, 1919. The aim of the proclamations is, of course, to convince the Red Army men that they are fooled and misled by the Bolsheviks, and that it is more advantageous for them to free themselves from the dictatorship of the Commissars and surrender to the 'people's' army.

"Arguments? . . . Alas, in the proclamations there is one sole argument . . . *Zhid* ('Sheeny'). The authors of the proclamations have apparently been hypnotized by this one word '*Zhid*' and lie there helplessly sprawling. Bolshevism is bad only for the reason that all the Commissars are such—'*Zhidi*,' that hate everything Russian. That the Kremlin is in the hands of Jews. That the Jews have robbed all the Russian gold and valuables, and may run away with it. The whole root of the evil is the *Zhid*, and, therefore, the whole aim and purpose of the war against the Bolsheviks is described as a desire on the part of the powers that be to expel all the Jews from Moscow and to see to it that no *Zhid*-Commissar ever dares lay his dirty hands on a Russian, etc."

The article concludes:

"There isn't a thing more easily attained in this superheated atmosphere than the repetition of Kishinev. But are all the other, non-Jewish citizen groups certain that a repetition of all the horrors of pogroms will spare them? We all know well that pogrom agitation is a 'two-edged sword,' and that it only creates a favorable culture for the multiplication of the anarchistic microbe."

In the "Trood" of Tomsk, of March 21, there is an article entitled "Antisemitism in Siberia," quotations from which follow:

"Reaction and Antisemitism have always been products of the same order. And the more political reaction takes hold of the upper strata of society, the more explicit and outspoken will race hostility, the first object of which is usually the Jews, become in its manifestations. And if before, in the days of the Czarist reaction, pogrom agitation was the monopolistic property of the 'Alliance of the Russian People,' it is now, when many of the former liberals have gathered under the banner of reaction, found in articles of even the erstwhile politically clean periodical, "Otechestvenny Vedomosty," which displays the same passionate man-hunting and man-hating tendencies as did Dubrovin in his time." . . .

Here the writer goes on to tell that Siberia never responded to the agitation of the Black Hundreds in Czarist days. But—things have changed greatly since the last "coup" and . . .

"A very unhealthy atmosphere is being created, one pregnant with grave possibilities of savage excesses, of free reign to the zoological instincts of the lower uncivilized strata of society.

"And here too, as in the memorable days of Kishinev and Bialystok, is felt somebody's highly skilled and experienced hand."

Almost every issue of the Siberian newspapers, that have fallen into my hands in the last few months, contains items of atrocities committed by Cossacks or other Koltchak mercenaries against Jews in many places. Jews are dragged from train cars, for no other sin than the fact that they are Jews. Many of the military trains of the Koltchak forces display big signs, when nearing stations, that bear the significant legend "*Zhid*, dare not come near." In the Koltchak army the old Czarist law of forbidding Jews to become officers, even non-commissioned officers, has been renewed. Jewish houses are broken into, the belongings carried away, the inmates ravaged and terrorized. Jewish stores are constantly ransacked. Under the pretext of searching for Bolshevik literature, weapons and what not, Jewish travelers are stripped of all their belongings, and for the most part beaten into insensibility. A number of Jewish business men have simply "disappeared" on their way from one city to another, their mutilated bodies being found afterwards by the wayside, or in groves.

Here are a few quotations from a long open letter, addressed to the Commander of the Ussury region (a Cossack General, of course) that has appeared in the "Dalietskaya Okraina" of Vladivostok.

"Listen, Attaman, to the story I've heard today and your heart, as did mine, will shudder from fright.

"To you, probably, the name of G. D. Bass is unknown. I, too, have never known this man before. But here is the epic story of this person, a heartrending cry of an elderly man, accompanied by the sobbing of his wife and eight children, who are all huddled up in a dingy little corner of the railroad station, from where they are to be ejected every minute.

"In the officers' supply store which this Bass has been keeping in Nikolsk-Ussurysk, a company of officers forced their way in, and carried away with them all kinds of goods, worth tens of thousands of rubles. The Nikolsk militia, on the complaint of Bass, searched the hotels and have recovered a great part of the goods that had been robbed. But then Bass was ordered to be arrested by military officers, and General Skipetrov afterwards released him on 5000 rubles bail.

"No reason whatever was given for the destruction of his store or for his arrest. No formal accusation was made. Not even an inquest was ordered.

"Then, on the night of the same day, a non-commissioned Cossack officer came to the wife of Bass, at her house, and insisted upon having money, threatening to kill her if she didn't give it. She had with her 3200 rubles, which she handed to the officer, and her old mother was

flogged with a knout and then robbed of her last 250 rubles, which she had saved up for . . . her own burial expenses. Bass's wife was then led off to prison, the officer allowing her magnanimously to take along only one child, her most loved.

"I have eight of them," cried out the unfortunate woman, "how can I decide which of them is dearer to my heart?" Whereupon she was dragged away alone. A young man-servant of Bass happened to come in and was beaten until half dead.

"Search was then made in the house, and in a little safety box a notification from the Post Office for the receipt of the sum of 30,000 rubles was found. The money did not belong to Bass. It was sent to him by one of the Zemstvos, for which he had made purchases, to make first payments for honey and other articles. The officer ordered Mrs. Bass, under pain of death, to assign the money to him, which she 'promised' to do in the presence of the Post Office authorities. And on the next day, in broad daylight, Mrs. Bass was led by Cossacks and by this officer to the Post Office to make the assignment of the people's money to the Cossacks.

"The Post Office clerk, Babintzeff, instantly grasped the situation, and declared that he had no such sum in the treasury, whereupon the Cossack officer demanded that a money order be made payable to him, at Khabarovsk, repeating right there, in the presence of the clerk and the public, the threat to kill the unfortunate woman if this was not done. It was against the law. It was the people's money and not Bass's, but the clerk Bobintzeff, out of pity for the woman, permitted this unlawful act.

"On the night of that day Bass was rearrested, together with his daughter, and then, after being kept in prison and there treated in a brutal manner for a few days, the whole family of eleven souls were 'allowed' to leave the city, that is, ordered to leave it as quickly as they could.

"They are now all huddled up in a little dark corner in the Vladivostok railroad station. They haven't eaten for days. They haven't slept. Not a kopek was left to them of their former large means. They cannot rent a home. They cannot even buy a morsel of food. They were robbed of everything. And they cannot stay longer at the station, as it is against the law."

I could practically fill up pages with stories of this nature, all selected from the Siberian press, and the Koltchak apologists here have nevertheless the impudence shamelessly to assert that they have never come across proofs of Koltchak's pogrom activities in those papers!

Come out with your true colors, you contemptible Knights of the Order of Koltchak. Hiding behind degenerate Socialists or pleading innocent know-nothingness will not do.

Admiral Koltchak—"Democrat"

An Editorial by Hans Heggum in "Social-Demokraten" (Christiania, Norway)

The very enterprising and ambitious Admiral Koltchak—the Siberian favorite of the Allies and the spiritual affinity of Clemenceau—is continuing his democratic acts of government, which are far from being a blessing to his country or its inhabitants.

In the fraudulent bourgeois sense of the word, he is a complete "Bolshevik." He is strictly maintaining the noble principles of the bourgeois "straw-man Bolshevism," the object of which is not a liberation of the people from the yoke of tyranny, but an elevation of the tyrants and oppressors over the people.

The Siberian absolutism, which is embodied in Admiral Koltchak, has the support of the European "democracies."

This ruthless executioner of the people, who tirelessly increases his record of crimes, already dripping with blood, with new deeds of shame, each worse than the preceding, is supported, as everyone knows, with money, arms, ammunition, and a lying press, by the same honorable gentlemen who have solemnly gathered in these days to confer on the preparation of world peace and the "League of Nations."

As soon as he had seized power, by means of a *coup d'état*, which he was enabled to put through owing to the victory of the Entente troops over the defenseless population, the government activity of this incomparable democrat became one uninterrupted series of murders, repressions, and mass imprisonments. He would therefore appear to be fully entitled to bear the name of "Bolshevik," that is—if the countless lies of the capitalist press concerning the "Bolsheviks" were not lies, but truths. . . .

If Koltchak's hangman activity afforded him any time to make solemn protestations, I wonder whether he would consider it opposed to his principles to say:

"I am in favor of the self-determination of peoples, but I will not tolerate the slightest murmur against my acts of government."

From this we may readily understand the former Czarist minister, Kokovstev, and his strong enthusiasm for Admiral Koltchak, as well as the fact that a person so "liberally and democratically" inclined as Prince Lvov is filled with the greatest admiration for him.

Prince Lvov has neglected no opportunity to make his admiration generally known. He appeared recently before the Supreme Allied Council in Paris and there expressed his warm feelings—for a certain purpose. And every day the columns of the capitalist newspapers in France and England are filled with calculations, news items, and articles, in which the democratic Prince Lvov is described as a genuine patriot, who, in spite of all his unspeakable sufferings and reverses, has done every-

thing to deliver his ardently beloved and worshipped fatherland. Meanwhile Koltchak, his great master, continues his "government activity," that is—he goes on murdering, imprisoning, and plundering the Siberian population. This miserable Entente bandit, who conducts his heartrending activities under the protection of the Allied troops and phrases, has well deserved both the sympathy and the support of democratic Europe—and not least by his most recent act of prowess. The latter would certainly have won the Nobel Prize for him, if any such prize were offered for atrocities.

In an uprising amongst the population of Omsk, a number of political prisoners had escaped. Koltchak had posters put up throughout the district, in which he announced that if the fugitives would deliver themselves up immediately, they would in that way escape being shot.

With a childlike faith in this promise, which is almost incredible, they turned back, seeing no possibility of escaping Koltchak's beards. As they had been ordered, they reported to Koltchak immediately—and Koltchak immediately *had them shot down*. Those who were shot were not criminals. Nor were they Bolsheviks. They were plain, ordinary human beings, who possessed the rather unusual quality of defending and retaining a political conviction even at the cost of going to prison for it.

Koltchak, the Siberian favorite of the Entente and the spiritual affinity of Clemenceau, will not permit the people to hold a different political opinion from the one he desires them to have, *which is none at all*. It is therefore quite natural that among the persons who were shot there should also have been eight socialist deputies to the Constituent Assembly.

It is difficult at present to decide whether or not Koltchak's method of government is in agreement with the democratic principle, for the democratic principle has of late displayed remarkable powers of elasticity. It is at present caught in a whirlwind extending from London to Omsk, with Paris as its center. If we were not better informed, we might fear that this whirlwind might some day envelope the whole world and achieve the dignified status of a democratic meridian pressing through the observation-center at Whitehall.

BUDGET FOR EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

(Russian Telegraph Agency)

The Soviet Government is sparing neither money nor labor in the matter of popular education. No country can compete with Soviet Russia in this field, as indicated among others by the following communication from Petrograd:

A few days ago, the following budget was approved by the appropriate committee, for the Commissariat of Popular Enlightenment—northern district: for the first six months of 1919, the sum of 1,267,313,756 rubles. This enormous budget is for Petrograd and the Associated Northern Communes alone.

Koltchak and Russia

In an editorial entitled "While Russia Bleeds" the New York "Globe" of June 13, says in part:

"When the Allies declare that they recognize the Omsk government in order to put an end to bloodshed they utter a tragic absurdity. Koltchak will not get to Moscow by airplane. His armies must cut their way through the armies of his opponents. In the territory he had occupied before his recent disastrous defeats he consistently put to death the Bolsheviks whom he took prisoners. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that as fast as Koltchak forces occupy Russia there will be a series of pogroms against the Jews which in extent and cold-blooded ferocity will make all previous pogroms look like tea parties.

"Unhappy Russia's bath of blood is not yet ended. The Allies by their economic blockade have taken on their shoulders a heavy burden of guilt for the suffering of that wretched land. We can only hope, more or less faintly according to our temperament, that to-day's action is not another chapter in the book of fatal mistakes wherein is recorded the Allied policy toward Russia since March, 1917."

RADIO

Moscow, Feb. 12, 1919.

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Japan, China, Denmark, and the United States of America:

The Alliance of Chinese labor in Russia addresses to the governments of Great Britain, France, China, Denmark, and the United States of America the following appeal through the persons of their representatives:

The Chinese citizens who are now without work in Russia, and who suffer great privations, owing to the complete cessation of the importation of rice, have obtained the permission of the Russian Soviet Government to return to China by the way of Siberia. The first contingent of Chinamen, numbering about three hundred men, will soon leave for Siberia by way of Samara and Ufa. The Alliance asks of the Siberian Government and of the Allied Governments to permit free passage to the Chinese citizens across Siberia and Manchuria, into China. With the object of entering into conversations with the Siberian Government, the President of the Moscow Committee, Chi-Nan-Gee, has been sent with an authorization to begin negotiations with the Siberian or Danish plenipotentiaries. We ask an immediate answer by wireless telegraph, and hope that the Allied governments and the Siberian Government will show the same generosity and the same eagerness to aid us that has been shown by the Russian Soviet Government in the case of the unfortunate Chinese workers who are deprived of all resources.

Executive Committee,

Chinese Workers in Russia.

Economic Reconstruction in Soviet Russia at the End of February, 1919

By U. Larin,

Member of the Supreme Council of National Economy

The half year that has just terminated was the first period of economic reconstruction in Russia. The resources of the country, considerably depleted by the war, do not as yet offer us any possibility of attaining a high standard of living, but important forward steps have been taken in the matter of the preliminary work of organization for economic reconstruction.

In industrial life, there has been almost accomplished the transition from mere regulation and supervision, to real government control over factories and plants, the nationalization of which had hitherto existed only on paper, or which had been under the control of dictatorial workers' committees not in full agreement among themselves. There is now present in all the main branches a government "Central Administration," which manages all the enterprises of a certain industry as a single unit. Such Central Administrations are those of the textile, machine-construction, paper, rubber, honey-raising, cement, coal, sawmill, peat, salt, match, tobacco, shoe and leather, baking, starch, alcohol, sugar, and many other industries.

Owing to the necessary length of the process of organizing and listing the resources in raw materials and fuel, and to other necessary preliminary arrangements, a real working program was not established in these industries until 1919; these programs are now in full harmony and mutual adjustment.

The Supreme Council of National Economy, in organizing the little and big industries, afforded an opportunity for the abolition of private trading in factory products (decree of November 21, 1918). This made possible the establishment of a system of government centers throughout the country, which took the place of the former private stores.

On the basis of the new government organization of supplies there is carried out the principle of compulsory consumers' organizations. Beginning with February, the distribution of the products will take place along class lines, i. e., workers engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, matches, sugar, petroleum, vegetable fats, shoes, etc., receive higher assignments than townspeople, and the latter get more than the peasants (owing to unusual conditions in agricultural districts, which often render the lot of the rural population very favorable.)

With the progress of the organization of the national economy, a decrease in the value of money goes hand in hand, at least in so far as its necessity as a medium of exchange is concerned. This is evidenced by the fact that for the second seven-month period of the Soviet regime (June-December, 1918), the amount of paper money in circula-

tion was a little less than in the first seven-month period (November, 1918-May, 1919), in fact this amount remained at the lower level even in January, 1919, (about three milliards), in spite of the fact that prices had nearly tripled since the opening of the Revolution.

The decree of February 20th extends and systematizes our achievements: it provides for the transfer of all factory products to the appropriate national institutions (locomotives are assigned to the Commissariat for Means of Communication; guns to the Commissariat of War; textile fabrics to the Commissariat of Supply, etc.) without compensation, without even a fee for bank transfer.

It also establishes a mixed government budget of money and barter, under which system money is assigned to the factories (such as in cash or by opening credits in the national banks) only for such purposes (such as salaries) as could not be carried out by direct exchange through other institutions, for instance, by barter without recourse to the medium of money (thus even banking establishments will be supplied with fuel, raw materials, machinery). From July 1, 1919, on, it abolishes railroad freight charges for the transportation of cargoes; postal charges for forwarding letters by mail have also (since January) been abolished. The fact that social services must be rendered to the population without charge is now being realized, among other such free services being the abolition of house-rent in connection with the enforcement of municipalization of houses in cities, etc.

The gradual realization of order in the economic life of the country permits us to work more intensively in 1919 than in the preceding year toward the expansion of our forces of production. The establishment of power by the workers involved from the very first a fundamental change in the nature of the directions in which those portions of the national energy that are represented in the national budget, are being expended. Both 1917 and 1918 have budgets of about 28,000,000,000 rubles—about the same amount for each year. But in the first (or "bourgeois") year, two-thirds of that amount went to the Army, and the remaining items received the remaining third of the budget, while in the second (or "socialistic") year, although the war was in progress throughout this year, only one-third went to the Army and the remaining two-thirds to the other items in the budget.

Some of the great construction works planned in 1918 can now be carried out, owing to the cutting down of military expenses; such are: the irrigation of 1,500,000 acres in Turkestan, the canal to connect the Volga and the Don, the Volga-

Embe Railroad, the new naphtha region on the northeastern shores of the Caspian Sea, which promises to become a second Baku, and other similar constructions.

The increased authority of the dictatorship of the working class during the second half of 1918 afforded an opportunity for creating a socialistic rural economy. This was taken advantage of, chiefly by organizing the great agricultural enterprises, which were under the direct management of the Soviet Government, and cultivated by hired laborers. By the end of 1918 the total area of these Soviet establishments was about 800,000 dessyatins (more than 2,000,000 acres), of which about 500,000 dessyatins were in Great Russia, and about 300,000 in the Government of Minsk. In the second place, in order to facilitate the "urbanization of the rural population," i. e., its adaptation to the interests of the industrial population of the cities, the big estates were transferred to individual factories and to subdivisions of them.

The latter process was especially encouraged by the decree of the People's Commissaire of February 15, 1919.

All these provisions give to peasants with small, individual holdings, as well as to group operations, a new, large, state system of Socialist agriculture

(on the confiscated lands of the former landholders, whose land has not yet been completely divided among the peasants). In the future this will tend to decrease the economic dependence of the city population on the peasantry. The peasants will therefore have constantly before their eyes a great agricultural establishment, which will convince them by ocular demonstration of the advantages of a rational, collective economy, and will thus attract and persuade them to join in this mode of operation.

As is clear from the above statements, the new organization of Russian economic life is approaching that stage in its development when it will be able to solve the problem of naturalizing the earning capacity (i. e., returning to the workmen, in the way of exchange, all the necessities of life, such as rent, manufactured products, foodstuffs, etc., without involving any money transactions). In a country which is predominantly agricultural, such as Russia, this arrangement will have a great class significance.

For the present, the earnings are fixed at six hundred to three thousand rubles monthly, by the decree of February 17th, which limits include all the categories in the various branches of activities, beginning with the young day laborer and ending with the highly skilled engineer.

The Textile Industry under Soviet Control

FROM A MOSCOW DIARY

By ARTHUR RANSOME in the London "Nation"

THE CENTRO-TEXTILE

Moscow, February 22.

This morning I drove to the Dielovoi Dvor, the big house on the Varvarskaya Square which is occupied by the central organization of the textile industry. The head of this organization is Nogin, an extremely capable, energetic Russian. Nogin sketched the lines on which the Russian textile industry was being reorganized, and gave orders that I should be supplied with all possible printed matter in which to find the details.

The "Centro-Textile" is the actual center of the economic life of Russia, because, since textiles are the chief materials of exchange between the towns and the villages, on its success depends the prosperity of everything else. The textile industry is, in any case, the most important of all Russian industries. Before the war it employed 500,000 workmen, and Nogin said that in spite of the disorganization of the war and of the revolution 400,000 are employed to-day. This may be so in the sense that 400,000 are receiving pay, but lack of fuel or of raw material must have brought many factories to a standstill.

All the big factories have been nationalized. Formerly, although in any one town there might be factories carrying out all the different processes, these factories belonged to different owners. A single firm or bank might control factories scattered over Russia, and, so that the whole process should be in its hands, the

raw material travelled from factory to factory through the country instead of merely moving about a single town. Thus a roll of material might have gone through one process at Jaroslav, another at Moscow and a third at Tula, and finally come back to Jaroslav to be finished, simply because the different factories which worked upon it, though widely scattered, happened to be under one control. Nationalization has made possible the rational regrouping of factories so that the complete process is carried out in one place, consequently saving transport. There are twenty-three complete groups of this kind and in the textile industry generally about fifty groups in all.

There has been a similar concentration of control. In the old days there were hundreds of different competitive firms with their buildings and offices in Ilyinka, Varvarka and Nikolskaya. The Chinese town was a mass of little offices of different textile firms. The whole of that mass of struggling competitive units of direction had now been concentrated in the house in which we were talking. The control of the workers had been carried through in such a way that the technical experts had proper weight. There were periodical conferences of elected representatives of all the factories, and Nogin believed that the system of combined elective workmen's and appointed experts' representation could hardly be improved upon.

Nationalization had had the effect of standardizing

the output. Formerly an infinite variety of slightly different stuffs were produced, the variations being often merely for the sake of being different in the competitive trade. Useless varieties had now been done away with, with the result of greater economy in production.

I asked what he could tell me about their difficulties in the matter of raw material. He said they no longer got anything from America, and while the railway was cut at Orenburg by the Cossacks they naturally could get no cotton from Turkestan. In fact, last autumn they had calculated that they had only enough material to keep the factories going until December. Now they found they could certainly keep going to the end of March and probably longer. Many small factories, wishing to make their cases out worse than they were, had underestimated their stocks. Here, as in other things, the isolation of the revolution had the effect of teaching the Russians that they were less dependent upon the outside world than they had been in the habit of supposing. He asked me if I knew it had been considered impossible to combine flax and cotton in such a way that the mixture could be worked in machines intended for cotton only. They had an infinite supply of flax, much of which in the old days had been exported. Investigations carried on for the Centro-Textile by two professors, the brothers Chilikin, had ended in the discovery of three different processes for the cottonizing of flax in such a way that they could now mix not only a small percentage of their flax with cotton and use the old machines, but were actually using 50 per cent. flax and had already produced material experimentally with as much as 75 per cent.

(Some days later two young technicians from the Centro-Textile brought me a neatly prepared set of specimens illustrating these new processes and asked me to bring them anything of the same sort from England in return. They were not Bolsheviks—were, in fact, typical non-politicals. They were pleased with what the Centro-Textile was doing and said that more encouragement was given to research than ever formerly. But they were very despondent about the economic position. I could not make them understand why Russia was isolated and that I might be unable to bring them technical books from England.)

Nogin rather boastfully said that the Western linen industry would suffer from the isolation of Russia, whereas in the long run the Russians would be able to do without the rest of the world. With regard to wool, they would have no difficulty now that they were again united with a friendly Ukraine. The silk industry was to be developed in the Astrakhan district, where climatic conditions are particularly favorable.

I asked about the fate of the old textile manufacturers and was told that though many had gone abroad many were working in the nationalized factories. The engineering staff, which mostly struck work at the beginning of the revolution, had almost without exception returned, the younger engineers in particular realizing the new possibilities opening before the industry, the continual need of new improvements, and the immediate welcome given to originality of any kind. Apart from the question of food, which was bad for everybody, the

social standard of the workers had risen. Thus one of their immediate difficulties was the provision of proper houses. The capitalists and manufacturers kept the workers in barracks. "Nowadays the men want better dwellings and we mean to give them better. Some have moved into the old houses of the owners and manufacturers, but of course there are not enough of these to go round, and we have extensive plans in the way of building villages and garden cities for the workmen."

I asked Nogin what, in his opinion, was most needed by Russia from abroad, and he said that so far as the textile industries were concerned they wanted machinery. Like everyone else to whom I put this question, he said that every industry in Russia would be in a better position if only they had more locomotives. "Some of our factories are stopping now for lack of fuel, and at Saratov, for example, we have masses of raw material which we are unable to get to Moscow."

The Fight Against The Soviets.

(From "The Dreadnought," London, May 17)

The "Izvestia," the organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Government, February 15, 1919, publishes the following most important statement which shows that the Allies are endeavoring to force the Germans to fight Bolshevism:—

"Nauen, February 13.—The German representatives of the Armistice Commission at Spa have handed in a note from the German Government which says that on January 25th Field-Marshal Foch demanded free transit for Polish troops to Grodno and beyond, in order to repulse the Bolsheviks.

"At the same time Foch pointed out to the German Government that it does not offer any opposition to Bolshevism, and proposed that it should unite and come to an agreement with the Poles. At present the German Government maintains that the transit of Polish troops had led to a rising of the Lithuanians, and the White Russians who are resisting the handing over of non-Polish territories to the Poles, and the seizure by the Bolsheviks of some of these territories, notwithstanding that the regularization of the political status of these former Russian regions is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Peace Conference. Further, the German Government points out that the Polish power of resistance against the Bolsheviks is very insignificant, in view of the spread of Bolshevik ideas in the Polish army. For this reason Polish operations against the Bolsheviks are viewed with great distrust by the Lithuanians and White Russians. At the demand of Marshall Foch, the German troops had to evacuate Vilno, which was occupied by the Poles, but in a few days the Poles were driven out of Vilno by the very efficient forces of the Russian Red Army. Under these circumstances Germany refuses to assume responsibility for what may result from Marshall Foch's demands."

Note to the Allies from the Soviet Government of Ukraine

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States of North America:

The liberation of Kiev by the Ukrainian Soviet troops and the desertion to these latter of the Republican detachments of the Directorate, under the command of Ataman Grigoryev, which are now under the Ukrainian Soviet command, have brought our Red troops into direct contact with the Allied troops occupying the Odessa-Nicolayev region with its railway lines, as well as the Black Sea coast of Ukraine.

Calling your attention to this situation, the Ukrainian Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government energetically protests against the presence of troops of the Entente powers in the above-mentioned districts and against the actions of the Allied commanding staff as well. The fact that the troops of the Entente powers are there against the will of the entire worker and peasant population, against the will of all revolutionary parties, and are fighting the Soviet republics which have arisen within the territory of the former Russian empire, in spite of the declaration of these powers that they do not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia, and that the troops of the Entente powers are supported only by a handful of capitalists and landed proprietors, Czarist generals and reactionary officers, will inevitably cause a rising of the population against the troops of the Entente powers as well as armed clashes between the latter and the troops of Soviet Ukraine. This extremely abnormal situation is intensified by the policy of violence and pillage which is pursued by the commanding staff of the troops of the Entente powers. The command not only persecutes all adherents of Soviet rule, declaring them outside the pale of law, but under its protection a military dictatorship has developed there, which resembles the darkest days of Czarism.

In order to keep the workers and peasants of this region in the power of Gryshin-Amazoff and other figure-head dictators, the Allied commanding staff has made use of the aid of German officers and soldiers who had not evacuated the district occupied by the Entente powers. Thus, for instance, at Nikolayev, twenty thousand German troops are acting under the direction of Allied generals as executioners of workers and peasants.

Simultaneously with this policy of violence, the Allied commanders are carrying out a policy of robbing the population as well as the Ukrainian Socialist Republic. They have seized not only the entire naval fleet, both of Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Russia, but also the entire merchant marine, and they intend also to seize the vessels which are being constructed at the Nikolayev yards, in order to complete thus the blockade of Ukraine and Russia. At the same time, grain, sugar and other food products, which are necessary for the workers and peasants of Ukraine and for famished Soviet Russia, are

being loaded on steamers and shipped out of the country.

The Ukraine Workers' and Peasants' Government energetically protests against this unheard-of abuse of brutal force, which contradicts the numerous declarations of the Entente powers and the program of President Wilson, which has been accepted by them, with regard to the right of the peoples of the former Russian empire to decide their own destiny, and deems it its duty to demand the withdrawal of the Entente groups from the territory of Ukraine. In view of the fact that the invitation, addressed by the Entente powers to all governments which have been formed within the confines of the former Russian empire, to send their delegates to Princes Island for negotiations with representatives of the Entente powers, implies the intention of these powers to recall their troops, the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Government is willing to enter into negotiations by sending its delegates. Believing that the resistance of the so-called volunteer detachments depends on the support of the Entente powers and that the civil war caused thereby in Ukraine can be in fact stopped through negotiations with the Entente powers, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine is willing to conclude a treaty protecting such economic interests of the Entente powers as are compatible with the interests of the worker and peasant population of Ukraine, and with the basic principles and the honor of a Socialist state, provided the Entente powers will bind themselves not to interfere in our internal affairs. In order to meet the expressed desire of the Entente powers for a cessation of the civil war in Ukraine, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine has accepted the mediation of the Russian Soviet Republic for the purpose of concluding an agreement with the government of the Directorate, whose rule as a matter of fact extends only over a small part of Ukrainian territory. In view of the fact that February 15th is proposed by the Entente powers as the date for the Conference on Princes Islands and that we have learned of this as well as of the Conference itself only within the last few days, the Ukrainian Soviet Government believes this date to be too close and suggests its postponement. As to the place of the Conference, taking into account that the success of its work depends on the possibility for our delegates to come into contact with the political leaders of the Entente powers, we believe that from the standpoint of real results Paris would be the most appropriate place. The Ukrainian Soviet Government will appreciate a timely reply to this note.

Chairman of the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government,
People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs,
Rakovsky.

Kharkov, February 6th, 1919.

Why Are the Allies Still at War With Russia?

ALLIES' TERMS WERE ACCEPTED BY LENIN

Proposals from Wilson and Lloyd George Approved, Petrograd Report.

PROMISED TO PAY DEBTS.

By Isaac Don Levine.

Special Cable to the Chicago Daily News.

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Petrograd, Russia, May 26 (via Stockholm, Sweden, June 4).—President Wilson, supported by Mr. Lloyd George, proposed an armistice and peace conference to the Soviet Government last March. William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens carried the allies' proposal to stop hostilities on all the Russian fronts, to withdraw all the allies' troops from the territory of the former Russian empire, to raise the economic blockade and to recognize the de facto soviet and other Russian governments on condition that the imperial debts be paid and that non-interference in the domestic affairs of foreign countries be guaranteed. The Soviet Government agreed to accept the allies' proposal. The text of this proposal is as follows:

"The allied and associated governments propose that hostilities cease on all fronts in the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland, on a date at least one week after the allied and associated governments make this proposal, and that no new hostilities begin after this date pending a conference. The armistice shall have a duration of two weeks unless extended by mutual consent. All parties undertake not to employ the armistice period for the transfer of troops and war material to the territory of the former Russian empire.

Seven Conditions Laid Down.

"The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, not subject to revision by the conference:

"1. All existing de facto governments set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to remain in full control of the territories they occupy at the moment the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories. The Soviet Government and all other governments set up on the territory of the former Russian empire, as well as the allied and associated governments and other governments operating against the Soviet Government, including Finland, Poland, Galicia, Roumania, Armenia, Azorbaijan and Afghanistan, agree not to attempt upsetting by force the existing de facto governments on territory of the former Russian empire and other governments signatory to this agreement.

"2. The economic blockade to be raised and

trade relations between Soviet Russia and the allied and associated countries to be re-established under conditions insuring supplies from the allied and associated countries on equal terms for all classes of the Russian people.

Unhindered Transit Allowed.

"3. The soviet governments to have the right of unhindered transit on all the railways, the use of all ports of the former Russian empire and Finland necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between their territories and the sea. Detailed arrangements for carrying out this provision to be agreed to at the conference.

"4. Citizens of the allied and associated countries to have the right of free entry into the soviet republics of Russia and also the right of sojourn and circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere with the domestic politics of the soviet republics. Similar rights to be accorded to citizens of the Russian soviet republics in the allied and associated countries. Allied and associated governments and also governments set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian soviet republics. The soviet governments to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the allied and associated countries and the non-soviet states formed on territory of the former Russian empire and Finland.

Political Amnesty Proposed.

"5. The soviet and other governments existing on territory of the former Russian empire to give general amnesty to all political opponents, offenders and prisoners. The allied and associated governments to give general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners and to their own nationals prosecuted for giving help to soviet Russia. All Russians who fought in or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the soviet governments and opponents of other governments set up on the territory of the former Russian empire and Finland to be included in this amnesty. War prisoners of non-Russian powers detained in Russia and likewise all nationals of these powers now in Russia to be given full facilities for repatriation. Russian war prisoners in foreign countries, and likewise all Russian nationals, including officers and soldiers abroad serving in foreign armies, to be given full facilities for repatriation.

"6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the allied and associated governments and of other non-Russian governments to be withdrawn from Russia and military assistance to cease to be given anti-soviet governments set up in territory of the former Russian empire and Finland. The soviet and other governments existing on ter-

ritory of the former Russian empire to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously at the same rate to a peace footing immediately after signing this agreement. The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization and also the withdrawal of troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-soviet governments.

"7. The allied and associated governments, taking cognizance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia in its note of February 4th, regarding its foreign debts, propose as an integral part of this agreement that the soviet and other governments set up on territory of the former Russian empire and Finland shall recognize their responsibility for the financial obligation of the former Russian empire to the foreign states parties to this agreement and to the nationals of such states. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference. Russian gold seized by the Czecho-Slovaks in Kazan or taken from Germany by the allies to be regarded as a partial payment of the portion of the debt due from the soviet republics of Russia."

Japan and Soviet Russia

By Sen Katayama

The Oriental Economist, Tokyo, the only independent, fair and sensible periodical of power and influence in Japan, has said words in the past on the Russian Bolshevik government that ought to be well remembered even by Socialists. It never attacked the policy of the Soviet government; on the contrary, it advocated and insisted that Japan should recognize the Lenin government and warned the Japanese with such headlines as, "Recognize the Bolshevik Government!" (July 25, 1918); "Don't Forget There Will Be a Revived Russia!" (same date); "Announcement of Troop Embarkation to Vladivostok" (August 15, 1918), under which it criticises severely the Japanese and American policy in Siberia and asks: "Who are the Russian people that gladly receive the Allied countries' help?" "Withdraw Troops from Siberia!" (Sept. 15th, 1918), and again, "Withdraw Our Siberian Troops" (April 5th, 1919). It never approved Japan's Siberian intervention, but always upheld the policy of recognizing the Lenin government. It will interest readers to know what the paper said under the above title in the issue of last April 5th: "The Japanese army in Siberia lost, from January to March, 301 soldiers killed and 158 men wounded by attacking the Bolsheviks, and one battalion was lost entirely. There arose strong and loud cries against the Siberian intervention among the Japanese. Those soldiers died in the fields of Siberia like dogs. Our Siberian policy is an utter failure. We must withdraw our troops from there by all means! At first our policy and aim was to aid the Czecho-Slovak soldiers. When this aim was accomplished our aim was changed, namely, to attack and destroy Bolshevism in Rus-

sia—that is, we proposed interference in Russia's internal policy. Foreign Minister Uchida said in the Parliament that "the first aim of our troops in Siberia is considered to be accomplished, but we cannot withdraw our army. Our army is now to keep peace and order among those localities occupied by our army." What does it mean to sustain the peace and order? Minister Uchida said, "our policy is not to interfere with Russia's internal policy by any means, but if there is any one who is against our keeping peace and order, our troops' sweeping the Bolsheviks away was the result of the same policy." What localities are those occupied by our troops? The War Minister said: "The Japanese troops guarding the front lines extended over 4,000 miles and along these lines and their vicinity, Japan's troops are placed to keep the peace and order. Our aim being to restore Russia by sympathizing with the Omsk Government we agree to call those who side with the Omsk Government, the moderates, and to help them is to keep the peace and order today, so that any one who resists our soldiers who are thus keeping peace and order will be suppressed." Thus our Siberian policy is clear as daylight to help the Omsk Government with our army; those who obey the Omsk Government are called the "Moderates" and those opposed, "Bolsheviks," and to sweep away the Bolsheviks is our mode of maintaining law and order. Although Foreign Minister Uchida says our policy is not to interfere with Russia's internal policy—is this not interfering with Russia's internal policy? Really, our government is engaged in armed intervention on the Russian internal policy along four thousand miles. There will be no Russian internal policy for four thousand miles. There will be no Russian who will not consider us his enemy and hold a bad feeling toward us. In every country and in any age there are always disaffected persons. Our war minister's so-called "Moderates" are nothing but disaffected persons, and the vast majority of Russians are today his so-called Bolsheviks. Therefore, if we keep our army in Siberia any longer, the more strongly will we make all the Russians our enemies. It is better soon to withdraw our army from Siberia!"

As soon as we withdraw our troops from Siberia, the Omsk Government is sure to be put down by the Bolshevik party. Our soldiers in Siberia, since the beginning of the intervention, died "a dog's death," a useless death, and war expenses are simply wasted. We regret the loss on account of our mistaken policy, indeed! But by withdrawing our troops now we shall hereafter commit no more of such a senseless sacrifice and, moreover, the inimical attitude of the Russians can be eliminated. This is the opinion of the best people of Japan.

The Japanese Government's Siberian policy is upheld by the Allies, including America. It is a most outrageous policy. To them the Russian people are only the bourgeois class who are against the Bolshevik government and trying to sell Russia to the foreign capitalists!

A Chinese proverb says, "The mouth of the public melts metal." It indicates the influence of public rumor, but to counteract this apparent effect of the public rumor or even the public opinion, a proverb says: "Shinri wa saigo no shori" (Truth is the ultimate victor). All lies, falsehoods and twisting the facts about the Russian Soviet Republic and its doings have been poured on the people the world over for the past eighteen months to fool and mislead them. These lies, skillfully fabricated by the capitalists and their paid agents—journalists, editors and pressmen of big dailies, even those truth-loving Christians and god-fearing men, may mislead and cheat the people for a while, but they are like a house built on sand, or storm clouds before the sun; they will soon fall away before the truth. The true state of things about Russia and her Soviet Republic will be known to the world and the hearts and souls of all of humanity in spite of all the lies. We know all those big phrases uttered about the aims of the present world war which is just about to be closed, and the noble ideals of a democratic peace based on the self-determination of peoples concerned proved to be nothing but words and phrases! Capitalistic governments and their diplomats will not make a lasting peace in the world. We know that. There is only one true lasting peace of the world, that is the Russian Bolshevik peace proposed by Lenin and Trotzky when they formed the Soviet Government. At least this is the consensus of opinion among the great masses of the world, and I am glad to say that the Japanese Socialists are of firm belief on this aspect. They know fully well who are the Russian people and are ready to aid them by every means in their power.

Revolt of Russian Prisoners in Parchim

Attacks on the Guards.—Dead and Wounded.— Question of Transportation Home.

In the first issue of *Soviet Russia* we had an article on the Russian prisoners in Germany, in which we showed that attempts were being made to use these victims of the world-war for purposes of counter-revolution in their own country. To show to what lengths these attempts are being pushed, we print below, first, a news item in the Berlin *Vorwärts* of April 25th, showing co-operation between the Inter-Allied Commission and the German army in this work; and, second, the editorial comment by *Vorwärts* on this news item, which gives a number of implausible arguments for delaying the transportation in question, all of which proves how dissatisfied the Russian prisoners are with the attempts to manipulate them for ulterior motives.

News Item in Vorwärts.

The legal officer of the camp of Parchim, in Mecklenburg, reports the following, concerning a revolt among the Russian prisoners interned there:

On April 24th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the guard battalion was called out because some of the Russian prisoners of war were in mutiny. Individuals among the Russians had refused to work and had therefore been locked up. Some of the Russians now tried to rescue their comrades by force. The Russians were warned to keep the peace. Warnings were useless. A number were already engaged in actual attack on the members of the guard. Some of the prisoners tried to escape through the gate. A detachment of troops which arrived as a reinforcement, succeeded in preventing this attempted flight. Again a Russian officer of the Inter-Allied Commission attempted to persuade the men to keep the peace. He also had no success. Meanwhile two or three thousand men had gathered, who were addressed by a number of ringleaders with inflammatory speeches. Again individuals among the guards were subjected to assault. When a petty sergeant attempted to arrest one of the ringleaders, a general mêlée ensued. The guards now were ordered to advance slowly against the crowd and to press them to retire. In the course of this advance there occurred collisions on one wing. The guards were now ordered to fire. They first fired in the air, and did not fire at the Russians until the former method turned out to be of no avail. As a result of the encounter, there were six dead and nineteen wounded. The Russians themselves hastily followed into the barracks.

By nightfall, peace had been completely restored. The Russian Colonel, as a member of the Inter-Allied Commission, expressed to the commandant of the camp, Major Von Bonin, his regret for the incident, and pointed out that under the circumstances no other action had been possible than that which had been taken.

Editorial Comment in Vorwärts.

We are informed from an authoritative source concerning the subject of the home transportation of Russian prisoners of war: In spite of all attempts that may be made to secure an efficient transportation home of the Russian prisoners of war, such transportation must for the present proceed slowly, particularly for the reason that there are great transit difficulties on the railroads. In addition, the Russians can be taken across the Russian front at only one point, and the delivery of Russian prisoners has been recently interrupted also by the circumstance that conflicts are in progress just at this point. Negotiations carried on with the Polish government by the intermediation of the Entente, and aiming at a return of the Russian prisoners of war to their home through Poland, have not yet been concluded. The sea route through the Baltic cannot be utilized for this return of prisoners before the middle of May. Other sea routes,

such as the Black Sea, for instance, are not available through lack of shipping facilities. The difficulties have also been increased by our constant effort, if possible, to return the prisoners of war to their real home; for instance, we do not send South Russians to North Russia. Furthermore, all the camps receive equal attention in the matter of home transportation, but we must also point out that *because of the unreliable character of the Russians*, large transportation contingents cannot be dispatched, particularly not through the battle area in the East.

In Soviet Russia

(From "The World-Herald," Omaha, Nebraska)

The following letter is from one of the World-Herald's readers, himself not a Russian Bolshevik, who feels it necessary to denounce the false reports of "the Nationalization of Women."

Omaha, May 19.—To the Editor of "The World-Herald": In the issue of May 17 you give editorial comment to a rumor—now several mouths old—that "in Soviet Russia they are confiscating and enslaving the women and girls" in compliance to an official government decree. With a passionate display of indignation you seek to beguile your readers into accepting as authentic this bit of rather mouldy news.

I am holding no brief for bolshevist Russia, and my main interest is to resuscitate the time-honored American custom of fair play and giving the devil his due. This should always guide our actions toward an adversary, be it an individual or a nation. Do not renounce faith in the good democratic theory that truth is bound to triumph in the end.

As editor of a leading paper, you must be aware that you are weaving a pattern of wrath into a threadworn fabric of falsehood, or else admit that you are singularly ignorant in matters on which you presume to lead public opinion. Permit me, therefore, to direct your attention to an article by Mr. Saylor, correspondent for the "Indianapolis News," recently back from Russia, who investigated the famous decree on "nationalization of women" at the place of its origin, and found that it was either a bit of shameful forgery or a stupid practical joke, which gained prominence through the efforts of sensation mongers. Since the article appeared two months ago in such a leading publication as the "New Republic" (March 19) your ignorance of it is rather unpardonable.

More recently the Moscow correspondent of the "London Daily Herald" reported as follows: "I am familiar with the outstanding features of the soviet law concerning marriage and parentage, and can affirm that it is very like the marriage laws of most of the continental countries. I can state categorically that the law demands a civil marriage, an additional church ceremony being the private affair of the individuals concerned; that those desiring a marriage license must sign a statement declaring in the case of males that they are over 18 and in the case of females that they are

over 16 years of age; that they are not already married; that they have not been confined as lunatics; also that the marriage is a voluntary act on their part. This last provision in the law exposes the whole nationalization fabrication."

Permit me to point out to you, furthermore, since you do not seem to be aware of this, that nowhere in the civilized world has the equality of women been more poignantly recognized than in Soviet Russia, where women are not only accorded the same political rights as the men, but receive equal pay with the men and occupy the highest posts in the government. And I dare say no other country has on its statutes laws affecting women which commend themselves more to the higher sense of justice and civilization. Under the direction of Madame Kollontay the law has been put into operation providing for the free care of women for sixteen weeks before, during and after confinement. Special maternity hospitals have been organized for this purpose, and it is a tribute to the ennobling function of motherhood that these maternity homes are called palaces of motherhood. No woman after confinement is allowed to resume work until her physical condition is perfect. She draws her full salary throughout the period of confinement. This and many more things you could find out if you only had the inclination. But since you seem to be more interested in lending your editorial ear to reports of spurious decrees I wish to call your attention to a reward of \$10,000 offered by a publication in the middle west to any one who will produce absolute and indisputable proof that the sex decree ever was officially promulgated by the Russian Federated Soviet Republics. As an honest journalist you must produce the evidence and claim the reward, or else recant your indignant editorial. There is no equally honorable middle course for you to choose.

News from White Russia

5,000 Desyatins of Land as a Gift for the Polish Soldiers

The General Civil Commissary of the Military Administration of the Polish Eastern regions has received an offer from Countess J. Pototzky, offering to the Polish Government, in the name of her son, Yaroslav, a minor, 5,000 desyatins of land in the Novogrodek and Pansk (Pinsk?) districts to be divided among the Polish soldiers wounded on the White Russian front, as well as among such of the inhabitants of White Russia who would join the Polish army as volunteers. The benefactress binds herself besides to place at the disposal of the Polish Government 18,000 desyatins in the same districts to be parcelled out at a very low price and upon easy terms to the local population which has little land or is landless.

The Polish aristocracy is, apparently, trying to bribe the peasants of White Russia to fight in the ranks of the Polish army against the Soviet Government of White Russia. It is a case of giving away a part rather than be deprived of the whole.

Demonstration by French Sailors

The following dramatic account of the demonstration of the sailors of the French Black Sea Fleet at Odessa against the continuation of attacks upon Soviet Russia is given in the words of Deputy Emile Goude in a speech before the French Chamber on June 13 as reported by the Associated Press:

"The signal to clear for action was given on the morning of April 19," the Deputy said. "The men gathered in crowds on the deck and refused to disperse when ordered. Then from the battleship France arose the strains of the international revolutionary hymn. The men gathered in groups on the ship and the Captain then intervened and tried to discuss the matter with the sailors, who appointed delegates to explain why the Internationale had been sung. One of the delegates said: 'The war we are being forced to make against the Russians is unconstitutional. The Minister has not the right to use us for a war parliament has not voted.'

"The Captain informed the Admiral in command, who was on board the battleship Jean Bart, of the situation. The men listened to the attempts of the Admiral to parley. They were respectful in their attitude, but refused to obey his orders and insisted they should be returned to France. The Internationale again was sung in the evening. Sailors on other ships took up the singing.

"The Red flag was run on on Easter morning beside the tricolor, which had been hoisted with customary honors. The work on the ships was carried out regularly and the officers had full liberty. There was one unfortunate incident for which the sailors were not responsible. When the men were going ashore on April 20 a young Ensign fresh from the Naval Academy, seeing the sailors and French soldiers fraternizing with Russian men and women, ordered a machine gun fired. A naval Lieutenant rushed up, placed himself in front of the men, and stopped the firing. However, some were killed and wounded.

"The movement continued without violence, insolence, disorder, or sabotage. The tricolor never was lowered. It was a true revolutionary movement in the highest and purest sense of the word. The sailors, sons of the great French revolution, remembered there are legal measures beyond which French soldiers and marines cannot be employed.

"After four days of negotiations the Admiral granted the demands of the delegates that the ships should return to France, and that no punishment should be exacted from the men after their return."

— N. Y. Times, June 14.

• RUSSIA'S REACTIONARIES

("The Dreadnought," London May 24)

The "Manchester Guardian" of the 17th inst. published an interview with M. Kerensky. He is absolutely opposed to Koltchak and said: "He is merely an instrument in the hands of unscrupulous reactionaries. . . . There is no promise under Koltchak rule of anything but military autocracy and a White Terror." The recognition of Koltchak would be a "crowning calamity" is M. Kerensky's opinion.

Soviet Russia

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

Published by the

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SOVIET TOLERANCE

"Narodnaya Gazeta," a counter-revolutionary weekly, published in Russian in New York city, cites with amusement the fact that in a book of Russian songs published by the Soviet Government, and bearing on its cover the regular Soviet motto: "Proletarians of All Lands, Unite!", there should be included two patriotic Russian hymns by Zhukovsky. But perhaps the matter is not merely humorous. Minds not prejudiced against every step undertaken by Soviet authorities might see in this incident evidence of a rather liberal spirit toward the past history of Russia.



Interesting Russian News for Students of Soviet Russia.

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

Vol. I

NEW YORK, June 28, 1919

No. 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorials.....	1	Forestry in Russia.....	9
North Russia: Truth About the Expedition.....	4	Against Intervention in Russia.....	10
Russian Prisoners in France, Germany and Finland	6	Phases of Economic Life.....	11
Soviets Purchasing from the Chinese.....	8	The Population of Russia.....	12
A Catholic Opinion on Intervention.....	8	Hungary's Only Solution.....	13
		Press Comment	14

Peace is to be signed. When this issue of "Soviet Russia" reaches the public, the war between the Allies and the Central powers will have been officially terminated.

But what about Russia?

The systematic extermination of hundreds of thousands of Russian men, women and children by the blockade and by the wild hordes of Kolchak and Denikin Cossacks, amply supplied with arms and munitions by the Allies—shall it continue, making the peace signed at Versailles a mockery and an empty pretense?

With the signing of peace, commercial and diplomatic relations will be resumed with the Central Powers. The peoples of Europe, exhausted by five years of war, will have a chance to recover, and to try as best they can to make good the horrible losses inflicted by the mad carnage and destruction of the world war.

But what about Russia?

War was never declared against Russia by any Allied or Associated Power, yet all the Allied and Associated powers have been actively engaged in a war against the working people of Russia, a war surpassing in cruelty and relentlessness anything witnessed during the past five years. The blockade against Germany was never as complete as the blockade against Russia has been. Not only do the Allies themselves refuse to exchange goods with Russia, but they are using their military and political power to prevent the neutral nations from trading with Russia. A shipload of medical supplies bought some time ago in Scandinavia by the Russian Government was seized by British naval forces while on its way to Petrograd for the relief of the suffering masses.

Efforts to buy in Sweden fishing nets to aid the Russian masses in their struggle against hunger, were frustrated by the machinations of the same power, which succeeded to prevail upon the Swedish Government not to permit this transaction. During the winter, the Russian Workers'

Government bought in Denmark forty million rubles' worth of seeds. It never received them because of the Allied blockade.

A British correspondent, Harold Williams, sends glowing dispatches from southern Russia, telling of immense amounts of arms, tanks, and munitions continuously sent through Black Sea ports to General Denikin, one of the monarchist pretenders to power in Russia. He urges more efforts in this direction because he finds that tanks are weapons against which the Russian Workers' Army is insufficiently prepared. At this moment he wants more tanks to be sent. It will surprise no one if the tanks are to be followed by other instruments of torture and destruction, such as poison gas, flame throwers, etc. Mr. Williams, who is married to a Russian princess, formerly an owner of thousands of acres of land in Russia, is of course highly gratified that the Allied Governments, desiring to return this property to him, are willing to engage in a war with Russia without declaration of war and even after having terminated the world war.

Of course the campaign on the southwestern front is bound to fail, just as Kolchak's campaign has failed. It is impossible to overcome the determined resistance to Russian reaction by the Russian people, who for the first time in the history of Russia are engaged in a conscious and wholehearted defence of their rights. By supporting Kolchak and Denikin the Allies gain nothing. They only prolong the civil war. They only exact more blood. They only add to the sufferings of the Russian people and to their own sufferings. They only increase the bitterness felt by the workers of Russia against the Allied official world. They only make more difficult the establishment of relations with Russia, which are bound to come in spite of everything.

Of course the blockade cannot be maintained for any length of time. The peace treaty with Germany may include some secret clauses compelling Germany to participate in the blockade against

Russia. The Allies may hope that the flimsy buffer states erected between Germany and Russia will prove a sufficient barrier against trade between Germany and Russia, but the fact is that with the signing of peace an effective blockade cannot be maintained unless the entire machinery of war is kept going. But that is something on which the peoples of Europe and elsewhere do not seem to be entirely agreed.

A dispatch from Paris published this week states that the Economic Council of the Peace Conference suggests the lifting of the blockade everywhere, including Russia. We hope it is true. It is the only way to solve the Russian problem—in addition to cessation of support of Russian military adventurers.

* * *

The "Christian Science Monitor" has published the full text of the proposition made by the Allies to Kolchak and the full text of Kolchak's reply.

In their note of May 26th, the representatives of the allied and associated powers, affirming again their "cardinal axiom" of non-interference in the internal affairs of Russia, offered to continue their support of Kolchak's counter-revolutionary campaign against Soviet Russia upon certain conditions. In their desire to "help the Russian people to liberty, self-government and peace," they were willing to assist the dictator of Omsk and his associates "to establish themselves as the Government of all Russia,"—provided they could give guarantees that their policy had "the same object in view" as that of the powers.

Admitting that they were being "pressed to withdraw their troops and to incur no further expense in Russia on the ground that continued intervention shows no prospect of producing an early settlement," the powers were, nevertheless, ready to continue their support of Kolchak upon the terms laid down. Their first stipulation was that, "as soon as they reach Moscow," Kolchak and his aides should call a "freely elected Constituent Assembly," or, "if at that time order is not sufficiently restored," they should reconvene the Assembly elected in 1917. The second condition demanded that the Czarist Admiral should permit, throughout the area under his present control, "free elections in the normal course for all local and legally constituted assemblies, such as municipalities, zemstvos, etc." Thirdly, they insisted that no attempts be countenanced "to revive the special privileges of any class or order in Russia." Other conditions called for the recognition of the independence of Finland and Poland and of the autonomy of Esthonia, Lettonia, Lithuania, and the Caucasian and trans-Caspian territories; the final settlement of disputes regarding frontiers, etc., to be left to the League of Nations. Furthermore, Kolchak must accept the terms of the secret treaties between these governments and the allies. The right of the Peace Conference to determine the future status of the Roumanian part of Bessarabia was to be recognized. It was to be agreed that as

soon as the Russian Government was on a "democratic basis" it should enter the League of Nations. The final terms demanded that Kolchak abide by his declaration to assume the debt of the former Imperial Government.

Kolchak's reply amounted to a refusal to accept these terms. His letter is clearly a mixture of apparent promises and shifty equivocations. Terms which he finds inconvenient either to refuse or evade, he simply ignores. He begins without pretense, stating brazenly that he "assumed power" in November, 1918, and that he has no intention of relinquishing his dictatorship so long as he deems it "in the interest of the country." He refuses to agree to any date for the election of a Constituent Assembly, and declines to reconvene the Assembly of 1917 on the ground that a majority of its members "are now in the ranks of the Soviets." When the Bolsheviks are "definitely crushed," he will give "thought" to the matter of an election. Having thus relegated the Assembly to a remote and uncertain future, he nullifies all his pretended acceptance of the Allies' terms by reserving the "final sanction" of all decisions to this imaginary assembly. With this gapping loop-hole he ventures to say that his 'government' "thinks itself justified" in confirming the independence of Poland, with the question of frontiers "postponed" until the meeting of his hand-picked assembly. He ignores the demand that the frontier question be referred to the League of Nations. He is "disposed" to recognize the Government of Finland, and he wants to cooperate with his friend, the Russo-German-Finnish "butcher," General Mannerheim, but again is constrained to state that "the final solution of the Finnish institution must belong to the Constituent Assembly," which he will convoke when the "interest" of the country permits, and which he will tolerate provided it contains no members with Soviet sympathies. He refuses to recognize the right of the Peace Conference in the Bessarabian question. "Concerning the fate" of the other national groups, he is disposed "to prepare for a solution."

The only straight, unequivocal reply given to any of the demands is a repetition of his previous declaration to accept the burden of the Czar's debts. He does, to be sure, make magnanimous concession to the inevitable in admitting that there "cannot be a return to the regime which existed in Russia before February, 1917." One can only infer how much Kolchak must regret this. Meanwhile, exerting every effort to restore a vanished past, he talks of a "provisional solution" of the agrarian question and of unspecified "guarantees" to the peasants. With regard to the area temporarily under his control he has the audacity, in defiance of the known facts, to claim that he has placed no obstacle in the way of free election of local bodies. He concludes, as he began, with a brazen lie: "At this decisive hour I speak in the name of all national Russia."

Acknowledging this insolent communication, the representatives of the powers said that it seemed to them to be "in substantial agreement with the pro-

positions which they had made and to contain satisfactory assurance for the freedom, self-government and peace of the Russian people." Accordingly they expressed their readiness to extend the assistance offered in their original letter.

* * *

Kolchak, in the above document, convicts himself. If his record of violence and absolutism were not already vouched for by unimpeachable witnesses, and even did it not cry out so piteously in the anguished protests of the unhappy people within his grasp, this cynical document would make his character and purpose amply clear. He will call a Constituent Assembly, sometime, maybe. He will certainly not reconvene the Assembly of 1917, although that body consisted chiefly of deputies who were members of parties then strenuously opposing the Soviet Government. Evidence of his zeal for popular assemblies of any sort accumulates from countless sources. We offer a few from conservative Siberian newspapers. (No Socialist newspapers are tolerated in Siberia.)

"Daliokaya Okraina," February 21, states: "The commander of Vladivostok, Colonel Boudenko, suspended all the trade labor unions." "Otechestvennuiya Vedomosti," March 26, published an official announcement of the prohibition of the Siberian Conference of Teachers, without explanation. "Daliokaya Okraina," February 2, states: "The Bureau of Organizations of the City Co-operative Societies announces that the Minister of the Interior does not find it possible to permit the convocation of this conference, in view of the indefiniteness of its program and the affiliations of the participants in the conference." So much for the vaunted "co-operation" between the Co-operatives and Kolchak! In the same paper the Vice-Director of the Police Department announces the prohibition in Irkutsk of the Conference of Labor Unions of Vladivostok last January, setting forth the "complete abrogation of the liberties won in the two great revolutions," and asserting that the labor candidates would not be admitted to the Duma, and that the authorities had denied every possibility of a free election, by barring labor candidates under technicalities and by sending soldiers to break up Union meetings and intimidate the candidates, concluded with a resolution that the workers should protest against these oppressive measures by boycotting the election. Whereupon the unions were suspended by the military command.

* * *

During the recent "investigation" of the Russian Soviet Bureau, persistent attempts were made to show that the Bureau had engaged in improper political propaganda in this country. But the investigating committee, in full possession of all the Bureau's correspondence and records, was unable to produce any evidence in support of this charge. Despite this, however, it has been alleged that members of the Bureau, in accepting invitations to speak before Socialist organizations and

other bodies, have exceeded their proper limits as diplomatic and commercial representatives of the Soviet Government and have engaged in political activities. No records of any speeches by members of the Bureau have been produced in support of this unfounded allegation. It is true that members of the staff have often been invited to speak before Socialist gatherings. They have gladly availed themselves of such opportunities to present the case of Soviet Russia to American audiences. There was surely nothing strange in the fact that American Socialists have shown a cordial interest in the representatives of the first Socialist government in the world.

It is Mr. Martens' mission as diplomatic representative of the Soviet Government to open commercial relations between America and Russia. With this purpose he has been in communication with thousands of American business houses interested in trade opportunities in Russia. But an obviously necessary preliminary to trade with Russia is the removal of the blockade. Firm in the belief that the blockade would not be continued by the civilized people of the world if they knew the truth concerning Russia, the Bureau has gladly welcomed every opportunity to present the facts before interested audiences. In this respect, all legitimate means of publicity and public appeal were a necessary and proper part of the Bureau's functions. With the sole purpose of overcoming the existing misinformation about Soviet Russia, and with no intention of intruding into American political activities, representatives of the Bureau have addressed numerous bodies of various sorts, irrespective of their political color. Among the non-socialist organizations which have extended courteous hearings to the Bureau's representatives are the "League of Free Nations Association," "The American Academy of Political and Social Science," "The Knit Goods Manufacturers Association," several church forums, the "Dial" (at a dinner given to Professor Lomonosoff, previous to his recent departure for Moscow) and many Open Forums throughout the country. The Russian Soviet Government Bureau, confident that within a short time economic relations between Soviet Russia and other nations will have to be established, is always ready to discuss the advantage of trade with Russia before bodies genuinely interested in friendly intercourse between Russia and the rest of the world.

COSSACK ANTI-SEMITISM

The New York Yiddish daily, *The Day*, of the 17th of June, publishes a cablegram from its special correspondent, N. Shifrin, which reads as follows:

(European Correspondence)

"In the Cossack Government of the Don, in the section around Rostov, all the laws of the Czar against the Jews have been re-enacted, with all their restrictions and prohibitions, which are strictly enforced, including even the 'pale of settlement.' The Jews are prohibited from residing in the capital of the Government, Novotcherkassk. They are excluded from the universities. The whole public life is poisoned with anti-semitism."

North Russia: The Truth About The Expedition

(This article was contributed to "The Workers' Dreadnought," London, of April 19th and 26th, by "An American lately returned from Russia." We quote it in part herewith.)

Why was there an expedition to North Russia, anyway? To prevent the Germans going through Finland and using Murmansk and Petchenga as submarine bases: that is the usual answer! And that is a clinching answer, usually! No need for justification! And if you mention the analogy of Germany's invasion of Belgium. Oh, well, the case is entirely different. Besides did not the Soviet of the Murmansk district invite the Allies to land?

At Archangel the invitation was obtained after we had taken the place and nominated those who should invite us.

Now that there is no German menace, what is the reason for remaining on in the country six months? Payment of Russia's war debts to England and France, is the usual answer. Very few soldiers know that the Bolsheviks have agreed to pay the war-debts. The Bolshevik answer to the Prinkipo invitation was never published in English in the Murmansk district. Matters damaging to the Bolsheviks in Anglo-Saxon eyes are rushed into print at once. That Pandora tale of the nationalization of women, which has flown everywhere on mischievous wings, was printed and distributed among all the men. Of course, all the men read it!

The average Tommy isn't interested in the subject of Bolshevism. He doesn't feel the ambition to fight in a war against Russia.

The officers do more thinking about the object of the expedition. I heard one officer say, being irritated upon receiving news that his battalion should march on to Archangel: "Our being here is nothing but a capitalists' scheme to get a hand on the mines of Russia." One officer high in command spoke to me with surprising frankness: "Of course, I know very well why we are here. I, as an English officer, am here in the interest of England, in the interest of England's prosperity. I am a regular army man; we cannot have an army without money, and we as a nation cannot have money without an army." "But," I asked, "are the Italians and the French here also in the financial interest of their countries?" "Certainly," he responded. "And how about the Americans?" I questioned: "Don't you believe in the sincerity of Wilson with his fourteen points?" "Very likely he is sincere," said the officer; "perhaps our Lloyd George is sincere also, but our politicians are only the tools of our more clever business men and real rulers."

I doubt if the soldiers spend much time in argument about why and where they fight. They work hard all day and in the evening during such free time as they have, are naturally enough looking for amusement. They are wondering how soon they can go home; they want demobilization, not leave. The soldiers are not suffering greatly for want of physical comforts. They get enough to eat; at least now, though they tell me that during the summer they were working hard on less than half rations. They are warmly clothed for the most part.

There has been a great deal of "lifting" of supplies from quays, trains, and dumps. The Russians are blamed for this, but nearly all the soldiers know that it is our own people who are responsible. Some soldiers said they stole dainties which they knew would all go to the officers, otherwise, but of which they believed they were intended to have a share. The railroad in the Murmansk district is run by the former Russian railroad men under direction of head officials appointed by the "Allied-made" Government, through which we used to send orders relating to the Russians. Some of these railroad men will detach a car of army supplies, if possible, particularly if it be a carload of rum. Rum can be sold for a high price to the natives; they will barter the most valuable skins, or pay any number of roubles, for a bottle of rum mixed liberally with water.

Officers who promulgate the order against selling rum to Russians have been known to do a brisk business themselves, selling whisky obtained by their own messes to Russians. This bartering for large profits is called "skolkoing" after the Russian word "skolko," meaning "how much." The High Command has issued minatory orders about this practice, but it seems to continue, driven into subterranean channels.

Perhaps the greatest hardships of the soldiers in North Russia are the stupidities, red tape, and petty tyranny of "the army." It is not easy to lodge complaints against tyranny: the Army chiefs have those subject to their orders at their mercy. Even the officers see the farcical mistakes of the executive. One young officer who was a little independent has ever since been made to feel the resentment of the High Command.

The grievances of the Italian privates on account of the selfishness of their officers in keeping all supplies for themselves were censored again and again, till finally one of their officers sided with them

and the ruling officers feared to carry their high hand further; they began then to take some account of the common soldier. One officer had all the complaints which he sent to headquarters against his O. C. stopped by that O. C.

From certain evidence which I received from two friends, this same O. C. practiced the most diabolical tyranny on two Russians in the town over which he held command. The Government owed both these men big sums on large contracts, and for no other reason, apparently, these men found themselves accused of being Bolsheviks. It was made so hot for one man, a Russian officer with our forces, that he had to leave the place without the money owing to him ever being paid; his wife, to raise money to go and join him, had to sell her personal effects. The other man is still in town, and, so far as I know, still pressing his claim for payment of lumber sold to the English Government.

There is an amount of high feeling existing between the English and the bodies of Allied troops working under English command.

One mean bit of small jealousy cropped out in the friction between the American Y. M. C. A. men and the Army in the Murmansk district. It may have been felt that these American Y. M. C. A. workers had no place there where there were no American troops at the time, but certainly the trouble arose from another cause. The Americans were accused of doing propaganda work among the Russians; that is, their relief and educational labors among the Russians had the effect, intended or not, of making the Americans seem more the friends of the Russians than the English, who had the job of giving more or less necessary orders that the population did not relish. The Y. M. C. A. gave way, of course, and most of their representatives left the district, jurisdiction being given over to members of the British Y. M. C. A., who, so a high American Y. M. C. A. official tells me, are expected to do the proper propaganda work.

These petty tyrannies and jealousies are small matters perhaps, but the growing hostility of the Russians to the whole expedition is a most signal evidence of its failure. The natives are not only blamed for all the thefts, but also for the deaths of a few officers. The shooting of those officers about Christmas time stirred up a great feeling, but the nature of the whole episode in each case was so little to the credit of the officers concerned that the matter was hushed up. Three Russians were sentenced by an unwilling judge to be shot for one offence, and several others given long prison terms. It is needless to say that all these Russians who get into any such trouble are called Bolsheviks, even though they are nothing but plain thieves and prostitutes. The out-and-out Bolsheviks were put under arrest sometime after our "invitation" and occupation. The officer in charge of them told me all about them. They are maintained as a gang of workmen-prisoners to do the hardest labor on the Murmansk quay. . . . An Allied soldier goes beside each prisoner and sees to it that he "works." "Such a waste of labor, almost slave-driving, too," I ventured to suggest; "why couldn't our

own soldiers do some of the work themselves?" "Why, the Tommy wouldn't do that heavy work," he assured me promptly, "they come out here as soldiers, not as a labor battalion." Even among the anti-Bolshevik bourgeoisie there is a growing dislike and disgust for the methods pursued by us in North Russia.

Most of the Russians in Archangel and Murmansk are coming to believe what the Bolsheviks have said from the beginning, "that the Allies are intervening for some other purpose than to help the Russian people." And, on the whole, considering what has been our attitude under the present British military and political leaders, such a belief is logical enough. For the majority even of the moderates in Russia are Radical and when they see how we recognize only the reactionary elements they lose hope in our championship of political freedom. They might learn from our treatment of the Red Finns, who were driven out of Finland after the Finnish Revolution by the Germans and White Guards, and who at that time were welcomed by us. I don't know what we promised them, but now, at any rate, they are in a ridiculous position. We have undertaken to support a friendly government in Finland, but the sort of people we have chosen are not our old friends, these Red Guards and their leaders, but the old White Guards, their oppressors, the very same men, probably, to whom German militarism guaranteed the power. Moreover, the Russians in the occupied territory have found that there is little love, or hardly respect, felt for them by us. It is said that one General hates the sight of a "damned Russian," and will not have one in his office if he can help it. I have heard some of the best officers express contempt and aversion for the Russian. Generally, the natives are treated by our officers as inferiors, and certainly that is the army philosophy; the Russians are not fit for self-government—this, by the way, is the contention of Mr. Dillon, the well-known writer about Russia; he has written a book of more than 700 pages to prove his contention: Mr. Dillon is not the only foreigner who has lived in Russia and studied the Russian, and yet never become acquainted with the animal.

It ought to be said, however, that there is made in some quarters an attempt to please the people. Many, even of those who dislike the Russian, are quite happy to dance with his daughters, and they are quite put out if the Russian notabilities decline to come to their soirées, as was sometimes the case. In one village it was definitely one of the duties of the interpreter, an English sergeant, to call upon the families in a friendly, cheerful way; the men at headquarters used to joke about this scheme as a clever trick, and were congratulating themselves that the feeling of the natives toward the military was improving.

But all this paternalism and pretense does not fool the Russian. The Russian of these parts dresses, and eats, and amuses himself on a scale different from that of the English officer, and so, to the latter, may appear a dull-head; the Englishman does not realize what a clever, perceptive fellow the Russian is. The Italians and the French mix more readily with the natives and often pick up quite a smattering of the language.

Our greatest illusion regarding Russia, that the people are waiting to be delivered and will flock by the thousands to our standards, was quickly dissipated there on the field, although I see that it still lingers in certain quarters in Paris. We sent out a preponderance of officers and N.C.O.'s with the purpose of training the Russians. These instructors I happen to know have had absolutely nothing to do in that way. The local population has in no sense ever rallied to us. Those Russians who are in our pay have in many cases, I suspect, been lured into the service by hope of bread, for in Archangel, I understand, the Russian divisions have shown the greatest reluctance to do any fighting. The result of this indifference of the Russians to our ambition to free their country has been the illogical result, which is usual in dealing with the Russian question; we now have "suggested" to the Russian authorities, who are nothing but our puppets, that there must be a mobilization of all citizens, and at the present time the civilians are being rapidly mobilized in both districts. Everybody among us is saying how appropriate it is that the Russians should do their own fighting. In the meantime, there is little doubt how a good percentage of these conscribed men feel. I talked with quite a few of them. All hated the idea. Even the anti-Bolsheviks were unwilling to take up arms against brother Russians, and the really Bolshevik fellows avow that they will accept the training and join the Bolsheviks at the first opportunity; some of the anti-Bolsheviks said the same thing.

However common it may be to hear the people speak unfavorably of the Bolsheviks, especially if

one of us asks the question, there is seldom anything terrible, such as you would expect, said against them. Such feeling as exists is generally political except in the case of the prominent bourgeois, who know that much that they hold dear is at stake if a change from the social conditions is brought about again. The richest citizen in one village told me quite sincerely that he believed the only way to settle Russia was to kill every Bolshevik. "Every Bolshevik?" I asked. "Every Bolshevik," was his firm answer. I inquired about the Bolshevik atrocities on the Archangel front. Many men who had never been there were telling these stories. They do exist. So some Americans who weren't much worried about it, said. Some of the Russians, especially the Cossacks, stop at no limits in warfare. The atrocities committed by both sides in Finland were frightful. I heard some officers telling with great glee of what I should call an atrocity committed by one of our own Serbs upon a Bolshevik. The worst part of this story to me, however, was not what the big, barbaric Serb sergeant did, but the glee with which these professedly atrocity-horrified Englishmen told the story. The Americans were amazingly indifferent to the Bolshevik peril. Perhaps this is because they have been unduly affected by the discrimination which they say the Bolsheviks have shown toward them. They say that the Bolsheviks sent word to the Americans they would not attack them. At any rate, once, so these Yanks said, they held a position a whole month without a yip coming from the enemy guns, but that the very night they went out of the position and were relieved by English troops, the Bolsheviks attacked.

Russian Prisoners in France, Germany and Finland

(Official Documents and a News Item)

I. In France

(A note from the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pichon.)

March 11, 1919.

According to the exact wording of the agreement made between the Russian and French Governments, all Russian citizens residing on French territory and all French citizens residing on Russian territory are at liberty to leave the boundaries of the contracting countries.

The right to return to his native country is assured to everyone, including prisoners who are confined in jail.

The Russian Soviet Government released from prison all French citizens, not excluding spies, arrested while committing crimes.

This release was a result of a representation made by the head of the Russian Red Cross Mission in France, Manuilsky.

In the meantime, Russian citizens are treated in the most cruel manner, resulting in death and mutilation (according to information from France brought by a group of soldiers), in France.

The terrible sufferings which the Russian soldiers have to go through in France, are explained as due to their unwillingness to fight on the French front and to their legitimate demand of the right to go back to their native country.

In solitary cells, without light (with hermetically sealed windows), about 300 Russian soldiers are languishing in the casemates of Besançon; they are half-starved.

Exhausted from long sufferings these people reach such a stage of despondency that they lay their hands and feet on the railroad-tracks in order to have them cut off; in that way they hope to land in the hospital and obtain relief from their terrible sufferings, paying an enormous price of physical and mental pain.

In these conditions there are perishing 100 Russian soldiers in Marseilles, 20 in Bordeaux, 15 in Brest, about 150 in the prisons of Levals; Rennes, Nevers, Clermont-Ferrand; they are all innocent Russian citizens.

A terrible sight is presented by the life of the Russian prisoners on the island of Aix. There are more than 300 persons; among these are the main champions of the demand to return home: Y. Beltays, M. Volkoff, P. Kidyaeff, and Globe.

They are imprisoned in the cells of the old castle of Henry IV; their cells are below the sea-level. The absence of light and medical aid, dampness and hunger carries away daily 5 or 6 of these sufferers.

To a sure and unavoidable death are destined the Russian citizens banished to Africa. Their sufferings are increased by the fact that in a temperature of 50° C., and with food consisting of 200 gr. of bread and coffee, given once a day, these unfortunates have to make exercises; they have to carry on their shoulders bags with sand about 70 pounds in weight. The result of such a regime is hemophysis (blood-spitting). Those affected are thrown aside and left without any help.

The places of torture are: Algiers, Oran, Avrville, Kreider.

Referring to the agreement which was made between the Russian and French Republics, the Russian Soviet Republic insists most energetically that the French Government should fulfill its promise; the latter's duty consists in the immediate release of all Russian soldiers found within the boundaries of the French territory.

The Russian Soviet Republic, which fulfilled honestly and fully its obligations toward French citizens, expresses its firm belief that the French Republic will not fail to do the same and will put an end to the terrible sufferings of the Russian soldiers.

The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs asks the French Government to inform it immediately as to the measures which were taken in that direction by the French Government.

Acting Secretary to the People's Commissariat
of Foreign Affairs, L. Karakhan.

II. In Germany

News items in the press report that the Hoffmann Government of Bavaria intends to proceed with the utmost rigor of "exceptional laws," against the Russian War Prisoners, who were found fighting by the side of the Communists. Before the bloody act takes place, which will follow this prognosis, we shall proceed to explain to our readers this participation of Russian prisoners of war in the revolutionary movement of

Germany, as well as the tragic nature of their lot, and from this it will be clear who is to "blame" for inciting the Russian prisoners of war to revolt. After the conclusion of the Armistice, the Russian War prisoners in Germany expected to be finally released from their four years' captivity, which had continuously decimated them by hunger, epidemics, and exhausting labor. Their wish to be repatriated coincided with the interests of Germany, which began, after the German revolution, to take up the regular home transportation of Russian prisoners of war.

But in January of this year, by order of the Entente, the home transportation of Russian prisoners of war came to a full stop, and the Russian War Prisoners Bureau in Berlin was likewise stopped, by the same orders. The International Red Cross in Geneva then announced that "for reasons of danger to life," the transportation of Russian prisoners of war by the Northern route should cease, but that the transportation should take place by way of Odessa (where the army then operating against the Bolsheviki had been concentrated). The Entente Commission at Spa did not in any way conceal the real purposes of the cessation of homeward transportation by the northern route, describing this measure as directed against the increase of the Bolshevik army in Russia. But this was only one of the "aims," as transpired later. The inter-Allied Military Commission took over the "material and spiritual care" of the Russian war prisoners. The spiritual care consisted in importing from Ukraine hundreds of officers of the old regime, who were to undertake the "conversion" of the Russian war prisoners, as well as recruiting them for Krassnov's army. To be sure, this attempt failed, for the war prisoners, while they were eager to return home, objected strenuously to enlisting in Krassnov's army. The consequence was that they were now detained by force in Germany, and this fact produced a strong resentment among the Russian prisoners of war, resulting in some places in mutinies. The German Government now applied for the second time to the Entente Commission, in April of this year, requesting a cancellation of the earlier order. This cancellation was ordered, but unfortunately too late. The accumulated antagonism among the prisoners was no longer easy to suppress. The political "enlightenment" which emanated from the Entente was completed by the Spartacides. This was the nemesis of the measure of retaining the Russian War Prisoners by force. And now they are to be judged by the punishing hand of the German Government, the same government which bears a share of the blame for what has happened. The duty of the German Government would have required that it defend the rights of the Russian war prisoners, and not permit them to become victims of political machinations.

And there is another organization which likewise failed in its duty, the International Red Cross at Geneva. The latter placed its delegates in Germany and everywhere else at the disposal of the Entente Commission and completely surrendered all independent intervention. Consequently, the predicted course of events became inevitable. Will the International Red Cross at Geneva continue even now to neglect its duty? Or will it protect these unfortunates from punitive "justice"?

Or will the history of the martyrdom of the Russian prisoners of war be supplemented by another bloody page? (Züricher Volksrecht").

III. Exchange of Prisoners with Finland

It is reported from Helsingfors that the exchange of Russian and Finnish prisoners which had been arranged for began on May 16th, when 80 Finns were allowed to return home from Soviet Russia. In all 2,500 Finns will be exchanged for 1,500 Russians. Other statements also coming from Helsingfors present exaggerations to which we are now well accustomed. Thus, the Bolshevik troops are reported to be composed chiefly of "Finnish Reds and Chinese," and, instead of naming Rahja and Kaijunen as Finnish Red generals, the former is named as the place where Kaijunen's forces are stationed.

SOVIETS PURCHASING FROM THE CHINESE

(The article reproduced here, which is from "The Japan Advertiser," Tokyo, of April 17, shows that there are merchants in at least one country who are ready to have commercial dealings with the Soviets.)

Peking, April 4.—According to information from Ining (Ili, Sinkang) the Russian Turkestan Bolsheviks continue to purchase large stocks of supplies through a Chinese firm there, with the connivance of the local Chinese authorities.

The chief shareholders in this firm are said to be the Garrison Commissioner, his military Secretary and his civil Secretary.

Representations have been made to the Government about this matter but so far nothing has resulted from them, except a request for the Bolshevik special agent, Hopersky, to return to Russia. On that occasion the local officials gave him a cordial send-off, both the secretaries mentioned above accompanying Hopersky to the frontier with a guard of thirty Chinese Hussars.

The trade with the Bolsheviks has continued without interruption since the departure of Hopersky.

A Catholic Opinion on Intervention

From an article in "America," a Catholic weekly, by J. C. Walsh, staff correspondent at the Peace Conference, June 14, we take the following passage:

In Paris nobody any longer thinks of dogmatizing about Russia. The word Bolshevik is still to some extent a shibboleth, but it is not so fashionable as it was a few weeks ago for people who disputed about everything else to take shelter under an amicable agreement to denounce the Bolshevik. The change is due to recognition and admission that Russia is completely out of hand and that if it called itself something else than Bolshevik it would still be outside the circle of influence within which the fate of Europe is being, as is thought, decided.

If those who come back from Russia have different stories to tell it is because they went there for different purposes. The military-minded come back in despair. Those whose philosophy of life rests upon the efficient working of a factory come back in anger. Those who are in a hurry about the conclusion of peace in Europe come back in alarm. But one must add that those who leave Paris oppressed with a sense of the cynical selfishness of the great Powers, return from Russia with a feeling that there, somehow, there is working something which affords a gleam of hope for that mass of humanity whose interest is "above all governments."

It is useful to have this appreciation of first hand competent observers, for none of the other explanations sufficiently explain many things that have happened. A few months ago it was made to appear in Paris that the problem of Russia was relatively simple. I

went one day with a group of journalists to the Russian Embassy to hear Mr. Sazonof tell what should be done. He spoke with authority, for was he not the Czar's foreign minister when war was declared? He knew how dreadfully the people were suffering already. He looked forward to a failure to plant the seed for this summer's crops and to consequent starvation on a scale hitherto unheard of. He wanted a couple of hundred thousand soldiers sent in from the Black Sea, to occupy important transportation points in the Ukraine to form a sort of curtain behind which order could be restored; then the curtain was to be moved forward. In a year, or eighteen months, the Bolsheviks would be eliminated, Russia would be federated, order would be restored, and all would be well. I remember that at the time, although impressed by the confident assurance with which Mr. Sazonof spoke, I was conscious of a doubt of the capacity of the former confidant of the Czar, the former designer of Russian policies, to interpret adequately the spirit of that Russia which had overthrown the old régime. How eloquent, how statesmanlike and yet in the event how hopelessly inadequate was Edmund Burke's appreciation of the French revolution, so like in many of its attributes to this. The doubt has been justified. It is the Russians who have advanced their curtain. The allied troops have gone home by way of the Black Sea. Gone home is, I believe, the correct expression. They preferred not to fight against the Russian armies, whom they chose to regard as their friends, and their departure was covered by official declarations in the French Chamber against the use of French troops in Russia.

Forestry in Russia

Russia possesses the largest region of forests in the whole world, and timber is the next largest article of Russian exports, after wheat. Northern Russia and Siberia are covered with well-nigh virgin forests, only occasionally interspersed with tracts of cultivated land. In other sections of Russia the forests have been considerably reduced in area, yet even in Central European Russia they cover about one-third of the total land area. The total forest surface of European Russia alone, exclusive of Poland, according to the latest data was 377,000,000 acres. The productive forest land in 1912 was figured at 227,000,000 acres in European Russia, and at 248,000,000 acres in Asiatic Russia.

The forests of the Russian Empire abound particularly in conifers, though in certain districts and under certain climatic conditions groupings of conifers and deciduous trees are to be found.

There are about forty known kinds of conifers in a wild state, growing to a considerable height, of which the most common kind in Russia is the fir tree. Whole plantations in which no tree of any other species is met with are of common occurrence. It flourishes particularly in the north, forests of fir trees being practically non-existent in the southern half of Russia. There the fir is only met with among other kinds of trees. Next in importance as to the surface which it occupies, but taking first place in forest economy, is the common pine. It grows farther south than the fir tree. In some regions, in Siberia for instance, and in certain parts of the Urals, a particular kind of pine known as the Siberian cedar is found, remarkable not so much for its wood as for its fruit, which is called the cedar nut. The existence of these trees in the forests of Siberia forms one of the most important branches of local industry, and is the source of considerable revenue to the population.

In the Crimea, in addition to the common pine, there is a species called the Crimean pine.

Among the pine and other species the birch, one of the most common of leaf bearing trees in the forests of Russia and Siberia, is to be found. Some neighborhoods show whole plantations of this species without the admixture of any other.

The aspen is also very common, and is met with in separate groups or growing among other kinds. During the last few decades the space covered by the aspen has greatly increased. Birch and aspen very often grow on the ground formerly occupied by ancient forests which have either been cut down or destroyed by fire. They flourish on the sites of fir forests in the north, of oak forests in the south,

and on ground formerly occupied by pine forests, etc. The oak occurs more frequently in the south of Russia, where it forms forests in conjunction with other species.

In European Russia the common oak predominates, but special kinds of oak grow in the Crimea and in Siberia.

Among the other trees found in Russia are the larch, generally growing in company with the fir, the beech, the alder, the linden, the elm, the witch elm, the ash, the maple, the plane, etc.

In the Caucasus grows the Caucasian palm, known as the "Samshita," which is greatly valued. There also is found the walnut, on which knots or excrescences attaining sometimes a diameter of four and a half to seven feet are often formed. Similar excrescences commonly occur on the birch. The wood of which these are composed is of a particular texture and is extremely pliable. It is used in the manufacture of many articles of joinery, which are known in Russia and abroad as articles of Carelian birchwood.*

Five-eighths of the total forest area of European Russia were, prior to the Revolution, owned by the government and by the imperial family. The income of the government from the sale of timber for the five calendar years next preceding the war was as follows:**

Calendar Year	Income
1909	\$29,179,000
1910	32,805,000
1911	37,970,000
1912	40,325,000
1913	44,031,000

The exports of wood from Russia are shown in the table next following:

Calendar Year	Value
1901-1905 (annual average).....	\$33,888,000
1906-1910 " "	59,894,000
1911	73,248,000
1912	78,914,000
1913	84,856,000

Prior to the war these exports were directed chiefly to Great Britain and Germany, as appears from the following table:***

* Russia, Its Trade and Commerce by Raffalovich—Page 90.

** Annual of the Ministry of Finance, for the year 1916—Page 24.

*** Raffalovich, Loc. Cit.—Page 102.

EXPORT OF TREE-TRUNKS FROM RUSSIA

Calendar year	Value	Percentage of total	
		to Great Britain	to Germany
1901-1905 Annual average	\$8,571,000	9.8	69.7
1906-1910 " "	17,779,000	14.2	59.2
1911	21,009,000	20.4	48.7
1912	21,837,000	25.4	55.9
1913	27,196,000	17.1	46.7

PLANKS AND BOARDS

1901-1905 Annual average	\$20,624,000	59.0	14.3
1906-1910 " "	34,824,000	52.1	18.4
1911	44,632,000	56.8	17.6
1912	48,352,000	55.9	16.8
1913	49,615,000	53.7	13.5

Professor Hugh Brennan, lecturer on Russia at the University of Glasgow, in his recent book "Side-lights on Russia," discussing the possibilities of the Russian lumber industry, estimates that the lumber trade of Northern Russia alone can yield Russia

over \$95,000,000 a year, and that—"it would be possible for Russia, in no distant future, to pay off the whole of the interest on its war debts merely by the exploitation of her forests alone." (pp.33-34)

Against Intervention in Russia

(An Appeal by the Socialist Party to the Workers of France.)

In spite of the ceaselessly repeated protests of our socialist and workers' organizations, the daily attacks by our press, the objections of our delegates to the Chamber of Deputies—the French Government, together with its allies, continues to wage war on workers' revolutions.

For nearly two years, and, more particularly, since the Armistice, our soldiers, our sailors, and our money have been engaged in this reactionary task. To crush the proletariat of Russia and of Hungary, our rulers have joined forces with the disaffected adventurers of fallen governments. With our money they are supporting Shaplin at Archangel, Denikin in the Kuban, Kolchak in Siberia, all the Czarist fugitives who now, at the head of a number of mercenary bands, and taking their support from all those elements in Russia that are hostile to democracy, are attempting to strike down the Revolution in the interest of the old discarded system. They encourage and finance the enterprises of reactionaries in Finland, Esthonia, Poland, and Roumania, against the Republics of the Workers.

They are furnishing them with men, with war materials, with munitions, with gold in millions. French troops and Allied contingents are maintained at Archangel. The English fleet bombards the Russian Baltic seacoast. The French fleet is operating in the Black Sea, and while, to be sure, an expeditionary force landed at Odessa has not been able to hold its own, it nevertheless remains a fact that at several points Russian territory has been invaded by Entente forces without a declaration of war.

The new Holy Alliance is subjecting Russia and Hungary to the most rigorous blockade. Millions upon millions of human beings, old men, women, children,

are thus condemned, by the hateful method of the sanitary cordon, to hunger, to misery, to destruction, to death by inches. They have committed no other crime than that of living in countries in which Labor is attempting to free itself by replacing capitalistic anarchy.

The Entente cannot forgive the proletariats of Russia and Hungary for trying to break their chains and attempting to instal the new order which, for three-quarters of a century, International Socialism has been preparing for.

By a peculiar twist of fate, it is France—the same France which fought her desperate struggle in 1793 with the coalition of absolutisms bent on her destruction—that is now taking the lead in a coalition of the same order, simultaneously forgetting both her own revolutionary past and the underhand treachery of Czarism itself. The Socialist Party calls upon the people of France, not to permit the workers' revolutions to be crushed. If they should be crushed—at the cost of a renewal of bloody sacrifices,—a wave of reaction will engulf all our hopes of liberation.

Socialism would be forced to retreat in France and all over the world, our slight liberties would be in danger and the republic dishonored by the new Versaillesists in its pay.

Workers and Peasants of France, will you permit this crime to be accomplished without a murmur of revolt? Together with us, you have applauded the declaration of the Black Sea sailors, when they refused to carry out the beadle's duty, for which it was attempted to use them, and hoisted the red flag over the warships by way of protest. But this is not enough.

The Socialist Party to-day calls you to action. In England the "Workers' Big Three" threatens to stop work, if it does not obtain the immediate withdrawal of the British troops in Russia.

The Italian Socialist Party proposes a mass action to our three proletariats. The French working class is preparing for this action.

And this is not merely a vain threat. In order to save the revolutions of Russia and Hungary, and together with them your own opportunities for liberation, comrades, workers and Socialists, hold yourselves in readiness to answer the call of your class organizations!

Against the criminal intervention which is condemned even by those of the Russian Socialists who do not accept Bolshevik methods, you must multiply your efforts and propaganda. Circulate our tracts, our pamphlets, our papers. Attend our meetings by the thousands. Make the popular protest heard at any cost.

People of France! You who always were in the lead of the revolutionary struggle, you may still save the workers' revolutions, and at the same time secure your own salvation! Do not by your silence and your inaction become the accomplice of their assassination.

For the Permanent Executive Committee,

L. O. FROSSARD, Secretary.

(L'Humanité, June 3d, 1919).

Phases of Economic Life (Official Moscow Wireless News)

The Central Society of Flax Raisers, has asked from the Supreme Council of National Economy, the right for the Commissariat of Agriculture to purchase all flax seeds in those localities in which the production is considered best, and to choose the best seeds in the purchase made in other localities by the supply committees of the various governments. Thus will be eliminated the crisis threatening the textile industries because of a lack of wool and cotton. Formerly the provinces producing flax were the governments of Pskov and Lettonia, but as these provinces were completely sacked by the Germans before their withdrawal, recourse must be had to the governments of Viatka and Yaroslavl, and to the north and western section of the Government of Vitebsk.

* * *

The People's Commissariat for Agriculture has established at Moscow special courses for poultry-raising. It has appealed to famous scientists and to co-operative societies. The courses are free. The students will be drawn from the agrarian section and the co-operative organizations. Courses will open on February 20th.

* * *

The session of the Central Executive Committee of February 10th, ended with a report by the People's Commissaire for Agriculture, Sereda, who presented his proposal for "regulation of the Socialist organization of agriculture."

"The chief object of our agrarian policy is the socialization of the means of production and of the method of exploitation of the soil. The law for the socialization of land gave to the peasants an extremely small allotment of land. In the twenty-two governments of Soviet Russia, out of fifteen million hectares of available land, by November first there had been distributed among the various present exploitations, twelve million hectares, or 81 per cent. and the peasants were becoming aware that the increase of their holdings was limited to one hectare per person. They demanded for themselves the right to cultivate the soil in common. Thus agricultural communes were established in a number of districts and governments. The Soviet of People's Commissaires appropriated a credit of one thousand millions for the improvement of agriculture, and organized the dissemination of agricultural knowledge among the peasants. The effect of these measures will have a favorable influence on the provisioning of cities, since the exchange of merchandise is easier in great establishments than in individual management. The first method of Socialist exploitation of the soil is the creation of great Soviet enterprises. They include on the average three hundred to four hundred hectares, but it is difficult to establish them on good lands because the latter are already in possession of the peasants. The second mode of Socialist exploitation is the agricultural commune. But the best procedure is the method of common cultivation of land already practiced on a mass scale in many localities. In order to supply the peasants with the necessary implements the Commissariat has already organized the reconstruction and repair shops. In addition it has taken steps for the sowing of four million hectares at present not cultivated." The later speakers note the colossal, titanic labor achieved within a year among the peasant masses, to get them to pass from individual exploitation to communal enterprises. The results of the victory thus obtained will be a considerable increase of production and a drawing of the peasant classes into the orbit of the social revolution.

At the end of the session the following resolution was passed:

1. The agrarian policy of the Commissariat for agriculture, since it tends to develop agriculturally productive forces, and to socialize agriculture by the organization of Soviet enterprises in agricultural communes, and of a social cultivation of the land, is increasing with the fundamental problems of the reorganization of rural economy on Socialist principles.

2. All the local agrarian organs are invited to put into practice with emphasis the social cultivation of the land.

3. The proposed regulation for the Socialistic organization of agriculture shall be taken as a basis and submitted for final formulation to a commission consisting of Lenin, Sereda, Kurayeff, Milyutin and Hakhbarg.

The Population of Russia

The Central Statistical Committee of the Czar's Ministry of the Interior estimated the population of Russia, including Finland, in 1914, at 182,182,600 persons, and that of the Empire alone, exclusive of the Grand Duchy of Finland, at 178,905,500. (Annual of the Ministry of Finance for the year 1916,—Page 3.) These figures appear, upon analysis, greatly exaggerated.

According to the last census of the Russian Empire, taken in January, 1897, the total population of the empire, exclusive of Finland, was 125,640,100. The increase of the population, according to the estimate of the Committee, would amount to 42.4% in 17 years, which is equivalent to an increase of 23.1% for ten years. This is a higher percentage than the rate of increase of population in the United States in recent years, viz., 20.7% for the decennial period 1890-1900, and 21.0% for 1900-1910. It must be remembered that during the decade of 1900-1910, millions were added to the population of the United States by immigration, whereas during the period from 1897 to 1914, 2,555,902 persons emigrated from Russia to the United States. It may be estimated that about 19% of this number returned to Russia. This estimate is based upon the statistics of returning immigrants published by the Bureau of Immigration since 1908. This would leave a net loss of 2,000,000 persons by emigration, not to mention the losses of population in the Russo-Japanese war. Comparison of the census returns for 1897 with the results of the enumeration ("revision") of 1858 discloses the utter improbability of the official estimate of the Czar's statisticians for 1914.

In the following table the results of the two enumerations are shown in parallel columns for those sections of the Empire whose boundaries did not change in the interim through annexation. The Caucasus is not included in the comparison because sections were added to its territory after 1858. Central Asia is likewise excluded from the comparison, as its annexation was subsequent to the enumeration of 1858. Although vast sections were added to Eastern Siberia after 1858, yet as their population is, even today, very sparse, it was thought that their inclusion could not affect the results of the comparison.

Divisions	1858	1897	Per cent. of increase
European Russia	59,415,400	93,442,900	57.3
Poland	4,764,400	9,402,300	97.4
Siberia	4,321,300	5,758,800	33.3
	68,501,100	108,604,000	58.5

The average increase for the Empire, exclusive of the Caucasus and Central Asia was, accordingly, 58.5% in 39 years, which was equivalent to an annual increase of 1.2%, or to an average of 12.5% for a ten-year period, as against 23.1% assumed by the

Central Statistical Committee of the Russian Empire.

The increase in European Russia alone was equal to 57.3% for the 39-year period between the enumerations, which would be equivalent to an increase of 22.2% for 17 years, or 12.5% for ten years, against 42.4% and 23.1% respectively, as assumed by the Statistical Committee. Moreover, in estimating the increase of the population of European Russia after 1897, it must be borne in mind that the net emigration from European Russia to Siberia during that period, according to official figures, was equal to 3,331,824 persons. This number must be subtracted from the estimate based upon the rate of increase for the period from 1858 to 1897, which included three years of serfdom and 22 years of transition from serfdom to emancipation (up to 1883), when one-half of the peasantry were still "temporarily bound" to their former manorial lords, and the emigration of the emancipated peasants to Siberia was discouraged by the government.

The population of European Russia in 1914 must, accordingly, have been under 111,000,000, not 131,796,800 as estimated by the Central Statistical Committee. No account is taken here of the emigration to the United States, which grew from an annual average of 15,674 persons during the period 1858-1897 to 150,347 during the period 1897-1914.* Nor is any account taken here of the loss of the potential natural increase of these two classes.

The population of Poland shows a much larger increase from 1858 to 1897 than the population of European Russia proper, viz., 97.4% as against 57.3% for European Russia. This extraordinary increase was due to the development of manufacturing industries in Poland, which attracted to it large numbers of workers from the near-by provinces of the empire. Moreover, the restrictive legislation against the Jews forced many of them to emigrate to Poland. Yet, according to the same official estimate, the rate of increase of the population of Poland from 1897 to 1913 was less than the rate of increase of the population of European Russia, viz., 18.5% per decade for Poland, as against 23.1% for European Russia.**

The official estimate of the population of Russia made by the Central Statistical Committee for year 1887, compared with the census returns of 1897, showed an increase of 13.8% for the decade.*** This rate substantially agrees with the rate of increase derived from the comparison of the enumeration of 1858 with the census of 1887. According to a careful

* It is impossible to segregate the figures for emigration from European Russia and from Poland.

** The population of Poland at the census of 1897 was 9,402,300. The estimate of the Central Statistical Committee for 1913 was 12,247,600, the increase amounting to 31.3% for 16 years, which is equivalent to 18.5% per decade.

*** Supplementary Analysis XII Census of the U. S.—Page 31.

analysis made by Levasseur and Bodio of the International Statistical Institute, the population of Europe increased 21.2% from 1880 to 1900, which was equivalent to an increase of 10.1% per decade.****

Assuming the rate of increase of the population of the Russian Empire from 1897 to 1914 to have been the same as from 1858 to 1897, viz., 12.5% per decade, the total population in 1914 must have been 153,800,000. If the estimate of the Central Statistical Committee for 1887 be taken as a basis of comparison, then the rate of increase would be 13.8% per decade, and the population of the Empire in 1914 would have amounted to 156,500,000.

This estimate, however, takes no account of emigration from the Russian Empire to the United States. The gross emigration from Russia to the United States from 1887 to 1897 averaged 42,669 per year, whereas during the subsequent period, from 1897 to 1914, it averaged as stated above, 150,347 persons. This shows an excess of gross emigration at the rate of 107,678 per year. The excess of net emigration can be estimated at 87,000 per year, or at 1,480,000 for the entire 17-year period.

The total population of the Russian Empire in 1914 was, accordingly, somewhere between 152,300,000 and 155,000,000. If the latter figure is accepted the population of Russia will not be underestimated.

The estimate of the population of Poland by the Central Statistical Committee is close to the figure

computed on the basis of the increase of population between the enumerations of 1858 and 1897. We will, accordingly, accept the official estimate of the population of Poland for 1913 and add to it the increase for one year at the rate of 1.8%, which will bring it to about 12,400,000.

The official estimate of the population of Siberia substantially agrees with the figure obtained at the rate of increase procured by comparing the enumerations of 1858 and the census returns for 1897, and by adding to it the net immigration to Siberia, with an allowance for the increase of the immigrant population.

There are no accurate data available concerning the population of the Caucasus and Central Asia. We must, accordingly, accept the estimate of the Central Statistical Committee.

The results of the preceding estimates are shown in the following table:

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE, 1914

European Russia	107,800,000
Poland	12,400,000
Caucasus	13,200,000
Siberia	10,400,000
Central Asia	11,200,000
Total.....	155,000,000

**** Ibid—Page 32.

Hungary's Only Solution

(From Lenin's Closing Speech at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of The Communist Party.)

.....Comrades, the news which we received today deals with the Hungarian revolution. We learn from today's reports that the Allied powers had presented to Hungary a monstrous ultimatum demanding the right to send troops through Hungary. The bourgeois government, finding that the Allied powers want to send their troops through Hungary, that Hungary is once more faced by the unbearable difficulties of a new war,—the bourgeois coalition government itself handed in its resignation and started negotiations with our Hungarian comrades—the Communists, who were in jail at the time, and itself recognized that there is no other way out of this situation than the the transfer of the power to the toiling people (*Applause*).

Comrades, if we had been accused of being usurpers, if at the end of 1917 and during the early part of 1919, the bourgeoisie and many of its adherents could speak of our revolution only as an act of violence and usurpation, if even now there are some who maintain that the Bolshevik rule is based on violence,—if such nonsense

might have been possible before, Hungary has now shown that even the Bourgeoisie perceive that there can be no other rule than Soviet rule. The bourgeoisie of a more cultured country perceived more clearly than our bourgeoisie on the eve of October 25th (November 7th) that the country was perishing, that the people were faced by greater and greater trials,—that, therefore, the power had to be in the hands of the Soviets, that Hungary should be saved by the workers and peasants, by the new proletarian Soviet democracy. The difficulties of the Hungarian revolution are immense. This small country, in comparison with Russia, can be much more easily strangled by the imperialists. But regardless of the imminent and certain difficulties which the future will bring for Hungary, we can see in this not only a victory for the principle of Soviet rule, but also our moral victory. The most radical, the most democratic and conciliatory bourgeoisie has admitted that the Soviet rule is an historical necessity at a time of a great crisis, when a country which is worn out by the war is faced by the menace of a new war; its bourgeoisie admitted that in such a country there can be but one rule—the Soviet rule.

Press Comment

MAJORITY AND MINORITY IN RUSSIA

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the well-known English journalist, is one of that increasing number of sane-minded men who, irrespective of their personal prejudices regarding the Socialist economic theory, have felt themselves compelled in honor to protest against the capitalist conspiracy to throttle the workingmen's government of Russia. Writing in the English Review he says:

Whether we may think the Soviet system admirable or damnable does not matter. What does matter is that it shall have room to develop, to prove itself either valuable or futile. It has at least as good a basis in philosophic argument as the old systems, which postulated that the chief power must reside in a small class, separated by manners and mode of life, by education and the habit of command, from the mass of the people. One of Trotsky's speeches at Moscow last summer stated as the opposing proposition: That the chief power should reside in the largest class, the workers, who should employ it in the creation of a new order, in which there should be no exploitation of one class by another, and in which all means of production, all wealth, should be at the disposal and under the control of the workers. The only objections which can be urged against this are:—

1. The objection of the small class at present clinging to power.
2. The objection of those who roundly declare anything untried to be "impossible."

Ideally, it comes as near to justice as any system can; even upon the principles professed by those who oppose. They admit that the majority have the right to rule. The Soviet theory merely aims at transforming what has hitherto been an abstract and illusory privilege into a working reality.

So far the results of democratic forms have not fulfilled our hopes. Probably no method of government ever will avoid disappointing its enthusiastic adherents. But that is no reason for abandoning the struggle towards improvement. The conspiracy of the monarchical powers against People's Rule after the Napoleonic wars only prolonged the struggles of nineteenth-century reformers, causing bloodshed and misery untold; it could not check or alter the democratic tendency. Nor will conspiring among the oligarchies of today serve to do more than delay and complicate and stain with blood the further developments of this tendency—developments which have come into sight since the world-war shook the foundations of every system, flashing vivid light upon their flaws and perilous rottenness. It is for the peoples of France, England, and America to say whether they will permit such conspiracy. It is for them to give the word either for a useless attempt to prop up outworn oligarchy or for the free, unhindered growth of People's Rule.

THE "RUSSIAN" COUNTER-REVOLUTION-ARY ARMY

The Russian Liberation Committee, a Counter-Revolutionary organization in London, is sending out bulletins on the Russian Volunteer Army, of which it is said: "Now Russia has an army. She fights and she conquers. Her resurrection has been the work of the whole people. Only the spirit of the people has made the creation of the army possible." But how is this Russian army composed? The Italian Socialist paper, the "Avanti," has recently published the following details of the troops which make up the "Russian" armies, at Archangel, and in Siberia with General Kolchak:

SOLDIERS AT ARCHANGEL

English	13,000
American	4,200
French	2,300
Italian	1,340
Serbs	1,200
<hr/>	
Total foreign soldiers.....	22,040
Russian	11,700
<hr/>	
Total Russian and foreign soldiers	33,740

IN SIBERIA WITH ADMIRAL KOLCHAK

Chekho-Slovaks	55,000
Poles	10,000
Serbs	4,000
Rumanians	4,000
Italians	2,000
English	1,600
French	760
Japanese	28,000
American	7,500
Canadians	4,000
<hr/>	
Total foreign troops.....	116,860
Russians (of various Tribes).....	90,000
<hr/>	
Total Russian and foreign soldiers	206,860

Thus in Archangel little more than a third of the soldiers are Russian and of Kolchak's much-vaunted Russian army less than half are Russians! Beside these, there are the British forces at Murmansk, the Finns marching towards Petrograd, the French who were obliged to withdraw from the Ukraine. And Russia has a population of 160,000,000!

KOLCHAK'S CONSCRIPTS

(From "The Japan Advertiser," April 22.)

"Peking, April 15.—Dr. J. H. Ingrams, of the American Board Mission, who left here last September to do American Red Cross work in Siberia, returned to Peking yesterday morning. Since the latter part of October Dr. Ingram has been stationed at the American Red Cross military hospital at Tiumen, Western Siberia, at first serving under Dr. Charles Lewis of Paotingfu and finally taking charge of the hospital after Dr. Lewis' return to China."

Here follows a statement to the effect that, owing to the withdrawal of Czecho-Slovak troops from Siberia, but few soldiers of that nationality were received at the hospital named.

"The Red Cross authorities, accordingly, decided to take in other military patients, and since January many men from Kolchak's army, a few Bolsheviks, and even Chinese have received treatment at the hospital."

"Many of the Russians were suffering from gunshot wounds in the left hand, and these wounds were invariably self-inflicted. In order to get out of doing further military service these men had taken a loaf of bread in their left hands and shot through it into their hands, breaking the bones back of the palm and rendering the hands useless forever as far as handling a gun was concerned. Of 150 patients arriving from Kolchak's army at one time at least one-half had wounds of this nature."

We may infer from the above the zeal with which the men whom Kolchak impresses into his army fight for him.

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SOVIET FINANCES

"The Bolsheviks have proved themselves capable of evolving a system of finance and economy, which can be expressed, like orthodox finance and economy, in figures, and that can therefore be studied," says Robert Crozier Long in an article in the English "Fortnightly" magazine. Nationalization of industry, and the covering of practically all expenditure with unbacked credit notes were not invented by the Soviets, he adds. The paper money situation is no worse than if the First Provisional Government, or the previous autocracy, had remained in power.

According to Mr. Long the novelty of Bolshevik finance is that these two elements have been united. The Soviets, he says, regard paper finance as an accidental ailment which nationalization will certainly cure. Krestinsky, the Minister of Finance, expects nationalization to be complete by the end of 1919, and when that is accomplished the need for paper rubles will be gone. Already transactions between government departments are carried out without the use of money. The army and other branches of the national service are fed and equipped through orders transferring goods. Large numbers of workmen are now receiving permits for clothing, which enable them to order suits of clothes at the government factories without the payment of money. When all industry is in the hands of the government, this method will be made universal for payment for services.

One of the methods proposed by Lenin for rehabilitating the paper rubles, says Mr. Long, is to call in the present issue and print new paper money in a limited amount. Mr. Long discredits the statements issuing from anti-Bolshevik sources that the country is flooded with paper money. Until Sweden prohibited the trading in roubles, they had a high foreign exchange value and at one time approached half of par.

Mr. Long, who has watched events in Russia from Stockholm, does not expect the collapse of the Soviets from within.

GREECE REFUSES TO FIGHT AGAINST SOVIETS

It is well-known that Greek troops constituted a large part of the Entente forces in Odessa and in the Crimea. "L'Humanité," of Paris, May 22nd, prints the following Russian wireless of May 19th, announcing the refusal of Greece to continue the fight against Soviet Russia:

"The Greek Admiral in Sebastopol has assured the representative of the Red Army that henceforth Greece will not participate in the operations against Bolshevik Russia. Previous to his departure he called with other diplomatic representatives on the President of the Revolutionary Committee and repeated his assurances of Greek sympathy for Soviet Russia. In their private conversations the Greek representatives condemned in strong terms the Entente's action of forcing the Greeks to participate in operations against the Red Army."

ETHNOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF BESSARABIA

The Evening Post, in a recent issue, published a letter from Mr. T. Tileston Wells, the Roumanian Consul at New York, who claims that the latest statistics show the majority of the inhabitants of Bessarabia to be Roumanians. Mr. Wells refers to "the Russian census of 1891, according to which there were in Bessarabia 1,090,000 Roumanians, as against 535,000 inhabitants of all other races."

It would be interesting to know where Mr. Wells secured his figures. In the first place there was no census taken in Russia in 1891. The only census taken was in 1897. This may, however, have been merely a typographical error, but the figures quoted by Mr. Wells differ widely from the census returns which are found in the reports of the Russian census, part III, pages 70-73. The following is the distribution of the population of Bessarabia, by mother-tongue, which is the only official test of race.

	Number	Per Cent. of Entire Population
Moldavians, (Roumanians)	920,919	48
Ukrainians	379,698	19
Jews	228,168	12
Russians	155,774	8
Bulgarians	103,225	5
Germans	60,206	3
Turks	55,790	3
All others	31,632	2
	1,935,412	100

Thus it appears that the Roumanians formed 48 per cent. instead of 66 per cent. as claimed by Mr. Wells. The number of Russians was 155,774 instead of 34,000 as claimed by Mr. Wells. The Ukrainians numbered 379,698 instead of 215,000 as claimed by Mr. Wells.

The volume from which the official figures are quoted can be found in the New York Public Library.

Thus the Roumanians are short of a majority, even when Bessarabia is taken as a whole. The population, however, is not evenly distributed throughout the province. In the districts of Ackerman, Benderi, Izmail, and Khotin, as well as in the city of Kishineff, the Roumanians formed but a small minority. They form a majority in the districts of Beltzy, Orgeyeff, Soroki, and the rural sections of the district of Kishineff. The following table is a summary of the census returns for these districts:

	Number	Per Cent.
With a Roumanian majority	601,615	74
With a Roumanian minority	300,223	30
City of Kishineff	19,081	18
TOTAL.....	920,919	48

SOVIET RUSSIA

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THE EXECUTION OF HOSTAGES

The New York *Narodnaya Gazeta*, the official organ of the anti-Bolshevik organizations in the United States, reproduces in its issue of June 19th, the following item from a Siberian paper:

"By order of the Plenipotentiary Supreme Governor, for the preservation of State order and public safety in the province of Yenisseisk, on April 29th, the following persons were shot, in retaliation for the brutal murder of second lieutenant Vavilov, by Reds." Ten names follow.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

Vol. I

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorials	1	Safety of Popular Leaders Under Kolchak	9
The Lusk-Stevenson "Investigation" . . .	4	An Interview With Kolchak	11
Industrial Data from Soviet Russia . . .	6	Comments on Kolchak's Rule	12
Industrial Notes from the Soviet North .	7	Finland and Russia	14
United States and Russian Trade	8	Odessa Under French Rule	15

The "New York Times," June 30, prints the following dispatch:

"Negotiations have been opened between Germany and Russia with a view to re-establishing economic relations between the Berlin and Moscow Governments, according to an Elberfeld dispatch, printed in the Tageblatt of Berlin.

"The dispatch says that representatives of great German trusts have left for Russia to investigate conditions and fix a basis for future exchange of merchandise."

With the signing of peace the maintenance of the blockade against Russia becomes more criminal and absurd than ever before. It can not be upheld as far as non-Allied countries are concerned. Germany is about to take advantage of the trade opportunities which the Soviet Government has repeatedly offered to the Allies. Dispatches from Scandinavian countries state that they, too, expect at once to resume trade with Russia. Despite all attempts to create suspicion and prejudice against the Soviet Government, there are many American business men who also see no reason why America should not use the opportunity. The Soviet Government has no desire to trade exclusively with Germany. The commercial needs of Russia are great. Germany cannot supply them all. Russia is prepared to contract at once for many commodities which Germany cannot produce. The field is open to all. Nothing need prevent anyone from entering the Russian market, except unwillingness to investigate the opportunities or inability to supply the demand.

The blockade against Russia must soon be lifted. The recent report of the decision of the Economic Council to raise the Russian blockade is confirmed by the following dispatch from Paris:

"As Russia was practically blockaded as a result of the blockade against the Central Powers, the opinion is held that when the blockade against them ceases, there will be no blockade against Russia."

The same dispatch concludes with the following curious comment:

"However, Soviet Russia's lack of credit and inability to make financial arrangements is looked upon by financial advisers connected with the conference as a bar to Russia's resumption of trade on a large scale."

German manufacturers evidently do not share the opinion of the Paris financiers regarding the ability of Soviet Russia to enter into satisfactory commercial relations. At least the Germans are going to find out for themselves. There is no reason in the world why America should continue to guide her attitude toward Russia by second-hand manufactured scare tales.

* * *

Judging by Swedish newspapers the Allied naval operations against Russia in the Baltic Sea are meeting with obstacles similar to those experienced by the French fleet in Odessa. Stockholm "Politiken" announces that about the middle of May the French fleet had to be taken away from the Baltic because of the refusal of the sailors to fight against their fellow-workers in Russia. Another dispatch in the same paper mentions a similar occurrence on one of the British warships stationed in the Finnish Gulf. In both instances the red flag was raised by the sailors.

Nothing has been reported here about these events. The British censorship still is perfect, especially in respect to news of this character. But the truth will come out somehow, sometime. And the story is always the same. The common sense of the masses of the people actively reacts against the senselessness of the war against Soviet Russia.

* * *

A statement has appeared in the press, attributed to Attorney General Charles D. Newton, counsel to the Lusk Investigating Committee, in which it is alleged that "a large portion of the printed matter

found in the offices of the bureau was of inflammatory character, drafted for distribution among the foreign element in the United States" and that "these pamphlets were sent broadcast for the purpose of creating discontent." Attorney General Newton cannot have intended the seeming implication that the Bureau "drafted" any such literature or engaged in its distribution. Careful examination of the Bureau's files, to which he has had access, must have shown him conclusively that the Bureau never drafted any foreign language pamphlets and never distributed any. The finding of a few miscellaneous foreign language publications in our library or in our incoming mail cannot by any stretch of the most suspicious imagination be twisted into evidence that we have been drafting or distributing such literature. We have never printed or distributed any literature in any language other than English. The Soviet Bureau publishes a weekly paper, in English, entitled "Soviet Russia," devoted to the news of political, industrial and social affairs in Soviet Russia. It does not touch in any way upon American affairs. The Bureau has also distributed the memorandum in English which Mr. Martens sent with his credentials from the Soviet Government to the State Department at Washington. This memorandum deals only with the internal affairs of Russia and is a simple statement of the domestic situation in Russia and the desire of the Soviet Government to establish friendly economic relations with the outside world. Our Commercial Department has also distributed among American manufacturers a small pamphlet in English setting forth the commercial needs of Russia and listing the commodities for which there is immediate demand, together with a brief statement of our facilities for opening trade relations immediately upon the lifting of the blockade. This, together with the "Bulletin," published previously to "Soviet Russia," and of which "Soviet Russia" is the successor, is the only literature that the Soviet Bureau has distributed in any language.

An examination of the literature actually distributed by us can only demonstrate that our sole and consistent purpose has been the establishment of friendly economic relations between Russia and America. Any inference that we are engaged in any political agitation in America is entirely unwarranted and will be completely refuted by a fair examination of the facts which are in possession of the committee and which are freely accessible to anyone who cares to investigate our business. It is quite astonishing that, contrary to the actual evidence, an official in the responsible position of an Attorney-General sees fit to disseminate flagrant untruths in this respect. We are unable to protect ourselves against such attacks, but we feel sure that the public can not be deceived for any length of time.

* * *

Of all the perplexing situations due to the Allied policy in Russia, which have been attended by

wanton sacrifice of human life and efforts, the fate of the Czecho-Slovak troops in Siberia is one of the most striking instances of the hopelessness of the tactics employed in the struggle against Soviet Russia.

Originally the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia were prisoners of war taken during the early offensive against Austria. When the Russian revolution occurred in March 1917, the Czecho-Slovaks were organized into battalions of their own to be used on the southwestern front. The signing of the peace treaty with Germany and with Austria placed them in a peculiar position. Being technically prisoners of war and citizens of Austria they were required to return to their native land. For obvious reasons they did not want to do that. When the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia informed the Soviet Government that the Allies had promised them shipping facilities from Vladivostok to France, it did all in its power to help them carry out this plan. It offered them free passage through Siberia. This happened in March, 1918.

Up till that time the relations between the Czecho-Slovaks and Soviet Russia had been quite friendly. The Czecho-Slovaks had repeatedly refused requests to ally themselves with Russian counter-revolutionary elements. As a token of good faith they consented to leave their arms before starting their homeward journey.

But right there imperialistic intrigue played havoc with the Czecho-Slovaks as well as with the Russian workers. Insidious propaganda inspired by French militarists and conducted by Russian counter-revolutionists, made the Czecho-Slovaks believe that the Russian Soviet Government was harboring hostile intentions toward them. Similar propaganda disseminated among workers in districts through which Czecho-Slovaks passed on their way to Vladivostok, brought about some clashes between Czecho-Slovaks and the local population. All this brought about a state of suspicion on both sides and made the Czecho-Slovaks an easy prey to the counter-revolutionists and finally made them the backbone of the counter-revolutionary armies in Russia.

We are willing to admit that as far as the masses of the Czecho-Slovak troops were concerned, they had little to do with these intrigues. Insidious politicians utilized the situation. Ambition of Czecho-Slovak leaders bargaining for Bohemian "independence" at the price of using the Czecho-Slovak troops for counter-revolutionary purposes in Russia played the most important role. The masses of the Bohemian troops in Russia were misled. The result was their employment, with attending horrible losses by sickness and warfare, in an enterprise as foreign to the interests of Bohemian independence as to the interest of the Czecho-Slovaks as members of the working class.

The Soviet Government did all in its power to prevent this tragedy and it has always been willing to secure for the Czecho-Slovaks a safe return to their country. But this consummation, strongly de-

sired by the Soviet Government, and probably still more strongly by the unhappy Czecho-Slovaks themselves, who were sick and tired of the war, did not meet with the approval of the Governments of the Allies, particularly the French and English Governments. The Czecho-Slovaks were held in Siberia for purposes of counter-revolution.

* * *

Accordingly, instead of being sent home by way of the Pacific, the Czecho-Slovaks were armed and equipped and set to the task of fighting the Soviets in Siberia. There have been occasional reports suggesting that they did not like the work much, and that to a great extent their sympathies were with the Soviet Government against which they were fighting, rather than with the French interests which were financing and provisioning them.

Recent reports show that this state of mind is now taking very definite forms, as the following Associated Press dispatch from Tokio indicates:

Tokio, June 29, (Associated Press).—"The restless attitude of the Czecho-Slovak troops guarding the Trans-Siberian Railroad and on duty elsewhere is causing apprehension among Allied representatives. They are said to show a disposition to form Soviets, according to information received here. Their leaders claim that, if necessary, they will fight their way back to Czecho-Slovakia.

"Many desertions among the Czecho-Slovaks are reported and attempts are being made to pacify the soldiers."

It is therefore not astonishing at all that the following news also appears in the daily press:

Paris, June 23, (Associated Press).—"The transfer of 60,000 to 70,000 Czecho-Slovak troops to their homes from Siberia is now becoming a pressing problem for the Entente.

These soldiers, exhausted by years of fighting, are eager to return to their newly-formed republic, which needs their help against the Hungarian Bolsheviks, and have become so dissatisfied and restless that their usefulness in Siberia is believed to be at an end.

Some of their regiments have become infected with Bolshevism, and a general spread of Red ideas is feared if the men are kept from their homes another winter.

An equal number of other foreign troops will be required to police the Trans-Siberian route from Omsk eastward if the Czechs are withdrawn. The problem of transporting the Czechs via Vladivostok and thence by sea to the Mediterranean is a difficult one.

It has been suggested that they might be sent westward over the Trans-Siberian line and given an opportunity to fight their way through the Bolsheviks in Russia, either by the Ekaterinburg-Petrograd route, or by the way of Samara through Ukraine. Military experts on allied staffs are

apparently confident the Czechs could cross Russia if provided with supplies and permitted to make their way westward to their homeland.

(New York Times, June 25th.)

We just wonder with what feelings the Czecho-Slovaks will receive this new evidence of Allied "benevolence." They needed no fighting, had they been allowed to go home without interfering in Russian affairs. They were induced to fight, not for themselves, but in the interests of Russian monarchists and Allied imperialism. Now they shall be "allowed" to fight their way home once more in a westward direction and thereby, incidentally, bolstering up the very unsuccessful position of Kolchak, whose forces are rapidly moving to the East.

This whole proposition sounds like a ghastly joke, but it is by no means improbable. The policy pursued by Russian counter-revolutionists has been really of such a nature as to make this new suggestion not impossible.

The question, however, is just how long the Czecho-Slovaks themselves will stand being victims of such a hoax. In spite of all their offenses against the freedom of the Russian people there is a way open for their return to their home land, without any fighting whatever. Soviet Russia is still willing to grant them free passage through Russian territory, provided that sufficient guarantees will be given against the reoccurrence of their use as cat-paws of the Russian counter-revolution.

* * *

The daily scare of "Bolshevik atrocities" served the readers of American newspapers is represented this week by an article in the New York "Times" written by Mr. John A. Embry, American Consul at Omsk. His story, mostly based on second-hand tales, winds up with a passionate appeal for recognition of Kolchak, whose rule of terror eclipses everything that the Bolsheviks have been accused of. We also recommend to his attention the following excerpt from the London "Nation," June 14:

"It is not likely that our Foreign Office, with its obstinate opinion of the decay of Bolshevik power, which is in conflict even with the reports of British agents, is likely to issue another White Paper, descriptive, for a change, of the White Terror. It will not be very long now before it is known that our behavior to revolutionary Russia, well understood by all neutrals, has blackened the good name this country maintained during the war. It looks like an indelible stain. That is what comes of trusting our traditions to the keeping of politicians whose imagination was exercised solely in the art of political subterfuge. General Mannerheim is a 'friend' of ours. (Think how his name not long ago would have set the half-witted furiously questioning). He rules Finland, confessedly, by dividing it into Red and White. Our troops are his troops. He is aiding us in the Petrograd adventure. Yet this man

dare not land anywhere in Scandinavia. There they know what he is. For in Scandinavia they are aware (though it is not known here) that 90,000 Reds surrendered to the Whites in Finland; that between June 4th and September 14th, 1918, 20,000 were murdered, including women, in batches to the number of 2,000, by machine-gun fire. The others were put into camps, where 11,000 died of starvation, their friends and relatives not being allowed to send them any food. Yet this Mannerheim is our ally. And has the Foreign Office been informed from the Caucasus by an august British officer that, when visiting Denikin's headquarters, he found projecting above the ground the heads of thirty men who had been buried alive?"

The following is a quotation from another article in the same issue of the London "Nation":

"Frankly, we attach little importance to Admiral Kolchak's promises. Wherever his armies have gone they have made a reign of terror. They habitually shoot not merely the leaders, but every simple citizen who can be convicted of Socialism. Ample evidence has been published of these proceedings. The Bolshevik terror at its worst struck at the propertied few. The White Terror is aimed at the democratic mass, nor does it distinguish between the Bolshevik and the moderate evolutionary Socialist."

The Lusk-Stevenson "Investigation"

The Lusk committee for the investigation of Bolshevism, with Mr. Archibald E. Stevenson as its mentor, has now taken up the more serious work—and, let us hope, more instructive for the members of the committee—of studying the constitution of Soviet Russia and the decrees of the Soviet Government. Apparently the committee, or rather Mr. Stevenson, is through with the work of "exposing" the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. It is, therefore, worth while to sum up Mr. Stevenson's achievements in this respect.

The raid on the Soviet Bureau was justified by Attorney General Newton on the ground that the Bureau had interfered in the internal affairs of the United States, conducting a propaganda aiming at the overthrow of the United States Government.

Mr. Stevenson and his collaborators had at their disposal all the records of the Soviet Bureau and of the Information Bureau of the Finnish People's Republic under charge of Mr. S. Nuorteva, which for many months previous to the opening of the Soviet Bureau had tried to present the truth about the situation in Soviet Russia. It should be noted also that the committee, to demonstrate its "fairness," has excluded from the "public" hearings representatives of the Bureau, giving Mr. Stevenson a free hand to present any "evidence" and to interpret it in any way he sees fit. With what results?

Let us point out at the outset that, as far as the headlines in the obliging dailies are concerned, Mr. Stevenson would seem to have proven his case against the Bureau. But a perusal of the "evidence" would convince any intelligent reader that the headlines were misleading and that Mr. Stevenson's "discoveries" have proven nothing but what has been known to everyone who has followed even superficially the open activities of the Soviet Bureau.

Mr. Stevenson "discovered" that socialist organizations have sent resolutions of welcome to the Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in the United States as well as requests to speak at

mass-meetings arranged by them. Is there anything surprising in Socialist organizations greeting the Representative of the first Socialist Republic? Besides, the resolutions have nothing to do with the activity of the Bureau, and most of them had been published at the time in various Socialist publications. As to the meetings, they were conducted in the open, they were advertised and reported in the press. The representatives of Soviet Russia, as the reports would show, spoke at these meetings only on the situation in Russia. Was there anything in this to warrant the invasion of the Soviet Bureau in violation of international customs with regard to diplomatic representatives?

Mr. Stevenson also presented as "evidence" the following night letter to the United States District Attorney of Norfolk, Virginia:

"Please send, if possible, information by wire collect, stating charges under which Wasily Trimiloff and James Logow are now confined in city jail of Norfolk and when trial will be held. I desire to provide counsel, as I understand the prisoners are now unrepresented.

“(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,
“Representative Russian Soviet Republic.”

This "conspiracy" with the United States District Attorney hardly requires any comment. Or does justice, in the opinion of the committee, require that only the prosecution be represented in court?

But Mr. Stevenson has become "eminent" as a list-composer, and he has not failed to live up to his reputation. Out of the thousands of business firms, newspapers, magazines, journalists and educators who would naturally be interested in getting information about Russia and who were on the mailing list of the Bureau, Mr. Stevenson presented to the committee a selected list of a number of Socialist and labor periodicals and of individuals, whom he characterized as "leaders of the radicals and liberals and apologists for radicals." It is in-

teresting to note that Mr. Stevenson cited the following names: Robert W. Bruere, journalist, formerly head of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research; B. W. Huebsch, publisher; John Lovejoy Elliott, educator and director of the National Civil Liberties Bureau; Professor Carleton Hayes of Columbia University, former officer of the Military Intelligence Bureau; Paul U. Kellogg, editor of "The Survey"; Amos Pinchot, journalist; Colonel Raymond Robins, Colonel Thomas D. Thatcher, Colonel William Boice Thomson, Lillian D. Wald, settlement worker, and Walter E. Weyl of "The New Republic." According to Mr. Stevenson, some of these have committed the unforgivable crime of signing the appeal to American Liberals for funds to defend the I. W. W.

Among the carefully selected material which was presented by Mr. Stevenson to the committee as "incriminating evidence" against the Soviet Bureau, there are two documents which deserve particular attention. One is a letter from Mr. Nuorteva to Cleveland Socialists, which in part says: "I am interested in presenting the case of the Russian Soviets and in nothing else." The other is a memorandum (written in Russian) from the former head of the railroad department of the Bureau, Professor G. V. Lomonosoff, in which the latter reports on the attitude of the State Department and on the probability of establishing commercial relations between the United States and the Russian Soviet Republic. Professor Lomonosoff asks for instructions: "Is it possible in private conversations, once one is asked about it, to state directly that we are not only not engaged in propaganda, but have such instructions from Moscow?" This is the translation reported in the newspapers. A correct translation would be: "May I in private conversations, if I should be asked about it, explicitly state that not only are we not engaged in propaganda, but that we have instructions to this effect from Moscow?" Both the quotations from Mr. Nuorteva's letter and from Professor Lomonosoff's memorandum leave no doubt that the Soviet Bureau could not have been engaged in any revolutionary propaganda.

Such is the "evidence" which was carefully selected and diligently misinterpreted by Mr. Stevenson. The lying headlines of the newspapers notwithstanding, this evidence proves beyond doubt that the Soviet Bureau has only tried to convey to the people of the United States true information about the situation in Russia in order to do away with the obstacles in the way of establishing friendly relations between the United States and the Russian Soviet Republic. The Soviet Bureau has carried on this work in the open, issuing statements to the newspapers and publishing, first the "Information Bulletin," and now the weekly "Soviet Russia." The raid on the Bureau was absolutely unjustified and unwarranted, and the fake "investigation" has proven it.

It is not surprising that two of the committee's translators handed in their resignations. One of these translators, Mr. Feliciu Vexler, of Columbia University, in a statement to the press, pointing out that he is not a Socialist and is "in no sense a sympathizer with the Soviet Government," gives the reasons for his resignation in an interesting description of the methods and intentions of the "investigators." We quote this in part:

"I have resigned my position as a translator for Mr. Stevenson because I could not do my work in connection with the raid on the Soviet Bureau with a clear conscience. . . .

"In my opinion, Mr. Stevenson and those for whom he works, are pursuing the methods of the former Czars of Russia. . . .

"The raid on the Soviet Bureau seemed to me to be violence under the thinnest pretense of legal form. As soon as I realized what was actually going on, I handed in my resignation. Now, as I have said, my conscience is clear.

"What forces are at work behind Mr. Stevenson, I do not know, but I do know one thing that will astonish every American citizen. Associated with Stevenson, and one of the few men who had access to the room to which the Soviet papers were taken, was a man by the name of Nathan. I was told by one of the raiding group that Mr. Nathan is Chief of the British Secret Service in America. . . .

"Besides Nathan, there were only a handful of others who had access to the Soviet documents. Among them was a private detective named Grunewald, a banker by the name of Proctor, Mr. Converse, who made the affidavits in the case, and a man who goes by the name of Mr. Vanderpool. The significant thing is that so far as I know not a single member of the Lusk Committee was present when I was working over the papers. The whole thing seemed to be the private affair of Stevenson and Nathan.

"These men showed in everything they said to me, and they talked to me freely, including Stevenson, that they were not engaged in seeking the truth in this so-called investigation, but on the contrary were trying in every way to 'get something on it,' as the phrase goes, and to prejudice the case in the public press. . . . After examining the papers I remarked to Stevenson that there was nothing criminal in any of the exhibits submitted which I had examined, and on which Mr. Stevenson told me the case against the Soviet Bureau was to rest. I said they might prove a boomerang. Stevenson admitted that there was nothing among the papers found which the people raided could not explain, but it would be too late."

In an interview with a reporter of "The New York Call," Mr. Vexler grudgingly amplified this

statement and made the following significant addition:

"As an illustration of the methods pursued by Stevenson, a plan of a Russian consular system, which I had handled among the other papers seized in the raid, was to be put forward in an attempt to prove that this was really

an effort to establish Soviets in this country. Stevenson said that it could be used as a link in the chain to prove that such was the intention of the Soviet representatives."

It seems, therefore, that Mr. Vexler's resignation prevented Mr. Stevenson from planting a frame-up on the Soviet Bureau.

Industrial Data from Soviet Russia

The Swedish daily "Politiken" prints an interview which Mr. Yrjö Sirola, the Foreign Minister of the Finnish Socialist Government, had with Mr. Larin, the chief economic expert of the Supreme Economic Council of Russia.

The first question was what obstacles there are to a proper development of the productive activities of Soviet Russia. "The chief obstacle," said Larin, "is the isolation of Russia. Contrary to prevailing notions Russia had achieved before the revolution a considerable degree of industrial development. So, for instance, Russia had a greater number of industrial establishments with more than 1,000 employees than Germany. The trouble however, was that the industries of Russia were not self-sufficient. In many respects we depended on imports. So, for instance, we used to import tools from Germany, especially parts of locomotives (pipes, etc.) were imported from abroad (Austria, Germany, etc.). For this reason repairing of locomotives at this time is very difficult, often altogether impossible. Russia used to have about thirty thousand locomotives. Today only four thousand are available. About five thousand locomotives could be repaired very easily, but lack of important implements makes this impossible.

"Has the sabotage by bourgeois experts anything to do with the difficulties?" Larin was asked. "Perhaps to some extent," he answered. "But not to any considerable degree. Statistics show that requisitions for reserve parts come from various parts of the country in about the same proportion so that there is nothing exceptional in such requests.

"Other means of production for which we used to depend on imports are circular saws, etc. We are lacking pulp for paper factories. Up till now we have been able to get along on available reserves but they are being exhausted. Our needs for news print paper are 200,000 pounds a month, but we can distribute only 100,000 pounds. You understand what difficulties are thereby created for our educational activities.

"Our isolation hampers our food policy directly and indirectly. We are separated from important grain districts and difficulties in the development of industries have a bad effect on means of communication and exchange of products with rural districts.

"Considering the productive activities of our revolution you must remember first of all, that the first year of the revolution was taken up by political work, to lay the foundation on which the work of reconstruction could go on. Industrial activities did not cease altogether, but we were lacking a definite general program of reconstruction. Gradually it became possible for us to take an inventory of the most important supplies and raw material so that the reconstruction could go on, on that basis."

"I have here," said Larin, "some statistics regarding the textile industry. The textile industry is one of the most important and the statistics are very instructive. Our available raw materials are wool, flax and cotton. Before the war, Russia used to produce 3.5 million pounds of wool annually. In this respect, up till last fall, we found ourselves in a very bad position. So, for instance, last September we succeeded in gathering only 33,000 pounds (a pound=about 32 lbs.) and in October, 45,000 pounds. But after the capture of Samara in October, 1918, we gathered in November 365,000 pounds. In December, we got 282,000 pounds and in January, after the capture of Orenburg, 390,000 pounds. We now have on our hands 1,600,000 pounds of wool and the woolen industry is very active. The centers of that industry are in Yaroslavl, Kazan and Nizhni-Novgorod.

"As to flax, our supplies have steadily increased, especially after the capture of Pskov, Vitebsk and other flax producing districts. By December last year, we had one million two hundred thousand pounds. By February, 2,400,000, by February 22nd, 3.4 and by March 8th, 8.5 million pounds.

"The actual production of linen manufactures in Russia before the war was 3 million pounds. The gathering of raw material is still going on, and at least 2 million pounds more will be gathered before the next crop. Linen factories are all in good condition.

"Turkestan, which is our cotton region, has recently been added to the territory of Soviet Russia. The crop was very good last year but the area of cultivation has diminished. Grain had been planted where formerly cotton was grown because

the import of grain from Russia had declined. Our cotton crop was only 3 million pouds. Before the war it was five times as much. But on the other hand there is a great surplus of cotton in Turkestan from former years, so that production of cotton goods can go on. There were reserve supplies in Turkestan of tens of millions of pouds of cotton. The question of cotton manufacture is a question of transportation. We can transport by railroad about 300,000 pouds. If we could use the ships on the Caspian Sea, it would be of great help to us.

"These are the conditions under which the production of textile fabrics is taking place. In regard to distribution the following statistics may be of some interest. In Russia, the consumption of textile fabrics before the war was about 20 arshins (1 arshin=7/9 yard) per person. To reach that standard we would need 1,600 arshins yearly, which we have not. For this reason we had to organize the distribution according to the greatest need. So, for instance, workingmen who represent the greatest demand and who have the least amount of reserve supplies get twenty arshins, workingmen's wives 10 arshins and children still less. The bourgeoisie has old supplies and a large part of the rural population likewise.

"We are trying to distribute available goods as sparingly as possible and always to have on hand necessary supplies. The present situation, of course, demands first of all that the needs of the army should be satisfied." Larin's figures prove that hundreds of thousands of overcoats and uniforms and millions of parcels of underwear had been manufactured for the need of the army.

The interviewer asked whether it is true that

factory committees through their ignorance had contributed to the lessening of productivity. Larin answered that at the outset there were many difficulties because of lack of experience and also because of the anarchistic lack of system prevailing during the capitalistic system of production. There were no available data about raw material. It is also natural that sabotage by engineers and clerks in the beginning caused some confusion. But now that the technical personnel again is active, it has been possible to bring about orderliness in the situation. It is altogether untrue that workingmen do not want to work and to obey rules and orders. Wherever there are supplies of raw material and fuel, work is proceeding in spite of hunger. In many branches of industry, as for instance in the manufacture of matches, it has been possible to increase the degree of productiveness, which is a good promise for the future.

"Our principal obstacle is no more the lack of organization, as was the situation in the beginning. Now we know what we have and what we need. Of course, the resumption of international intercourse is a vital question for Russia as it is for all other countries. Still, even with the blockade, we are holding out and will be able, if necessary, to hold out for a couple of years more.

"What Russia is able to offer other countries in exchange? We can offer gold, platinum, wool, flax, hemp and lumber. Foreign capitalists of course want freedom of competition in the Russian market, but in order to develop our economic system we must insist upon one condition. It is that exchange of products must take place through our Government organizations."

Industrial Notes from the Soviet North

"Northern Commune," April 6th, 1919.

Distribution of Agricultural Machinery

The Regional Commissariat of Supplies distributed during the period between December 16th and March 20th among the provinces included in the Northern Region the following quantities of agricultural machines and implements: 458 harrows, 275 cultivators, 326 mowers, 52 horse rakes, 599 plows, 104 thrashers, 14 flour mills, 270 sowers, 269 reapers, etc. Besides, 45,000 plough-shares and about 6,000 earth-boards were distributed. Some part of the above-mentioned articles were handed over to the care of the Petrograd Agricultural Institute. Among the various provinces were also distributed 500 sewing-machines, among these four shoe-making machines.

The Province of Novgorod.

In the volost of Podgoetzk of the Starorussky county universal military training is carried on successfully. Daughters of the workers will be admitted free of charge into the newly opened school of weavers at the Starorussky Soviet of Public Economy. In the near future a carpenters' shop will be opened for boys.

At the second convention of agricultural com-

munes, artels and associations of Novgorod County, the by-laws of the union of agricultural and wood-working communes, artels and associations of the county were adopted. The fundamental problem of the union is to unite the various communistic homesteads and to aid the Land Departments. The union considers as problems of first importance the supplying of its members with food, grain, implements, etc., and also the proper collection of supplies in communities and artels. The membership fee is: one rouble initiation, and one rouble semi-annually.

North Dvinsk Province.

The agricultural section of the North Dvinsk Province of the Soviet of Public Economy found it necessary to begin the organization of model farms on the former private estates.

In the county of Vitigorsk six wood-cutting shops, which were formerly inactive, were nationalized. Three shops are already working; the remainder will begin to work in the near future. The local Soviet of Public Economy is taking steps toward a rapid development of the resources of dyes, fire-clay, peat and chalk of this county.

The United States and Russian Trade

The United States is a self-sufficing country. It has within its boundaries all that is needed for the life and happiness of the people inhabiting it. It produces enough grain and other foodstuffs to feed the people; cotton and wool to clothe them, lumber and minerals and metals to provide them with shelter, and with tools to create all the comforts and conveniences that modern living standards require.

Russia is likewise a self-sufficing country. Like the United States, it has within its borders all the material blessings of nature that make for the sustaining of life and the pursuit of happiness. Like the United States, Russia has vast natural resources of field and forest and mine. There are cattle on the meadows and fish in the streams, and golden fields of rye and wheat cover miles and miles of ground. There is iron in the mountain ranges and coal in the ground; oil wells and cotton fields, and gold and platinum and precious stones.

The United States is nevertheless an importing country. It imports coffee from Brazil, silks from France, skins, furs and bristles from Russia; tea from China, olive oil from Italy, woollens from England, and thousands of other things from nearly every country on the face of the earth. It imports so much, in fact, that prior to the war its importations amounted to nearly two billion dollars a year.

Russia, too, is an importing country. It imports less raw materials or articles of luxury than the United States, but more manufactured products,—machinery, electrical supplies, automobiles, etc. The volume of Russian imports prior to 1914, was about 700 millions annually.

Also, the two countries export a great deal of their products to other countries. The United States exports its surplus of grain, foodstuffs, and a lot of manufactured products: Russia exports mainly grain, butter, eggs and other foodstuffs, as well as raw materials.

Thus, in spite of the fact that each country possesses within its confines all that is necessary for its sustenance, a great many things are bought from the outside, while each country's surplus is disposed of in similar manner. This is, roughly speaking, the function of international trade. Under normal conditions it is as much a function of a country as plowing and harvesting,—as industrial pursuits; as education or political life. The exchange of commodities between countries can no more be stopped than any other normal function of a body or a nation. Countries can stop the use of certain foreign articles, can change their custom from one country to another, can substitute postum for coffee or salmon for caviar, but they cannot stop commercial exchange of things essential to a country's life. If the United States needs Chile saltpetre or Cuban sugar or Russian manganese, or furs or

hemp, it will have them in spite of whatever political barriers may be erected.

While the United States needs the raw products of Russia, it also needs the Russian purchasing market. Eighty-six million people—the present population of Soviet Russia—or one hundred and fifty million people, which is likely to be the number after all of Russia becomes a federated Soviet Republic, are a factor in international trade. . . . The six billion a year of export business which the United States is now doing cannot be absorbed by the countries with which the United States will be able to do business after peace is established. England, for example, was one of the principal customers of the United States. Now, if reports from London may be accepted as authentic, the English market is closed to American manufactures. Says Mr. Joseph W. Grigg, writing to the *New York World* from London:

"British Big Business is spreading itself to recapture as much of the American and the German trade as possible.

"The American Government had also addressed an inquiry to His Majesty's Government to ascertain the British policy toward American manufacturers. There has as yet been no final answer. By September the British Government feels it will be in a better position to say what is to be done about imports and restrictions."

"The ban on American-made cotton hosiery is a good barometer by which to judge some of the restrictions on American goods. The imports of these articles in 1916 amounted to 2,546,608 pairs, but last year it dropped to 168,070.

"There are plenty of rumors of more relaxation, but they have not materialized. The irony of the situation—and there are many things ironical in the trade war outlook—is that while so many British manufacturers are keen to keep American manufacturers pretty well suppressed, they find themselves balked by some French imports restrictions while looking for an outlet in that direction. America and Japan are the chief culprits, but America the biggest."

Much the same conditions exist with regard to France and Italy. In a special cable to the *N. Y. "Times"* of June 16th, we read:

"The extreme result growing out of the French Ministry's determination against the use of foreign-made goods has been reached in the town of Romorantin, where, according to the *Matin* correspondent, many American Army automobiles are being deliberately destroyed because the French people, who want them, are not allowed to buy them."

Unless the peace treaty contains provisions which are still unknown, these two countries will not favor

the United States in making their purchases. Russia, therefore, presents the chief outlet for the United States, especially since the industrial genius of the country is all in the direction of producing the very things Russia needs: machinery, tools, tractors, trucks, canned foods, etc. . . .

Soviet Russia is today surrounded by an iron wall of blockade—starved, forced to do without the things which would permit it to regain its normal economic and industrial life. From the point of view of international trade this situation in Russia could last while the war was on, or up to the signing of peace, because not a single European country had things to sell abroad, and no foreign market mattered. But with the signing of peace, international trade becomes imperative and a market like Russia's will not go a-begging. England has already opened up certain channels. The Standard Daily Trade Service reports from its London office under date of May 29th: "Beginning May 29th, the British Treasury allowed remittances to any part of Russia without license."

While England is thus engaged in testing the ground of Soviet Russia for trade with her left hand,

with her right hand she is still using together with the allies, the bludgeon of imperialistic aggression, blockade, armed help to Czarist generals, etc.—As though the way to peaceful commercial relations could be reached only through the murder of the population and the economic ruin of the country you wish to trade with. To be sure that was the method employed by all the imperialistic countries up to June 28, 1919. Is it thinkable that it will be continued after that date?

It is immaterial to Soviet Russia whether she is invited to sit in at the League of Nations' sociables or not. But it is very material to her to dispose of her surplus raw products in exchange for manufactured articles. And it is very much more material to the industrialized countries of the world whether or not they are going to supply a hundred and fifty million people with their goods. America has an abiding faith in the balance sheet. The question is whether her support of Kolchak or Denikin, or another monarchist pretender, with American troops and munitions, or the peaceful dealing with the established Soviet Government will put her on the right side of the ledger.

Safety of Popular Leaders under Kolchak

From "Izvestiya" of February 6, 1919, ("Izvestiya" is the organ of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee) we take the following interesting article, which bears in the original the title of "Siberian Events and Negotiations with the Soviet Power." It throws an interesting light on the attitude of the non-Bolshevik democratic parties in Russia, as well as on the amount of protection democracy may expect from Kolchak. The article follows:

In a conversation with our collaborator, N. V. Sviatitzki, member of the Social-Revolutionary delegation which had come to Moscow for pourparlers with the Soviet Power, explained all the phases of the Kolchak epoch and the hardships endured by the Social-Revolutionary Party in Siberia. According to Sviatitzki, Siberia, after the Coup-d'état, is not united. Kolchak has not only failed to unite the whole of Russia, but even Siberia, for Eastern Siberia continues to be occupied by the Japanese, who rule there quite independently, supporting in some localities Semenov's bands, which do not recognize Kolchak. The Czechs, who had repeatedly sworn allegiance to the Constituent Assembly, after the coup-d'état refused to recognize Kolchak, declaring that they will not recognize the new régime until the restoration of the directorate. They even tried very hard to persuade us not to take away any divisions from the front in order to fight against Kolchak, as they were quite capable of dealing with him.

However, very soon after this incident the attitude of the Czechs became very suspicious. . . .

It soon became evident that pressure was being brought to bear by the Allies even on this section of the Czech Soviet in order to rally it to help Kolchak. This was abetted by Generals Hyde and Syrov of the High Command. . . . However, as soon as the Czech soldiers grasped the policy of their High Command, a large number of them left the front. In Ekaterinburg it came to collisions between the different Czech sections. . . .

At present there is no Czech National Soviet, and we do not know who is in command of the Czech sections. However, we are aware that among others, Czechs were used in quelling the disturbances in Omsk, Tomsk and other places, with the exception of the Marilinsk district in the county of Tomsk, where the peasant rising was put down by Italian troops only. From this it is evident that there are in Siberia, apart from those of Kolchak, territories under the sway of Semenov, the Japanese, the Czechs (Ural), and somewhere in the Far East, Khorvat's Government is still functioning.

From the beginning the population of Siberia refused to recognize Kolchak and the only result of his campaign is that Siberia is seething with discontent, and risings are the order of the day. The real democracy, represented by the Bolsheviks, the Right Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, is acting in unison throughout Siberia, and now that our proclamation has been spread broadcast, the disintegration of Kolchak's front will proceed.

It must be said that the officers in Kolchak's army are, without exception, monarchist reactionaries. They bear a grudge against the whole revo-

lution and are prepared to avenge themselves on the population. The terms "Social-Revolutionary" and "Revolutionary" are less obnoxious to them than the term "Bolshevik." I should like to emphasize the following fact: On December 23rd, at the time of the rising in Omsk, all the political prisoners were set free, including Social-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats. Some of them were unable to find shelter, and as there were twenty degrees of frost, they went back to the prison for the night. On the following morning nine of them including Maiski, Menshevik Minister of the Samara "Government," (he belonged to the I. L. P. when in London), were taken in a motor car outside the town by Kolchak's officers and were shot.

Two days after the arrest of the members of the Constituent Assembly, carried out by Kolchak's band in Ufa, the remainder of the leaders of the Congress and of the Social-Revolutionary Party met on December 5th and decided to cease hostilities against the Bolsheviks, and to call on the whole democracy to unite in a fight against reaction. It was decided to retire to the rear and to send against Kolchak some military formations which had been raised by the Samara Committee and by the Ufa Soviet. At this meeting there were present: Tchernov, Rakitnikov, Vedeniapin, Volski, Burevoi, Klimushkitch, Ian and Strugatchev (the last named were shot by Kolchak's band). At the meeting a military commission was elected for the conduct of military operations against Kolchak.

According to the decision of this meeting of the Congress and the Social-Revolutionary Party, the presidium of the Congress of members of the Constituent Assembly, consisting of Volski, Shmelev, myself and several members of the Central Committee of the Social-Revolutionary Party, entered into negotiations with the representatives of the Soviet Government. Unfortunately the scattered state of the various Party centers (some members of the Executive Committee of the Party are in the East, some in Ufa and some in the South), made it impossible to conduct the negotiations in the name of the whole Party. Consequently they were carried on in the name of the presidium of the Congress of Members of the Constituent Assembly, in the name of the two members of the Central Committee of the Party, Rakitnikov and Burevoi, and in that of the Ufa County organization.

One must admit that the conditions under which the proceedings took place were far from normal. I was arrested on the eve of the pourparlers by the Local Extraordinary Commission, although immunity had been guaranteed to all the delegates. The arrest was due to the fact that by some mistake, my name had been omitted from the list of delegates. Notwithstanding the protests of the whole delegation, I remained six days in custody. I was liberated as soon as it became evident that an agreement could be made.

Our delegation declared that the termination of the world war, the fact of the Social Revolution

in Germany and Austria and the mobilization of the Russian bourgeoisie under the flag of black reaction, have made the Social-Revolutionary Party reconsider its policy. We consider that a united front of the workers' democracy must oppose the united front of the Russian and world reaction. In order to save the Revolution there must be an immediate understanding between all the Socialist Parties. However, the Ufa delegation decided not to raise the question of the terms on which such an understanding could be arrived at, until their arrival in Moscow and until some plenipotentiary meeting of the Party had been called. In Ufa the following declaration was made:—"We, Social-Revolutionaries, cease armed conflict with the Bolsheviks on the Eastern Front. In answer to this we demand a legal existence for all Party organizations which share our point of view, cessation of persecutions of the members of the Central Committee of our Party, of the members of the Congress of the Constituent Assembly, etc." The unity of the Socialist front in the fight against reaction requires not only the cessation of civil war, but also a closer co-operation of all the Socialist groups.

BRITISH TRADE WITH RUSSIA

The Standard Daily Trade Service of June 24th, has the following report from its London office:

"British Remittances to Russia. Beginning May 29th, the British Treasury allowed remittances to any part of Russia without license. (May 29, 1919)"

Thus British business men were permitted to do business with "any part of Russia" without any interference, since May 29th, but Americans are still unable to remit any money to Russia.

(RADIO)

February 20th, 1919.

A delegation sent in the direction of the Yekaterinoslav railroad line in the region of Grikin, has collected information to the effect that it is possible to export from that region sixteen hundred tons of coal per day. The reserves amount to twenty-two thousand four hundred tons and the work of mining is proceeding very energetically.

The Congress for the distribution of Metals has continued its scrutiny of the plan to distribute nine hundred and sixty thousand tons of metals expected up to the month of November. Later, the representative of the Section for Metal-ware presented a report on the situation of supplies and trade in these wares. In Moscow this branch of commerce is already completely nationalized and there are functioning already thirty centres of distribution. In Petrograd, fourteen large stores have been opened. To state institutions all metal products are delivered directly and free of charge upon requisitions made out monthly. Rural industry is especially depended upon to secure a regular supply of these products.

An Interview with Kolchak

A Dictator talking too much

Paris, May 14—Admiral Kolchak has given an interview to the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*. Words, words, words. Before all, or above all, the dictator seems entirely ignorant of the remarkable military victories which the press associations attributed to him. And then, he says a lot of things that were better kept silent. For example, he speaks, of "Bolshevist uprisings in Central Siberia and particularly in the Far East," of which we had hitherto had no news. It has been declared until now, that the populations were delighted that the dictator was liberating them from Bolshevist tyranny. And now this dictator tells us, on the contrary, that these populations do not care to be liberated and that they are rebelling against their deliverer!

Then he reveals his war plans: to stabilize and maintain contact with Archangel, and with the troops of General Denikin, and then to march on Moscow. "The capture of Moscow is the supreme aim, the political objective to which all our energies must be directed. And first it is necessary to attain the strategic object of destroying the Soviet army." As a matter of fact, if the Soviet army is not destroyed, it will be somewhat difficult to take Moscow, except in telegrams from Stockholm. The "trouble" is that the Soviet army is not yielding so easily. The Entente must come to the assistance of the dictator. With men? The dictator does not need men, he says, for the men of the Entente become a danger to the cause of order when they are sent to Russia, as was the case in Odessa. The dictator wants arms and materials. "We are lacking in arms, munitions, materials, clothing, for our soldiers. The Allies can help us by making up for the insufficiency of our resources, and particularly by sending us rifles and cartridges. They may aid us also by tightening more and more the blockade surrounding Soviet Russia."

The dictator does not find the rope around the neck of the Russian people tight enough. And he says to the Allies: "If you give me cartridges and rifles, I shall undertake to strike down all the Russian workers you have not forced to die of hunger." Rather a grave-yard than a Soviet Russia! And then, when the dictator shall have liberated Russia, with the aid of rifles and hunger, what will he do with the country?

Here is the dictator's program, in other words, the Entente's program, since the Entente continues to furnish its precious Admiral Kolchak with arms and with money. "Here is the manner in which I intend to transfer power to a regular government after a final victory. The convocation of a National Assembly, to determine the future form of our institutions, will be possible only after extensive preparatory work. The government cannot by itself

alone take over this task. I propose to place by its side a council consisting of members of the *Zemstvos*, the municipalities, representatives of the great social organizations, men distinguished by their experience. The members of this council shall be appointed by me. The council will aid the government to pacify the country, to set rules for the election of the Constituent Assembly, to organize election activities. Then, when the Constituent Assembly is at last convened, I shall have no other thought than to execute its decisions respectfully, and I shall hand over to the state head elected by this Assembly, at the time and under the conditions fixed by the Assembly, the power of which I am the trustee."

Whence it is clear that the dictator wishes to prepare the elections to the Constituent Assembly with the aid of men whom he trusts, and that he will hand over power to the head of the state, all this thanks to the aid of the Entente.

Does the Entente perhaps wish to have at the head of the Russian state, to protect itself from Bolshevism—William Hohenzollern?

The interview with Admiral Kolchak had one definite, unmistakable outcome: It boomed the Russian papers on the exchange, which were threatening to go down. The possibility that within a few months the dictator would put down the Bolshevik régime, and hand over the country to a "state head" who would pay the foreign creditors and re-establish the privileges of capitalism, was sufficient to make the Russian securities go up a few points. These are the idealistic episodes in the struggle which bourgeois civilization is pursuing disinterestedly against proletarian barbarism!

But the interview, in its stock-exchange optimism, has a certain basis of reality. The general staff of the Entente is putting its plans against Russia into actual practice: a real, war-like war, a war of all fighting together, a war to the end. We must deny—the facts are sufficient—the hypocritical assertion that the Entente is limiting itself to replenish the materials and funds of the counter-revolutionary parties: the Entente is directing the military operations, and is participating with its own troops.

Ex-Minister Henderson, who plays the internationalist at Berne, and who together with Branting, Renaudel, and others of that type, signs the timid and half-hearted protests against certain conditions of the Versailles treaty, cannot be ignorant of the fact, concerning which he observes a ministerial silence, that England is directing with its generals the military operations in northern Russia. In the region of the Northern Dvina and of Archangel the English general Ironside is in command of 15,000 Entente soldiers, against whom Russia has 100,000 (?) Red soldiers commanded by Kedrov. To the west-

ward, an Allied offensive has descended from the Murmansk region, operated by English troops under the command of General Maynard, reinforced by the bands of General Yudenich, kept up by Entente money—and by the Finnish bands of General Mannerheim. In Lettonia, by order of the English Admiral, Lettish volunteers who refuse to advance against the Bolsheviks under the order of the German General von Esdorff, are placed before court-martial. In Poland, the Polish troops, again fur-

nished with materials and provisions by the Entente, have occupied Vilna and continued their offensive on the Vilna-Dvinsk line. Thus, by a complete agreement between the Entente and Admiral Kolchak, supported by General Denikin's bands, the siege established around Socialist Russia is tightened. And if the season is favorable, it is hoped that it will be possible to choke in blood the Russian Commune. It will be one great Père Lachaise!

Comments on Kolchak's Rule

L'Humanité of Paris has the following interesting data on Kolchak's treatment of members of democratic parties in Eastern Russia:

In March, 1919, in other words two months ago, Kolchak committed the same crimes at Vladivostok, as he had already perpetrated at Omsk. These facts are as yet but little known. They were brought to us by a reliable witness who had been on the spot, himself a victim of the reactionary policy of Kolchak.

In the night between March 1st and March 2nd, all the representatives of the opposition to Kolchak's government, the members of the Zemstvo, of the municipality, the journalists of the Left, etc., were arrested and imprisoned. Kolchak's representative, General Ivanov-Rinov, ordered that the President of the Vladivostok Soviet and a large number of Bolsheviks be executed, and all Socialist newspapers suppressed. Among the persons who became subject to this treatment were Khodorov, former Military Commissaire, sent to the Orient by Kerensky, and editor of the Menshevik newspaper Daliokaya Okraina; Semechko, editor of another Socialist paper, member of the Zemstvo; the Socialist Skvinski and numerous Socialist municipal councilors. After having been transported to Pogranitchnaia, on the frontier between Russia and China, they were saved only by virtue of the presence there of certain Czechs and Americans. They would otherwise have been shot, to use the time-honored expression, "at the moment they should attempt to escape."

Toward the end of March, still more numerous arrests were undertaken among the Socialist-revolutionists, social-democrats and the workers' organizations. The activity of the trade-unions and of the political parties was completely hampered. The work of the municipality and of the Zemstvos was completely disorganized by the arrests of such active members as Skvinski, Khodorov, Kozminski and by an alteration of the electoral law which apparently limited the suffrage right. Thus, by requiring the possession of a legal domicile for at least one year, the suffrage right was taken away from the working masses, who are frequently under the necessity of changing their domicile in search of work because of the considerable unemployment in Siberian

establishments. The Zemstvo gradually found all its rights taken away: such as the issuing of passports, the surveillance of the places of detention, etc., and the municipality lost its right to control the militia.

Many Socialists of the Vladivostok municipality, arrested by order of Kolchak, were however the only ones to struggle against the reaction of the Right. They were hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was demanded by the Siberian Bolsheviks. In spite of their hostility to Bolshevism, they were pursued, hunted down, shot by such adventurers as Semenev, Kalmikov and Krassilnikov. Such are the leaders of the bands maintained in the Orient by the Allies and particularly by our (French) generals. Such is the policy of the present great favorite of the Entente.

This Vladivostok episode after the Omsk coup-d'état confirms all that we know about Kolchak.

Wherever he is in control, he imprisons the Menshevik Socialists and the Socialist-revolutionists indiscriminately with genuine Bolsheviks. He suppresses the opposition press, closes up trade unions, shoots down the workers. Since by the admission of the Bourtssevs and Savinkovs themselves, there is today no alternative except between Kolchak and Lenin, between reaction and Bolshevism we choose Bolshevism, we choose Lenin and in making this choice we are sure that we are in agreement with the Socialists, with all the democrats of Russia. Even those who are opposed to the Bolsheviks will doubtless prefer the "dictatorship of the Proletariat" to the military dictatorship of the Kolchaks and the Krassnovs.

A. PIERRE.

From a later issue of the same paper, we take an article by the same author (A. Pierre), reverting to the same fruitful subject.

I recorded yesterday, the opinion of the Russian democrats who are in exile in Paris on the Kolchak dictatorship.

I quoted them all the more readily, since they are violent opponents of the Bolsheviks. . .

I shall content myself with pointing out the energetic campaign which they have undertaken

against the Admiral who has all the sympathies of our Quai d'Orsay.

Among the numerous articles which appeared in the "République Russe" of May 22nd, there is one which presents a picture of the measures which Kolchak would take after his triumph:

With Russia once conquered there would be peace. Then in the atmosphere of a sepulchral silence, they will proceed to work out an electoral law of the Buligin type which will fix the method of elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The "National representations," thus improvised, will demand a Czar, a state head to whom Kolchak will assign his dictatorial power and who, it is said, is already waiting at Helsingfors for the call of his people.

We have always been aware of why the Izvolskys and the members of the political conference and of the national "democratic" bloc were ready to sign any radical program that might be presented. They must deceive public opinion in Europe with the aid of the Tchaikovskys and the Savinkovs. They must concentrate in their hands, aided by simple-minded and short-sighted democrats, all the fulness of power, in order to smuggle in Czarist contraband under the cover of honeyed words.

According to all the evidence, the Allies are entirely disposed to lend their aid to this Czarist adventure. Everything points to the fact that the Allies wish to recognize Kolchak, who has broken the Russian democracy and who dreams of choking the revolution. We take the liberty to cry out to the Allies: Hangmen!

The Russian democracy and the revolution will never be reconciled to this régime, which will never realize the age-long dream of the Russian people and the fundamental object of its revolution: "Land and Liberty!"

The Power to the People!

We have never had any other opinion: To recognize Kolchak means to antagonize the entire Russian democracy. And M. Pichon is by no means frightened by this risk; he has joined forces with his old acquaintances of the government bureaus, with Izvolski and Sazonov, with the authors of those famous secret treaties which dispose so easily of the fate of peoples—without ever taking the awkward step of consulting them!

A. PIERRE.

Aiding The Counter-Revolution

(From "The Manchester Guardian," May 21st.)

Reuter's Agency learns that very valuable assistance is being given by the Allies to General Denikin's army in South Russia. Great Britain is supplying complete equipment with arms and guns for 250,000 men. The first consignment has already arrived, and the remainder is on its way or on the point of despatch.

The Russian and Ukrainian Soviets Opposing Roumania

Paris, May 5th.—Not satisfied with the annexation of Bessarabia after a "conversation" forced upon the population of that province, Roumania has consented to become the instrument of the Entente, and is attempting to crush the Hungarian Communist Government.

The Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Governments have addressed to the Roumanian government this ultimatum: "The Roumanian Feudal Government is attempting to consolidate its position at the price of committing new crimes. It now proposes to overthrow the power of the Soviets in Hungary. The Roumanian troops are advancing from all sides against the Hungarian Red Soviet Army, after having tried in vain to hold their own against the Ukrainian Red Army.

"The Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Governments can no longer delay putting an end to the violations and provocations of the Roumanian government. We do not wish to shed the blood of our brother workers and peasants of Roumania who are forced by their masters to march against Russia. The two Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine address the following proposition to the Roumanian government:

"1. Immediate withdrawal of the Roumanian army, as well as of the Roumanian employees and agents who are now in Bessarabia; full liberty for the Roumanian workers and peasants and establishment of their own authority;

"2. The perpetrators of the crimes enacted against the workers and peasants and against the whole population of Bessarabia to be tried by a People's Tribunal;

"3. Restitution of objects which constitute a portion of the military property of Russia, which have been taken by Roumania;

"4. Restitution to the inhabitants of Bessarabia of everything that has been taken away from them and confiscated.

"The Socialist Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine will wait forty-eight hours, beginning with 22 o'clock on May 1, for a clear, concise answer as to the acceptance of their proposition, reserving for themselves, in case such answer should not be forthcoming, all liberty of action toward Roumania.

(Signed) CHICHERIN,

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

RAKOVSKI,

President of the Council of People's Commissaires of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.

Finland and Russia

Roumania, Bohemia and Poland, where famine and pestilence are decimating the populations already exhausted by war and invasions, have been obliged by the diplomacy of the League of Nations again to raise armies and to throw them into the furnace of the war, against the Communist Republics of Russia and Hungary. Now, it is the turn of Finland, where General Mannerheim is maintained in power in spite of the wide-spread and clearly asserted will expressed in the recent elections of the Finnish people, to be freed from this base instrument of the ignoble, reactionary policy first of imperial Germany and then of the League of Nations.

Helsingfors has become the center of new military and diplomatic intrigues against Russia. Allied military missions support in Helsingfors the activity of the Russian General Yudenich, to whom have been consigned forty thousand tons of provisions and great supplies of war materials, including four tanks. The vile game has already begun. Thanks to corruption methods, a revolt among the peasants of Russian Karelia was provoked, and the Finnish White Guards were promptly called to aid them. News agencies, imprudently revealing this feat, have announced the beginning of the advance on Petrograd, alleging that the Bolsheviks were evacuating the city, that Petrograd was rebelling against the Soviet government, that the Letts and Chinese were shooting down hundreds of thousands of poor Petrograd Russians who had survived the "daily atrocities perpetrated by the Letts and Chinese, those infamous praetorian guards of Lenin and Zinovief."

These events now begin to take on diplomatic form: The Mannerheim government has sent an ultimatum to the Moscow government, demanding a cessation of the Red counter-offensive in Karelia. If Moscow does not permit the Finnish Guards to enter Petrograd in order to establish there the White Terror, and to restore the scions of the Romanoffs to the throne, Yudenich will mobilize the tanks and Soviet Russia will be denounced before the Democratic tribunal of the world and in the eyes of all the bleating lambs of international capitalism for imperialism and for Asiatic barbarism.

It must be understood that the public opinion of Finland is opposed to the offensive against the Soviets. According to a Reuter telegram reproduced in the "Daily Telegraph," the Finnish Socialists are demanding the resignation of Mannerheim for four reasons:

1. He was elected by a Diet which did not represent the country;
2. He does not know the Finnish language;
3. He authorized the White Terror, and has murdered tens of thousands of workers;
4. He is in league with Russian reactionaries.

The Newspaper "Social-Demokraten" of Stockholm reproduces a number of striking articles inspired by this policy of adventure in the entire press of Helsingfors, including the bourgeois journals. One of them attacks an article of Dr. Dillon, which had appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" commenting on the belated recognition of Finnish independence. The Helsingfors' paper denounces the intrigues with the Entente in the most emphatic terms:

"Evidently, the Entente powers, while they are working to achieve a compromise with the Soviet Government, intend simultaneously to launch a campaign in the north, and count on the collaboration of Finland.

"We must emphatically declare: The majority of the nation is opposed to any action of this kind. We have no reason whatever to pledge our powers in the restoration of a Russia, under the yoke of which they want to re-establish certain Russian elements who are now in the Entente countries. In spite of the threats and the absence of security, the present situation is preferable, since the Bolshevik Government has formally recognized the independence of Finland. The majority of the Finnish people are hostile to any action against Soviet Russia. A victory of General Yudenich would mean the restoration of an aggravated form of monarchy in Petrograd. Finland would once more be incorporated with Russia, and not only the proletariat but the bourgeoisie, too, would again make the acquaintance of the knout and the Czar's prisons."

But what does the Entente care for the will of a majority of a nation? That is merely a garment to be used only in manifestoes by provincial mayors and for speeches by Innocenzo Cappa. International capitalism desires to preserve its power at any price. The new offensive against Russia, even the conquest of Petrograd, would simply aggravate the food situation of the Russian proletariat and reduce to misery and famine one hundred and twenty million persons. Do they want to make of Russia a deserted grave-yard? Do they want to erect a pedestal of human bones for the statue of the Golden Calf? Life would neither be pleasant nor comfortable by the side of such a tomb; the peoples of Europe could not long resist the feeling of tension which would be brought about by such an atrocious and inhuman consummation.

From "Avanti," May 7th, 1919.

NOTE TO THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Helsingfors:

Simultaneously with the attacks of White Guard bands on the Soviet troops in the Yamburg district, regular Finnish troops have invaded the Government

of Petrograd. At the same time we learn from reliable sources that considerable armed forces are being concentrated on the Finnish side of our frontier. The serious character of these actions certainly could not escape the attention of the Finnish government, and the government of the Russian Soviet Republic expects from the former adequate explanations with regard to this, which would make clear its attitude toward the Russian Soviet Republic.

We believe it would not be out of place on this occasion to remind the Finnish government that one of the first acts of the Russian Soviet Government after its formation over a year ago was the recognition of the independence of Finland, and that the negotiations which had taken place last year at Berlin between representatives of the Finnish Government and representatives of the Russian Soviet Republic were not successful, not at all on account of any encroachments on our part with regard to Finland, but on the contrary, because of the Finnish encroachments with regard to the Russian Soviet Republic. And now, as well as then, the Russian Soviet Government firmly retains its attitude of unwavering recognition of the independence of Finland, and any intention which contradicts this principle is foreign to the government of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs believes it possible to assume that the attitude of the Finnish Government toward the Russian Soviet Republic will not differ from the attitude of the latter toward Finland. As to any hostile claims and aggressive intentions,—in view of the fact that the Russian Soviet Government renounces all such claims or intentions with regard to Finland, the People's Commissariat expects the Finnish Government to base its actions on a similar attitude toward the Russian Soviet Republic.

People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.
CHICHERIN.

Moscow, Feb. 14, 1919.

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ODESSA UNDER FRENCH RULE Wholesale Arrests and Executions

Does anyone want to know what it means for a Russian City to be occupied by Entente troops charged with "establishing order," and suppressing the "rule of violence" of the Bolsheviks?

The following is the answer, in "Odessa Listok," the organ of the Odessa Cadet Party, under date of April 2nd:

"The representatives of the local workers' organizations today paid a visit to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Army, General D'Anselme, to whom they had addressed a memorandum on the subject of the arrests and executions without judgment, which have taken place during the last few weeks. The memorandum reveals in a detailed manner all the places of execution that have taken place without trial, and gives the names of all the persons responsible for these shootings. It ends with a demand to bring all those guilty to justice, in order to pacify the working masses who have been aroused."

On its own account, the newspaper "Odesskia Novosti," of the same date, which like the other paper, is not a Socialist organ, relates with many details, of the arrests and executions, not only of workers belonging to the Left, but also such as belong to no Party at all. Their friends and relatives are detained. And the reasons? They are unknown! For the arrests are carried out without written orders. The list handed to General D'Anselme contains alone the names of one hundred and thirty-five persons.

General D'Anselme had promised to order an inquiry, but the arrival of the Bolsheviks prevented him from carrying out his promise.

"La République Russe" of May 22nd, which publishes these documents, makes the following reasonable inference:

"Ah, Messrs. Generals! Do you not see that in combatting the Bolsheviks with such methods you are performing a Sisyphean task? You vanquish Bolshevism in one place, only to establish it in ten other places."

SOVIET TOLERANCE

The New York Jewish daily, "THE DAY" in its issue of June 24th, has the following cablegram from its special European correspondent, N. Shifrin:

"Glad Tidings From Russia"

"The Zionists have organized throughout Russia Food Co-operative Societies which are united in every city into Central Co-operative Associations, united in the All-Russian Federation of Jewish Food Co-operative Associations.

"The Federation is in part subsidized by the Moscow Soviet Government. All schools of the Zionists in which the language of instruction is ancient Hebrew, as well as the Hebrew High School in Minsk, have been taken over by the government. They have been incorporated in the public school system which is maintained by the Commissariat of Public Education."

ALLIANCE OF THE SOVIET REPUBLICS

Budapest, June 4th.—The Hungarian Correspondence Bureau's office at Moscow forwards the following wireless:

On June 1st, a solemn session of the Central Executive Committee of Soviet Russia took place in the evening, attended by representatives of the Soviet republics of Ukraine, Lettonia, Lithuania, and White Russia. In accordance with the recently passed resolution of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, the Central Executive Committee expressed itself as in favor of close alliance of the various Soviet republics. The secretary of the Presidium, Kameneff, declared in opposition to the calumnies spread by the enemies who falsely represent Soviet Russia as animated by a desire for conquests from neighboring nations, that Soviet Russia on the contrary stands firmly on the basis of a self-determination of nations and of independence for the neighboring Soviet republics. But just in order to secure precisely this mutual support, and the defense of the independence and liberty of the working masses of the Soviet Republics against the White Guard bands maintained by the Entente, the Soviet Republics considered a close alliance between them to be necessary, so that their working masses may defend themselves with their united forces against foreign invaders and White Guards.

After Kameneff, Rakovski, President of the Ukrainian Soviet Government, delivered a speech to the same effect.

A resolution was passed in which the policy of conquest and of a general counter-revolution on the part of international imperialism was denounced, and in which it was declared that a military alliance of the Soviet Republics of Russia, Ukraine, Lettonia, Lithuania, White Russia and Crimea was necessary in order to defend the workers and peasants of these republics against the attempts to subject them to the yoke of serfdom. Furthermore, the Central Executive Committee of Russia deems it necessary to unite under a single control the military organization of the various Soviet Republics, and the administration of their railroads, finances, economic councils, and labor commissariats. This is to be attained by a union of the central executive committees and the central economic councils of all the republics in question. With this object in view, the Central Executive Committee is to elect a special commission which is to enter into negotiations with the central executive committees of the various Soviet Republics, for the carrying out of these principles.

POGROMS IMMINENT UNDER KOLCHAK

The New York Jewish Daily, "The Day," of June 20th, has the following cablegram from its London correspondent:

"A despatch from Vladivostok reports that a strong pogrom agitation is going on now in Siberia. It is very often led by the official organ of the Omsk government. The All-Siberian Jewish Conference

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

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which was held in Irkutsk protested against the articles which appeared in the official paper, the "Russian Warrior," which is published by the Omsk general staff. These articles had openly incited to pogroms. One correspondent writes: 'A Russian officer whom I heard speak in Vladivostok made no secret of the fact that he is seeking revenge upon the Jews.' The Holy Synod of Omsk is openly agitating for pogroms in co-operation with the general staff. Hundreds of priests are sending out inciting letters against the Jews whom they accuse of the breaking down of Russia."

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

Vol. I

NEW YORK, July 12, 1919

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Editorials	1
Incentive to Effort	2
Kolchak the "Democrat" Fleecing his Subjects, By Max M. Zippin	3
Literacy in Russia	6
Political Propaganda and Educational Activity	13
The Committee of State Constructions, By Arthur Ransome	14

	PAGE
Exposing the Powers of Darkness, By V. M.	16
Two Accusations	18
The Russian Fronts in June	19
Russian Prisoners of War in France	20
Press Comment	21
Jew-Baiting in Siberia	22
News from London	23
Reading Matter on Soviet Russia	24

It is announced that the Council of Five in Paris has instructed the Allied legations in Helsingfors, Finland, to encourage the Finnish Mannerheim Government to participate in an attack upon Soviet Russia.

Waiting through long years of Czarist oppression, the Finnish people hailed the Russian Revolution as their hour of deliverance. They seized the opportunity and threw off the intolerable yoke of Czarism, only to fall under the equally intolerable yoke of Prussian imperialism. German trained officers led the White Guards of Mannerheim against the Finnish Revolution; and the Mannerheim dictatorship, completely under German domination, drove the protesting people into war against the Russian Revolution. And now this same Government is to be incited by the Allies to assist in the attempt to restore the Russian despotism which was the source of the past miseries of the Finnish people. Torn and exhausted by bloody revolution and by starvation, the masses of the Finnish people, desiring only peace to secure their own freedom, are to be driven to attack the Russian Revolution, their only bulwark against the return of their oppressors.

Even among Finnish conservatives there are many who, knowing the nature of Kolchak and the purposes of his monarchist imperialist adherents, see in present events the threatened extinction of all Finnish hopes. If Kolchak should succeed, he would restore the Russian empire to her old position as the oppressor of all peoples lying within her ambitious reach. The Powers in their note to Kolchak made recognition of Finnish independence one of the conditions of their support. Kolchak refused to commit himself to any such recognition. And now the Allies are not only extending their support to Kolchak, but are even coercing the reactionary Finnish Government to support him.

Moreover, while the "support" of the Allies, we are told, is to be restricted to supplies and munitions, the Finnish Government is to be asked to hurl the bodies of Finnish men and boys against Russian men and boys with whom they have no quarrel and with whom they have all interests in common. Finnish blood is to be spilt, Finnish manhood, unutterably exhausted, is to be driven once more into unwilling battle.

And what shall one think of a League of Nations, erected in the name of democracy and peace, whose first act is to incite a small, weak people into a war which, if successful, would fasten once more upon their backs the worst tyranny the world has ever known?

And what can be expected of Finnish aid to Kolchak? Kolchak, retreating eastward, is to take Moscow. Finnish troops are to aid in the capture of Petrograd, about which the Esthonians and "loyal" Russians have been so long "closing in," only to be discovered suddenly in full retreat.

But what if Petrograd were captured by these troops which are at present exhibiting such haste to withdraw from its vicinity? What then? Petrograd is only Petrograd, and behind Petrograd lies all Russia. What would avail all the Finns that Mannerheim can press into service for such a campaign? The French and Italian and English peoples have expressed in unmistakable terms their unwillingness to undertake any campaign against the Russian revolution. Their Governments, willing enough, perhaps, to support Kolchak with supplies and munitions, do not show any determination to force their own troops into this impossible enterprise. But what the great powers themselves will not undertake, Finland is to be encouraged to attempt. The Finnish army, a mere handful in the vastness of Russia, is to be hurled into the breach in vain at-

tempt to stem the on-flowing flood of the Russian revolution. What will come of it? Nothing of utility to anyone. Only more torture for Finland. Only another illustration of the utter senselessness and inhumanity of the Allied Russian policy. All humane men and women will be shocked by the participation of their governments in this last and most abhorrent persecution of the workers of Finland and of Russia.

* * *

The Allied intervention in Siberia, which began upon a pretext of assistance to the Czecho-Slovaks, has developed into a support of Supreme Ruler Kolchak. A smoke screen of propaganda and censorship concealed the change of front. The screen lifts and an interested world is presented with the spectacle of the Allies rendering assistance to Kolchak, who bears resemblance to the Czecho-Slovaks only in the curious easterly direction of his "westward" movements. We do not know all that went on behind the screen, while the stage was preparing for the latest act in the defense of "democracy" in Russia. But now and then a corner of the curtain

is lifted and we are given a peep behind the scenes. A most instructive view is given us by Mr. Joshua Rosett in his article, "The Rise of the New Russian Autocracy," in the "New Republic" for July 9th.

Mr. Rosett went to Siberia for the American Committee on Public Information. "For what purpose neither the Committee nor I really knew," he says. However, he remained to work at certain more specific tasks for the War Trade Board and the American Red Cross. Mr. Rosett saw a good deal of Siberia and of Siberians. He was able to talk with many of the latter in Russian. He soon became interested in Kolchak, under whose rule "entire Siberia groaned." Mr. Rosett found the cause of these groans. It was not far to seek. It was flaunted upon the billboards bearing the Dictator's despotic decrees. It was exhibited in every province and hamlet in the merciless bludgeoning of the people. Mr. Rosett quotes the decrees; he tells what he saw. He writes objectively. He does not dwell upon his own feelings. By Kolchak's own acts and policies, he proves conclusively that by supporting Kolchak the Allies are supporting the re-establishment of Czarism in Russia.

Incentive to Effort

One of the charges most frequently brought against the present social system in Russia is that it fails to provide any reasonable incentive to those of exceptional ability to put forth their best efforts; likewise, it is frequently charged, and with no less incorrectness, that the sluggard is compensated just as highly and fed just as well as the conscientious workers.

Of course, good work is valued just as highly in Russia as anywhere else, if not more than anywhere else. The sudden emergence of one of the most backward countries in the world, industrially speaking, into the most enlightened and equitable system of production and distribution, makes it particularly necessary for Russia to put a high value upon efficient and extensive production. This is not merely an inference from the manifest economic and industrial situation of Russia, but is borne out fully by almost every official and trade-union document that reaches us from that country.

A particularly interesting document in this connection is the appeal to the Petrograd factory organizations, which was passed by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party. In this document workers are asked to put forth their best efforts, and those who will comply with this request are promised exceptional remuneration, while the prospect of a decreased standard of living is held out to those who will not exert themselves in the service of the common good. This document, which

is given below in full, should be a sufficient answer to those who continue, without any knowledge of the facts, to decry the Russian Soviet system.

TO THE FACTORY ORGANIZATIONS AT PETROGRAD

(A Resolution Adopted by the Eighth Congress of
the Russian Communist Party.)

To All Our Comrades and Workers of All Parties:

Comrades: The present situation of Soviet Russia, cut off from the rest of the world and dependent on itself alone, demands from all citizens, and most of all from the working class, who have taken the remoulding of our country into their hands, an extraordinary application of all their strength and faculties to raise the well-being of Russia and the productive capacity of our workers.

Many of the comrades who are workers and employees in our factories have not yet realized the meaning of these words.

Often the steps in advance which have been taken by the workers' discipline, accepted in the General Assembly of all the workers, have relaxed; there are many workers in the factories who do not sufficiently understand their work.

Production has consequently been curtailed in some of our factories, and this has resulted in ob-

(Concluded on Page 19)

Kolchak the "Democrat" Fleecing his Subjects

By Max M. Zippin

On April 16th, 1919, the following official decree was promulgated by the Omsk Government:

"AN ACT WITHDRAWING FROM CIRCULATION ALL TREASURY NOTES OF 20 AND 40 RUBLE DENOMINATIONS.

1. Treasury notes of 20 and 40 ruble denominations, (otherwise known as Kerenki), are to be withdrawn from circulation beginning May 15th, 1919, after which day said treasury notes will no longer be legal tender in payments to the treasury or to private persons.

(NOTE:—The dates indicated in this and the following paragraphs are in accordance with the new calendar.)

2. Within the period May 15th to June 15th of this year, all the holders of treasury notes described in the first paragraph are to present them for exchange to any of the following institutions: The State Bank and its offices and branches; state treasuries; Government savings banks; sub-treasuries (Kaznacheistvo); with their savings depositories; and those social and private co-operative credit institutions which, pursuant to instructions from the Minister of Finance, will be allowed to carry on such receiving operations. After the 15th of June of this year, the carrying on of such operations shall be terminated.

(3) All those who may present the above mentioned treasury notes shall receive from the proper institutions a temporary receipt bearing the name of the depositor, and free from any stamp tax, showing that the money has been duly received. Notes will be issued in exchange upon the following plan: Notes for one-half of the received amount shall become due January 1st, 1920; the payment of the other half of the amount received shall extend over a period of twenty years. Each holder shall receive upon completion a loan certificate with twenty coupons attached.

In addition to and in explanation of the above decree, please notify all banks, savings depositories, and other authorities that until May 15th the "Kerenki" are acceptable in payment upon current accounts and for deposit in the State bank and savings depositories. Beginning May 15th withdrawals from current accounts may be made without restriction. On and after May 15th the acceptance of Kerenki in payment and for deposit, and their exchange for bills of other denominations by government treasuries shall cease. All those who will present "Kerenki" after May 15th will be given temporary receipts. These temporary receipts will, after January 1st, 1920, be exchanged for loan certificates. Please advise all credit institutions to accept "Kerenki" up to the 15th of May on deposit and current accounts on a general basis to be transferred into the People's

Bank of Moscow or the Russian Asiatic Bank. Beginning May 15th the said institutions are to accept the "Kerenki" as intermediaries. Preliminary receipts which must bear the name of the depositor are to be issued by the intermediaries on any given form which may be adopted by said intermediaries. "Kerenki" thus received are to be forwarded periodically to the branches of the State Banks, on special forms indicating each and every deposit individually. Upon receipt of the "Kerenki" from the intermediaries the various subdivisions of the State Bank will issue to the intermediaries above mentioned receipts either for the whole amount or separate receipts for each depositor in compliance with the wish of the intermediary and the arrangements for payment. Arrangements for fees to the intermediaries will be made separately.

(Signed) MIKHAILOV,
Minister of Finance."

"Omsk, April 16th. I am sending you the order of the Council of Ministers of April 15th, 1919, approved by the Supreme Ruler April 16th, relative to withdrawal from circulation of all treasury notes of 20 and 40 ruble denominations, the so-called "Kerenki." The Council of Ministers has ordered:

1. That on and after June 15th, 1919, the decree of the Provisional Government of August 22, 1917, to issue notes of 20 and 40 ruble denominations (Comp. of Orders and Decrees of the Prov. Gov. of Aug. 22, 1917, No. 221, Sec. 1515), shall be of no effect.

2. To approve the attached order about the withdrawal from circulation of treasury notes of the 20 and 40 ruble denominations.

3. This order to become operative by telegraph, pending its publication(s) by the Governing Senate."

The effect of this decree is clear. Every 20 and 40 ruble note issued by the Provisional Government at the time when Kerensky was at the head of it, must be turned into the treasury of the Omsk government. In return for these so-called "Kerenki" the holder is to receive a promissory note for one-half of its face value, payable January 1st, 1920, whereas the other half of the amount is withheld by the Omsk Government as a compulsory loan payable within a period of twenty years. To appreciate the effects of this high-handed measure, it must be borne in mind that the Kerenki have gained a wide circulation in Russia.

There are all kinds and descriptions of paper currency in non-Soviet Russia and particularly in Siberia, where every bandit chief who has at one time or another proclaimed himself "Ruler" has printed money. American bankers have also printed money, and the Japanese have completed the collection with a special "war ruble" of their own. But the Russians of Siberia have always preferred the

"Kerenki," so that these were about the only bills in general circulation and the only paper money which the people considered worth saving. The withdrawal from circulation of this currency is nothing short of robbery, which has become worse under Kolchak, and gives the Japanese and the other money speculators an opportunity to buy up the "Kerenki" for a song, to be paid up later on, when "order will be established" in Russia.

This decree of the Kolchak government is playing into the hands of the horde of foreign and native money speculators who infest Siberia. "Beginning May 15th" reads the decree—"withdrawals from current accounts may be made without restriction." It must be understood that previous to that date withdrawals of bank deposits were limited to specified sums in order to prevent the Russian ruble from being exported abroad. This restriction is now removed in order to enable the Russian money-changers to withdraw all their "Kerenki" and to re-sell them to Japanese speculators.

This vicious order spelled ruin for the Russians in Siberia, even before May 15th. No sooner was it proclaimed than the Japanese business men in Siberia and the Japanese banks refused to accept the "Kerenki." The Chinese merchants, wholly dependent on the Japanese bankers, followed suit; while the Russian merchants, who could be compelled by law to accept this paper money till May 15th, simply closed up their establishments under one pretext or another. The firm of Choorin, which owns a large chain of department stores over the far East and Eastern Siberia, suddenly found that all of its buildings were badly in need of repairs, while in the stores quartered in rented buildings an inventory had to be taken quickly. Other Russian merchants acted likewise, giving every imaginable excuse. Meanwhile the money sharks were reaping the harvest. The "Kerenki" were hurriedly bought up for a song, and quickly transported in packs and bales to Japan. There the "Kerenki" are to be current at face value, ruble for ruble. Kolchak has promised that they will be paid up in full, and Kolchak's promise is backed by Japanese and other bayonets.

This decree has met with the universal condemnation of the Siberian press. We reproduce here a few excerpts from the leading newspapers which are all,—it goes without saying—strongly anti-Bolshevik.

"What is the result? cries the "Echo," Kolchak's most truthful friend and supporter. "The whole population has on hand "Kerenki" for which they cannot buy even bread. This is not an exaggeration, but a fact. Only today, (April 15), our employees have requested us to give them some other kind of currency to enable them to buy bread, as the Chinese merchants would not accept the "Kerenki"; while our office has no other currency on hand, nor have any other business institutions. Yesterday our employees flatly refused to accept their wages since they were compelled to pay as much as 30 per cent. for exchange, and today the money changers have

absolutely refused to handle the "Kerenki." The office of the Chinese Eastern Railway has today received from the Russian Asiatic Bank "Khorvat" money for the purpose of paying off its workers. It is all right for the Chinese Eastern Railway Company who can demand from the bank certain amounts of other currency and get them. But what about the rest of the population who cannot get from the bank as much as ten rubles for the exchange of Kerenki?"

"Granted, we have annulled by this act all the "Kerenki" of Soviet Russia. But what is going to happen when our armies enter triumphantly into the freed territories? How are the population of those territories to buy bread or meat? Those populations have no other currency on hand but Kerenki. Or, are we going to endow them with currency of our own make? But on what principles are we going to perform this act? Or, are we going to bring with us into those freed territories all the products that the population is in need of, and simply distribute them gratis? Or, have we given up the idea of continuing our march to free Russia? The whole business of annulling the Kerenki looks to us as untimely, as beyond our power, as unjust, and above all—as politically dangerous."

Similarly the "Zarya" expresses the apprehension that this order "will make a very pernicious impression" upon the people whom the Kolchak armies are to deliver from the Bolsheviks. Says the paper, editorially, "A door is to be open to the stores of bread that the deliverers are to bring with them on the heels of our victorious armies. Yet they will find that simultaneously with their liberation from the Bolsheviks, they are to lose every means of livelihood. Those of them that have not had the opportunity to store away some Czarist money will lose every kopeck of their savings. Can any one imagine for a moment that those citizens of Russia who will have been robbed will preserve the same feeling of gratefulness to their saviors? And are there really any people who believe that our government, after taking Moscow, let us say, in August or September, after which it is to become truly an All Russian Government, will dare to announce to the population that the money they have on hand to an amount of probably a hundred billion of rubles is absolutely worthless? A Government that would dare commit such an act would not last a single week."

Even more explicit is the "Trud" of Tomsk. "The law withdrawing from circulation the Kerenki has been proclaimed by our Finance Minister as a heroic undertaking to prevent a financial catastrophe. Now as a matter of fact there must be in the possession of the population about eighty billions of rubles in Kerenki, and the demonetization of this enormous amount of currency is a pretty fair catastrophe in itself, and to all appearances there is nothing left to be prevented.

"Mr. V. P. Anichkoff, a member of the Finance Ministry, was more frank in his explanation of this,

to say the least, queer law, asserting as he did that it was passed for the purpose of guarding the interests of the population of those territories which are under the protection of the Omsk government.

"But in the first place the whole formula of Mr. Anichkoff is built upon an extremely unfair basis. The Omsk government professing to be an All-Russian Government has neither the formal nor the fundamental right to secure the interests of only one small part of Russian territory to the manifest and grave detriment of the rest of the Russian citizens. Where is that principle of government to be found that will justify a discriminating regard for Bolshevik and non-Bolshevik Russia? The whole law of the annulment of the Kerenki is, therefore, strikingly unjust and mistaken. But will this law in any way assure the interests of the population of the non-Bolshevik territories? By no means. *De facto* the population of this territory is to receive only a half of the amount of money on its hands, and then in the form of promissory notes, payable next January. The population of even this territory, that is the population whose interests are supposed to be protected, is at once made poorer by one-half of what it possessed.

"True, the other half of the people's property is to be considered as a loan, to be paid over a period of twenty years. But aside from considerations of a financial and technical character, the payment of this half of the amount is very problematical, it being certain that a Constituent Assembly in which the whole of Russia will be represented, will never tolerate a procedure by which a relatively small fraction of the people is to receive at the expense of the whole people many, very many, billions of rubles, at a time when all the rest of the people are to lose tens of billions of rubles. One must, therefore, come to the conclusion that there is not going to be a Constituent, or even a National Assembly.

"The whole economic life of Russia is violently shaken to its very foundations. Its rehabilitation requires enormous money resources which can be obtained only by either the issuing of new paper currency or, perhaps, by making foreign loans. But this is another problem. The only conclusion one may come to is that we live in times of speculation and subsidies only."

What the business interests of Siberia think of this financial measure of the Kolchak government appears from a joint resolution adopted by the governing committee of the stock exchange of Omsk, and by the All-Russian Council of Trade and Commerce Conventions, and reading in part as follows:

1. This problem must be solved not solely within the confines of Western Siberia, but also in the Far East, as well as upon an international scale, otherwise the Kerenki will be bought up in the Far East at a reduced price and all the Kerenki from the Bolshevik territories will find their way through Western Siberia into the far east.

2. A compulsory loan must not be resorted to; exchange must be conducted at the rate of ruble per ruble, otherwise the peasant will lose all confidence

in paper money and will refuse to bring his food produce to market. Partial financial reforms are a bad policy in general, especially at the present time and under present conditions.

3. The repudiation of the Kerenki now circulating in Bolshevik territory is fraught with great danger. As it is, the people are very hostile toward their deliverers. Moreover, the absence of other currency in the occupied territories may anyhow compel the actual recognition of the withdrawn Kerenki."

The "Novosti Zhizni" of Harbin, which is the headquarters of the speculators in Russian paper money, quite frankly discusses the relation of the Japanese business world to this act of the Kolchak government. "There is one more aspect of this situation, the main aspect, which must always be considered, and that is the tension of the Japanese market," says the paper editorially. "The Japanese, as one can clearly see from the Japanese press itself, are making every effort conceivable to retain for themselves the Russian market.

"Anticipating the possibility of imports of merchandise from American and European countries they naturally apprehend the danger from such competition. The Japanese exporters see their rescue in the depreciation of the exchange value of the Russian ruble to its present fabulously low price, inasmuch as the depreciation of Russian currency prevents the importation of merchandise from other foreign countries into Siberia and the Far East,—it being obvious that with the low exchange value of the ruble today, importation of goods from other countries but Japan is not even to be dreamed of. Should the attempt of the Japanese manufacturers to close the Russian market to all their foreign competitors eventually fail, the depreciation will in any case put into the pockets of Japanese business men an enormous sum which can be later used to recoup anticipated losses incidental to an organized extensive fight upon future competitors."

That the Siberian press voices the sentiments of the people of Siberia, including the business interests, was shown at a number of stormy meetings of business men called for the discussion of the situation created by this extraordinary decree. At one of these meetings the highly sensational statement was made that the hand of the Japanese money interests was clearly visible in this; that the very life of the Russian people has become a toy in the hands of high diplomacy; that the Japanese money interests have been given monopolistic license, and by no less an authority than the peace conference at Paris.

Commenting upon this view a Siberian newspaper said:

"Confiscation is evidently only then considered criminal when speculators are the victims. Whereas to rob the whole Russian people of every kopeck they have, must be patriotic duty." Or, as another newspaper puts it. "Confiscation of all the property of the Russian citizens for the purpose of enriching Japanese business men must be the proper way of ruling the land."

Literacy in Russia

In a previous article* it was shown that half of the adult male population of European Russia under the age of fifty can read. The statistics for the several provinces of European Russia show a considerable variation in the degree of literacy. Map I, prepared on the basis of the Russian Census returns of 1897, exhibits these variations graphically.

The data upon which it is based comprise the three age groups which were treated in our previous article, viz.: from 10 to 19, from 20 to 29, and from 30 to 39 in 1897,—i. e., from 30 to 60 in 1917. It may be safely assumed that the population between the ages of 20 and 29 showed a higher percentage of literacy than those three groups. Thus the map may be accepted as a fair index of the degree of literacy of six-sevenths of the population of voting age.

The 50 provinces of European Russia are divided into five groups: first, those where the majority of the people of both sexes are literate; second, where the majority of the males are literate; third, where the majority of the males under 50 are literate; fourth, where the majority of males under 40 are literate; fifth, where the majority are illiterate. The statistical tables for these provinces are given at the end of this article.

A glance at Map I shows that the Baltic provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, and the Lithuanian province of Kovno comprise the first class. The majority of the Letts of voting age, male as well as female, are literate. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Letts have been playing a leading part among the revolutionary forces of Soviet Russia.

In two of the Baltic provinces, Esthonia and Livonia, the percentages of illiteracy are about the same as in some parts of the United States, as appears from the two tables next below:

Age Groups		Livonia		Esthonia	
1897-	1917	Male	Female	Male	Female
10-19	30-39	5	6	3	3
20-29	40-49	7	5	6	2
30-39	50-59	5	7	2	4

The percentages of illiteracy among the native whites of native parentage in certain sections of the United States, at the last census, are shown in the following table, the age groups selected being closest to the age classification adopted in the reports of the Russian census:

Geographical Division	Age Groups	
South Atlantic—	35-44-Years	45-54 Years
Male	7.9	11.1
Female	8.5	13.5

*See "Soviet Russia," No. 2.

Southeastern Central—

Male	10.1	13.9
Female	11.0	17.0

Southwestern Central—

Male	5.7	7.1
Female	6.4	9.8

The second group of provinces, in which the majority of males of voting age can read, comprises the province of Petrograd, the Moscow industrial region, the White Russian province of Grodno, and the territory of the Don Cossacks.

The provinces of Central and Northern Russia adjacent to the Moscow industrial region, as well as Southern Russia and the Crimea, belong to the third class, where the majority of the men under the age of 50 are literate.

As has been shown in the previous article, the percentage of literacy in the rural districts is lower than in the incorporated cities and towns. The degree of literacy in the rural districts is shown in Map II, in which the provinces of European Russia are classified in the same way as in Map I. The statistical tables upon which Map II is based are given at the end of this article. A glance at this map shows that the rural population in the most advanced sections of Russia has substantially kept pace with the urban population. Thus we see that in the rural districts of the Baltic provinces and in the Lithuanian province of Kovno, the majority of persons of voting age, both male and female, can read. The rural districts of the province of Petrograd and of the Moscow industrial region have likewise remained in the same class; the majority of the males of voting age in these sections can read. On the other hand the White Russian province of Grodno has stepped down from the second to the third class, the territory of the Don Cossacks from the second to the fifth, and the Ukrainian provinces of Kherson and Ekaterinoslav from the third likewise to the fifth, where the majority of the population are illiterate.

Map III shows the percentage of literacy among the male population of European Russia between the ages of 10 and 40 at the time of the census of 1897, i. e. between the ages of 30 and 70 at the beginning of the Revolution. As previously stated, it may be safely assumed that the young men under 30 showed a higher percentage of literacy than the older generations. The males of 70 years of age and over constituted but 5 per cent. of the total population of voting age (20 years of age and over). The statistics upon which Map III is based thus fairly represents the degree of literacy among the whole adult male population of European Russia.

The 50 provinces of European Russia are classified on this map into six grades, the highest grade comprising those with 80 per cent. of literacy or more; and the lowest with 30 to 39 per cent. It

(Continued on Page 12)

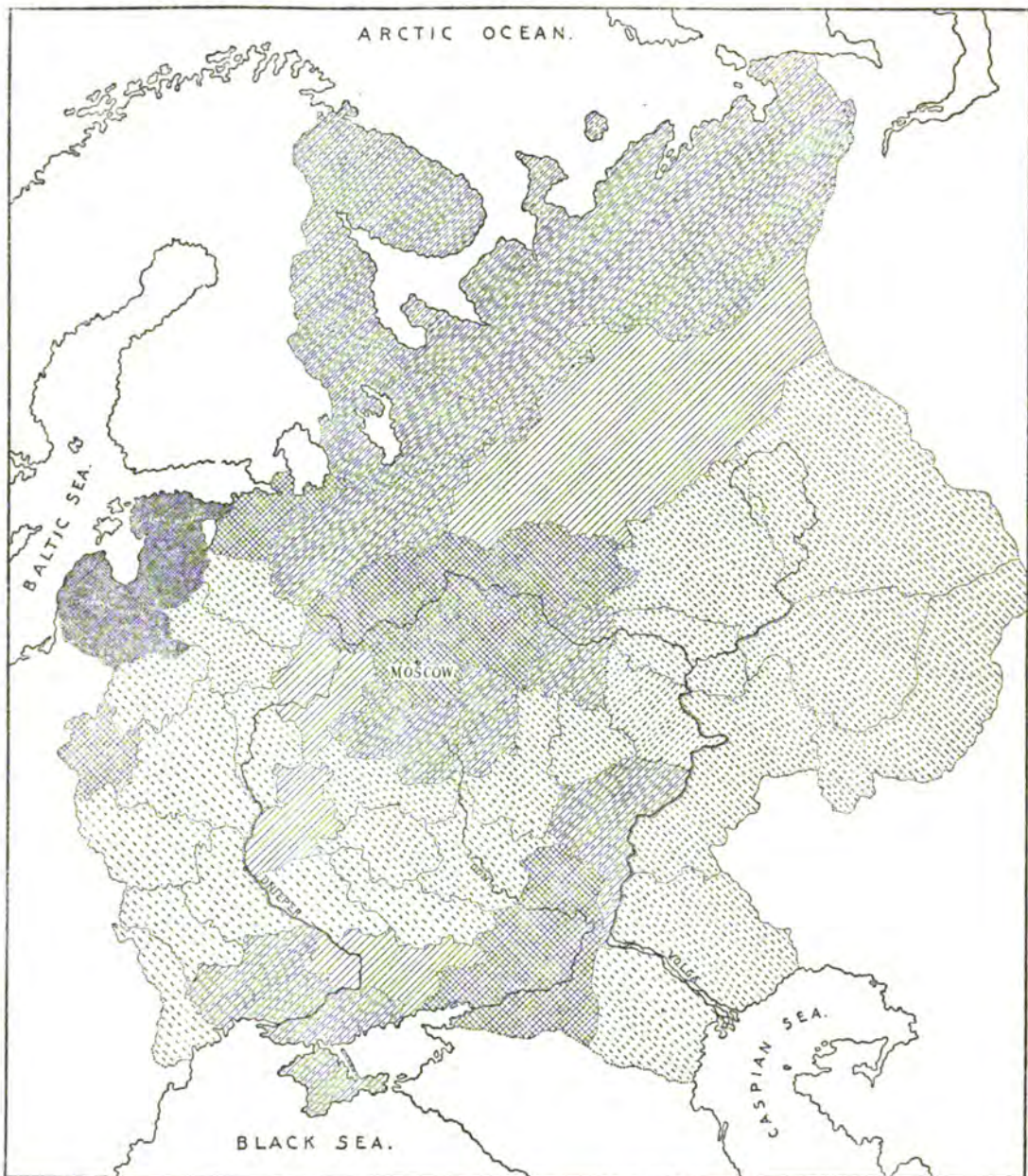
EXPLANATORY TABLE TO MAP I.






Percentage of literacy among the population of the 50 provinces of European Russia between the ages of 10 and 40 at the Census of 1897, i. e., between the ages of 30 and 60 in 1917.

PROVINCES	AGE GROUPS IN 1917					
	Male			Female		
	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years
CLASS I.						
Esthonia	97	94	98	97	98	96
Livonia	95	93	95	94	95	93
Courland	88	87	91	87	90	88
Kovno	54	65	64	55	66	60
CLASS II.						
Petrograd	86	78	76	70	57	48
Yaroslav	85	77	71	51	39	25
Moscow	82	71	64	48	37	27
Vladimir	74	67	58	30	20	13
Tver	72	64	54	27	18	11
Kostroma	66	62	53	25	19	13
Grodno	57	58	51	31	30	24
Don Territory	52	52	50	21	14	11
CLASS III.						
Novgorod	63	55	48	23	16	10
Taurida	61	56	49	33	26	21
Ryazan	61	56	46	18	12	8
Tula	61	55	45	19	12	9
Olonetz	61	50	42	21	14	9
Kaluga	60	55	46	18	12	8
Archangel	57	54	49	24	17	12
Saratov	57	53	46	24	20	15
Nizhni Novgorod	57	53	46	20	17	12
Kherson	53	54	49	30	25	19
CLASS IV.						
Vologda	56	46	42	13	9	7
Tchernigov	54	47	39	15	11	7
Smolensk	53	45	36	13	10	8
Ekaterinoslav	52	49	44	21	16	12
CLASS V.						
Poltava	49	46	37	13	9	6
Orel	49	45	37	14	11	8
Perm	49	43	37	23	17	10
Vyatka	49	39	31	16	11	7
Vilno	48	54	52	36	38	31
Samara	48	46	42	24	21	17
Kursk	48	43	36	13	9	7
Tambov	47	41	35	13	10	7
Voronezh	47	41	35	12	9	7
Orenburg	46	44	43	21	18	13
Mohilev	46	40	32	14	14	9
Vitebsk	45	47	42	28	31	27
Simbirsk	45	39	34	12	9	7
Kharkov	44	43	36	15	12	9
Kazan	44	39	29	19	16	12
Kiev	42	43	38	14	14	11
Penza	42	37	31	11	10	7
Pskov	40	36	30	13	11	8
Minsk	38	39	35	16	16	12
Podolia	38	37	30	13	11	7
Volhynia	38	38	33	15	14	12
Ufa	34	30	28	19	16	14
Bessarabia	32	35	30	15	14	10
Astrakhan	32	32	33	16	12	9

MAP I

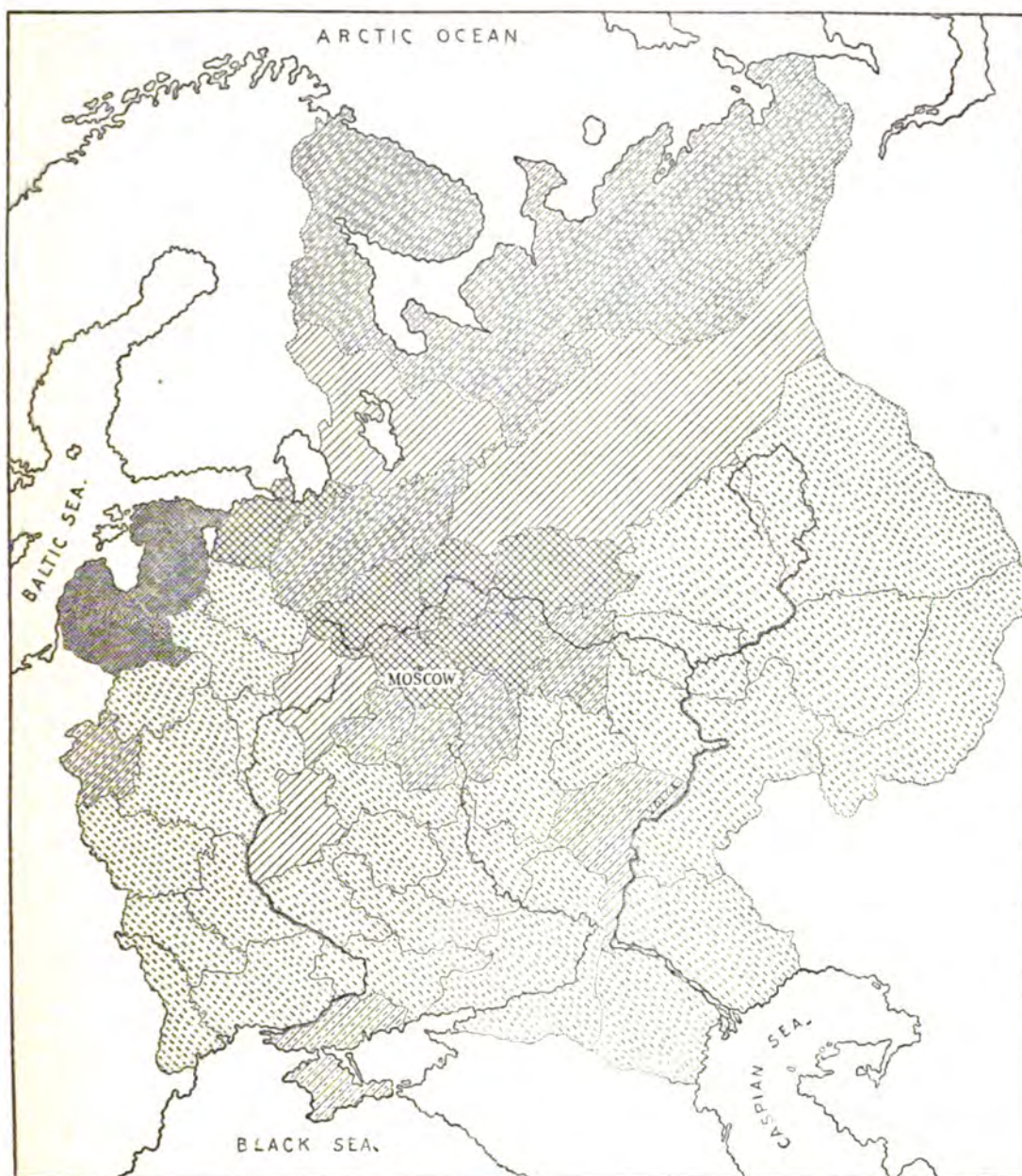
Percentage of literacy among the population of the 50 provinces of European Russia between the ages of 10 and 40, at the Census of 1897, i. e., between the ages of 30 and 60 in 1917.








-  MAJORITY OF BOTH SEXES LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES UNDER 50 LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES UNDER 40 LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY ILLITERATE.

MAP II

Percentage of literacy among the rural population of the 50 provinces of European Russia, between the ages of 10 and 40, at the Census of 1897, i. e., between the ages of 30 and 60 in 1917.



-  MAJORITY OF BOTH SEXES LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES UNDER 50 LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY OF MALES UNDER 40 LITERATE.
-  MAJORITY ILLITERATE.

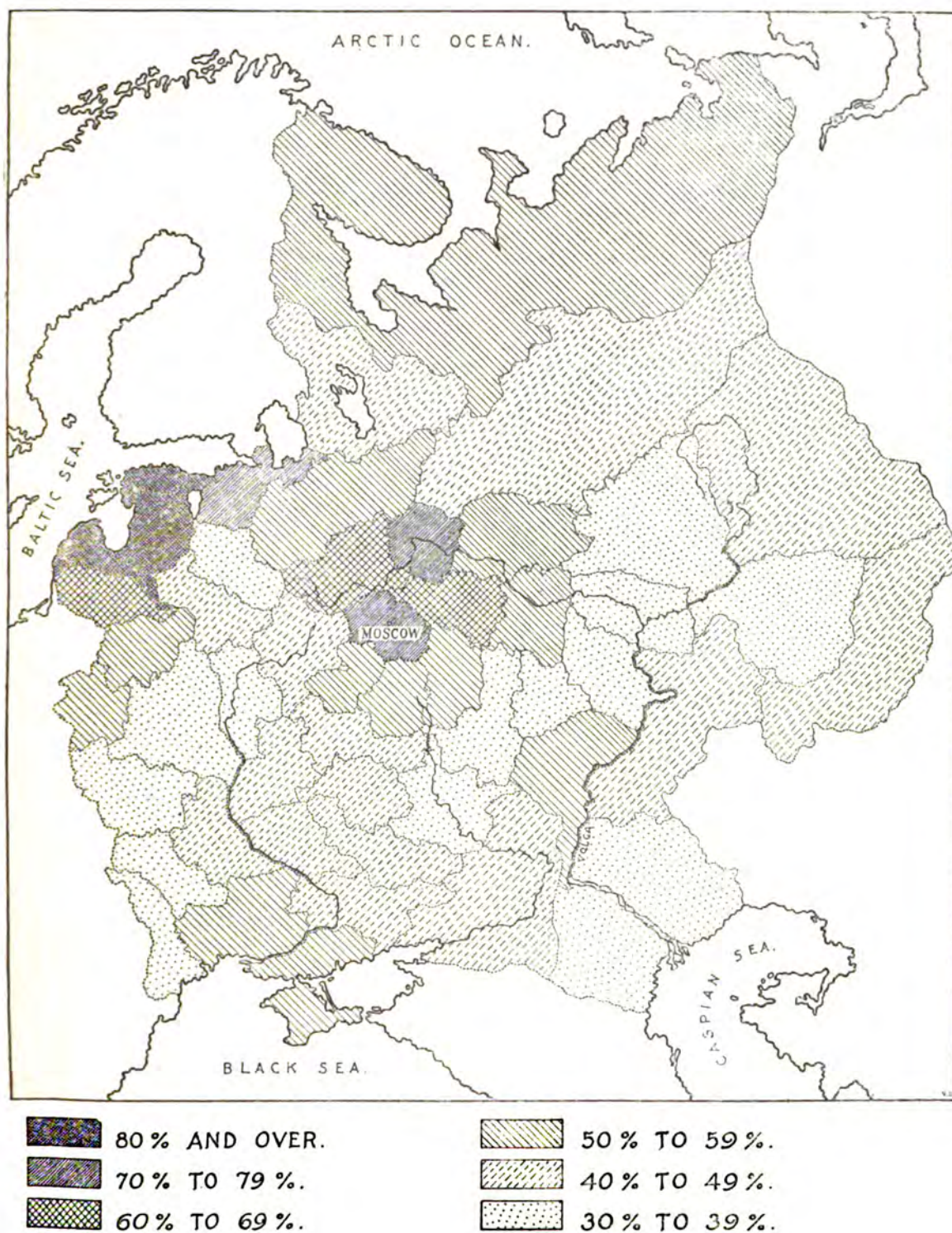
EXPLANATORY TABLE TO MAP II.

Percentage of literacy among the rural population of the 50 provinces of European Russia, between the ages of 10 and 40 at the Census of 1897, i. e., between the ages of 30 and 60 in 1917.

PROVINCES	AGE GROUPS IN 1917					
	Male			Female		
	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years
CLASS I.						
Esthonia	97	98	98	97	98	97
Livonia	96	97	97	96	98	97
Courland	88	91	92	88	92	90
Kovno	53	65	64	56	67	61
CLASS II.						
Yaroslav	84	78	70	48	36	22
Petrograd	79	73	67	54	44	34
Moscow	78	65	56	34	23	13
Vladimir	72	65	56	25	17	10
Tver	70	62	51	23	14	7
Kostroma	64	60	51	22	17	11
CLASS III.						
Novgorod	61	53	46	20	13	8
Ryazan	59	53	43	15	9	5
Tula	59	50	41	13	7	5
Taurida	58	52	45	27	20	16
Kaluga	57	51	43	14	9	5
Grodno	55	55	47	26	24	20
Saratov	55	50	43	19	16	12
Nizhni Novgorod	55	50	42	16	14	9
Archangel	54	50	45	19	13	8
CLASS IV.						
Vologda	54	44	40	11	7	5
Tchernigov	52	45	37	11	8	5
Smolensk	50	40	32	9	6	5
Olonetz	59	48	39	18	11	6
CLASS V.						
Ekaterinoslav	49	46	41	17	13	9
Don Territory	48	48	47	16	10	7
Vyatka	48	38	29	14	9	6
Samara	47	44	41	22	19	16
Poltava	47	42	34	9	6	3
Perm	47	40	34	20	14	8
Kherson	46	45	39	21	15	12
Vilno	45	50	49	32	34	28
Orel	45	40	32	8	6	4
Kursk	45	39	33	10	6	4
Orenburg	44	42	42	19	16	11
Voronezh	44	38	33	9	6	5
Tambov	43	37	32	9	6	5
Mohilev	43	35	28	11	10	6
Simbirsk	42	35	32	9	7	5
Kazan	41	34	25	15	12	9
Vitebsk	40	39	37	23	27	24
Kharkov	39	36	30	9	6	4
Penza	39	34	28	8	7	4
Kiev	38	36	33	9	8	6
Podolia	37	34	28	11	9	6
Pskov	37	32	27	9	7	5
Minsk	35	33	31	12	11	9
Volhynia	34	34	30	13	12	10
Ufa	32	28	26	17	15	13
Bessarabia	29	28	26	14	12	8
Astrakhan	27	26	28	11	8	5

MAP III

Percentage of literacy among the male population of the 50 provinces of European Russia between the ages of 10 and 50 years at the Census of 1897, i.e., between the ages of 30 and 70 years in 1917.



thus appears that in no province of European Russia was the percentage of literacy less than 30 per cent. among the males of voting age.

In the rural districts the ratio of literacy is somewhat lower, yet even there it is above one-fourth of the adult male population under the age of 60. (See explanatory table to Map II.)

The highest percentage of literacy is found in the Baltic provinces; the next highest, with from 70 to 79 per cent. in the province of Petrograd, following which in order come the provinces of Moscow and Yaroslav. Next come the other provinces of the industrial region around Moscow, and the Lithuanian province of Kovno, with from 60 to 69 per cent.

In the provinces centering around Moscow and extending westward, the majority of the adult male population are literate. The same is true of the province of Kherson and of the Crimea, as well as of Lithuania and part of White Russia; also of the province of Saratov (along the Volga), and of that of Archangel.

The greatest degree of illiteracy is found in the purely agricultural sections of the country. In the industrial sections the majority of the male voting population were literate, at the beginning of the Revolution.

EXPLANATORY TABLE TO MAP III.

Percentage of literacy among the male population of the 50 provinces of European Russia between the ages of 10 and 50 years at the census of 1897, i.e. between the ages of 30 and 70 years in 1917.

CLASS I		Provinces	%
Provinces	%	Vologda	48
Esthonia	96	Ekaterinoslav	47
Livonia	94	Tchernigov	46
Courland	89	Samara	44
CLASS II		Smolensk	44
Petrograd	79	Vitebsk	44
Yaroslav	75	Orel	43
Moscow	70	Orenburg	43
CLASS III		Poltava	43
Vladimir	64	Perm	41
Tver	62	Kharkov	40
Kovno	60	Kiev	40
CLASS IV		Kursk	40
Kostroma	59	CLASS VI	
Grodno	55	Mohilev	39
Novgorod	54	Tambov	39
Taurida	54	Voronezh	39
Archangel	52	Simbirsk	38
Kaluga	52	Vyatka	38
Ryazan	52	Minsk	37
Tula	52	Kazan	36
Kherson	51	Penza	35
Nizhni Novgorod	50	Podolia	35
Saratov	50	Pskov	35
Vilno	50	Volhynia	35
CLASS V		Astrakhan	31
Don Territory	49	Bessarabia	31
Olonez	49	Ufa	31

STEAMSHIP COMMUNICATION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND DENMARK

The Danish steamship companies are actively preparing for the forthcoming navigation season, intending to utilize the same for securing the Russian market to themselves. Regular passenger and freight communication is to be maintained with St. Petersburg.

"Economitsheskaya Zhizn,"—the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Moscow, April 12th.

The Real Population of the Murman Coast

In a recent issue of the "The New York Evening Post," Mr. Akseli Rananheimmo claims that the "sparsely settled Murman coast is inhabited principally by Finns and Lapps," and that the population contains also some Norwegians, but that "the number of Finns is still considerably larger than the number of Russians." Unfortunately he fails to quote the source of his information. The only available statistical data on the distribution of the population of that region by nationality are to be found in the reports of the census of the Russian Empire, taken in 1897. The population of the Kola district, which includes the whole Kola Peninsula, consisted at that time of 9,291 persons, of whom 3,036 were Finns, Karelians, and Lapps, and only 134 Norwegians. The majority of the population, viz. 5,863, were Great Russians. The population of Kola, the capital and only incorporated city of the district, was only 615, which shows that the bulk of the Russians were scattered among the rural settlements of the district.

It must be borne in mind, moreover, that nearly all of the Kola Peninsula is north of the Arctic circle, and that the density of its population was 1 inhabitant to 6 square miles.

CORRECTION OF A TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR

In the article "Ethnological Distribution of the Population of Bessarabia," in No. 4 of "SOVIET RUSSIA," one line was omitted which made the second statistical table unintelligible. The corrected table is reprinted next below.

Districts	Number		Per Cent.	
	Roumanians	Others	Roumanians	Others
With a Roumanian majority	601,615	213,346	74	26
With a Roumanian minority	300,223	711,745	30	70
City of Kishineff....	19,081	89,402	18	82
TOTAL.....	920,919	1,014,493	48	52

Political Propaganda and Educational Activity in the Villages

A Resolution of the 8th Convention of the Russian Communist Labor Party

Bearing in mind the necessity of a firm and lasting alliance between the proletariat and the poorest peasants and peasants of medium means; also bearing in mind the political darkness, the general ignorance and the low standard of agricultural knowledge in the villages, which are serious obstacles and which condemn the poorest peasantry and the peasantry of medium means to poverty and stagnation,—the Communist Party is compelled to pay most serious attention to the matter of education in the villages in the broadest sense of the word.

For the purpose of educational activities in the villages the following elements must co-operate:

1. Communistic propaganda;
2. General education;
3. Agricultural education.

1. Political propaganda in the villages must be carried on among the literate peasants as well as among the illiterate.

The propaganda among the literate must consist first of all in the distribution of popular literature and newspapers of a communistic character, specially prepared for this purpose. Such literature must be sold at very low prices in schools, reading huts and in all Soviet stores.

It is necessary to strive for the organization of reading rooms in every school with a political department and that such reading rooms should be in every village People's House; and, in places where there are not such People's Houses, popular political books must be an essential part of every reading hut.

The courses for children, and especially those for adults,—the academic as well as the special (agricultural for instance)—must include: (1) popular history of culture from a scientific socialistic point of view and with a specially prepared part devoted to Russian history and to the history of the Great Russian Revolution; (2) the interpretation of the Soviet constitution. For both of these courses proper text-books are to be prepared immediately.

The teachers are obliged to look upon themselves as upon agents not only of a general but also of a communistic education.

In this respect they must be subjected to the control of their immediate heads, as well as of the local party organizations.

Moving picture houses, theatres, concerts, exhibitions, etc., inasmuch as they will reach the villages (and all effort is to be exerted for this purpose), must be utilized for communistic propaganda directly, i. e. through the upkeep of these and also by way of combining these with lectures and meetings.

Departments of public education—provincial and county—with the assistance and under the control

of the local party organizations, must organize collegiums of propagandists who are partly permanent, i. e. attached to their locality, and partly traveling, i. e. such as will cover a more or less wide section.

In the big city centers it is necessary that the party organizations should form collegiums of propagandists-instructors (in accordance with the local organs of the Commissariat of Education), who would carry on a traveling propaganda directly among the masses, and also instruct the less experienced comrades in the localities.

In this connection the convention calls special attention to the possibility of utilizing the work of the regiments of industrial workers, who are under the direction of the All-Russian Soviet of Professional Unions.

For the illiterate, periodical readings must be arranged in the schools, on the premises of the volost Soviet of Deputies, in the reading huts, etc., for which purpose the departments of public education, with the assistance of the local party organizations, create special circles of readers, including the local teaching staff, with obligatory readings by the literate elements. The subjects of the readings should be the decrees and administrative order of the Soviets, together with specially prepared popular interpretations sent out by the centers (party or Soviet Centres), also stories from readers, which are being constantly revised. It would be advisable to accompany such reading with illustrations by way of motion pictures or stereopticon slides; also with a reading of fiction, as well as concerts for the purpose of attracting large audiences.

2. General education—within school and outside of school (including artistic education: theatres, concerts, motion pictures, exhibitions, etc.), endeavoring not only to shed the light of a varied knowledge on the dark villages, but primarily to aid in the creation of self-consciousness and of a clear conception of things—must be closely connected with the communistic propaganda. There are not any forms of science and art which are not connected with the great ideas of communism and with the various tasks of creating communistic economy.

As far as the schools are concerned, the question of revising them on principles of continuity and labor has been decided. It is necessary to pay special attention to all forms of out-of-school education for adults. The party must by all means assist the Soviet authorities and the local population in the organization of a large system of community centers (People's Houses), for which purpose the Soviet estates are to be used first of all. The community centers must be peasants' clubs for resting, for sensible amusements and broad enlightenment, general as well as communistic.

The Communist Party, permitting and encouraging the utilization of the knowledge of the specialists and other educated persons for conducting courses and for aiding in conducting communistic centers,—must take care at the same time that the elements hostile to the Soviet power should not make use of the apparatus of general education and should not introduce in the form of literature, science and art any counter-revolutionary, or anti-social tendencies, and should not thereby paralyze the efforts of communistic propaganda.

3. The peasants feel keenly the need of agricultural education.

The Soviet estates, as well as the farm schools, must become the lighthouses of agricultural education. Agricultural institutions, organized and maintained by the People's Commissariat of Education, must be in closest contact with the agricultural institutions of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

There must not be any schools, colleges or any other educational organizations in the villages, which would not endeavor (in accordance with the principle of combining studies with productive

labor) to function at the same time as an organization of a model husbandry—complete or in part.

Agricultural education must be carried on in such a way as to combine this with communistic ideas and it should serve as a pillar to the general effort of the party to reconstruct private establishments into one organized socialistic institution.

Propaganda among peasants must not be apart from life problems of agriculturalists, but must be closely connected with the questions of rural economy.

The state school must be freed from all religious instruction and every attempt at counter-revolutionary propaganda under the guise of religious sermons must be thwarted.

But the constitution of Soviet Russia recognizes full freedom of religious propaganda for all citizens and this convention calls special attention to the absolute impossibility of any such restrictions of this right and even of a shadow of violence in the questions of religion. Persons, who encroach upon religious liberties of citizens of any creed, must be subjected to strict judgment.

"Northern Commune," April 6, 1919.

The Committee of State Constructions*

(From Arthur Ransome's new book, "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919")

February 15th.

I went by appointment to see Pavlovitch, President of the Committee of State Constructions. It was a very jolly morning and the streets were crowded. As I walked through the gate into the Red Square, I saw the usual crowd of peasant women at the little chapel of the Iberian Virgin, where there was a blaze of candles. On the wall of what used, I think, to be the old town hall, close by the gate, some fanatic agnostic has set a white inscription on a tablet, "Religion is opium for the People." The tablet, which has been there a long time, is in shape not unlike the customary frame for a sacred picture. I saw an old peasant, evidently unable to read, cross himself solemnly before the chapel, and then turning to the left, cross himself as solemnly before this anti-religious inscription. It is perhaps worth while to remark in passing that the new Communist program, while insisting as before, on the definite separation of church and state, and church and school, now includes the particular statement that "care should be taken in no way to hurt the feelings of the religious." Churches and chapels are open, church processions take place as before, and Moscow, as in the old days, is still a city of church bells.

A long line of sledges with welcome bags of flour was passing through the square. Soldiers of the Red Army were coming off parade, laughing and talking, and very noticeably smarter than the men of six months ago. There was a bright clear sky behind the fantastic Cathedral of St. Basil, and the

rough graves under the Kremlin wall, where those are buried who died in the fighting at the time of the November Revolution, have been tidied up. There was scaffolding round the gate of the Kremlin, which was damaged at that time and is being carefully repaired.

The Committee of State Constructions was founded last spring to co-ordinate the management of the various engineering and other constructive works previously carried on by independent departments. It became an independent organ with its own finances about the middle of the summer. Its headquarters are in the Nikolskaya, in the Chinese town, next door to the old building of the Anglo-Russian Trading Company, which still bears the Lion and the Unicorn sculptured above its green and white façade some time early in the seventeenth century.

Pavlovitch is a little, fat, spectacled man with a bald head, fringed with the remains of red hair, and a little reddish beard. He was dressed in a black leather coat and trousers. He complained bitterly that all his plans for engineering works to improve the productive possibilities of the country were made impracticable by the imperious demands of war. As an old Siberian exile he had been living in France before the revolution, and, as he said, had seen there how France made war. "They sent her loco-

* "State Constructions" is used by Ransome in the sense of "Public Works."

motives and rails for the locomotives to run, every thing she needed they sent her from all parts of the world. When they sent horses, they sent also hay for their food, and shoes for their feet, and even nails for the shoes. If we were supplied like that, Russia would be at peace in a week. But we have nothing, and can get nothing, and are forced to be at war against our will."

"And war spoils everything," he continued. "This Committee should be at work on affairs of peace, making Russia more useful to herself and to the rest of the world. You know our plans. But with fighting on all our fronts, and with all our best men away, we are compelled to use ninety per cent. of our energy and material for the immediate needs of the army. Every day we get masses of telegrams from all fronts, asking for this or that. For example, Trotsky telegraphs here simply, 'We shall be in Orenburg in two days,' leaving us to do what is necessary. Then with the map before me, I have to send what will be needed, no matter what useful work has to be abandoned meanwhile, engineers, railway gangs for putting right the railways, material for bridges, and so on.

"Indeed, the biggest piece of civil engineering done in Russia for many years was the direct result of our fear lest you people or the Germans should take our Baltic fleet. Save the dreadnoughts we could not, but I decided to save what we could. The widening and deepening of the canal system, so as to shift boats from the Baltic to the Volga, had been considered in the time of the Czar. It was considered and dismissed as impracticable. Once, indeed, they did try to take two torpedo-boats over, and they lifted them on barges to make the attempt. Well, we said that as the thing could be planned, it could be done; and the canals are deepened and widened, and we took through them, under their own power, seven big destroyers, six small destroyers and four submarine boats, which, arriving unexpectedly before Kazan, played a great part in our victory there. But the pleasure of that was spoiled for me by the knowledge that I had to take men and material from the building of the electric power station, with which we hope to make Petrograd independent of the coal supply.

"The difficulties we have to fight against are, of course, enormous, but much of what the old régime failed to do, for want of initiative or for other reasons, we have done and are doing. Some of the difficulties are of a most unexpected kind. The local inhabitants, partly, no doubt, under the influence of our political opponents, were extremely hostile with regard to the building of the power station, simply because they did not understand it. I went there myself, and explained to them what it would mean, that their river would become a rich river, that they would be able to get cheap power for all sorts of

works, and that they would have electric light in all their houses. Then they carried me shoulder-high through the village, and sent telegrams to Lenin, to Zinoviev, to everybody they could think of, and since then we have had nothing but help from them.

"Most of our energy at present has to be spent on mending and making railways and roads for the use of the army. Over 11,000 versts of railway are under construction, and we have finished the railway from Arzamas to Shikhran. Twelve hundred versts of highroad are under construction. And to meet the immediate needs of the army we have already repaired or made 8,000 versts of roads of various kinds. As a matter of fact, the internal railway net of Russia is by no means as bad as people make out. By its means, hampered as we are, we have been able to beat the counter-revolutionaries, concentrating our best troops, now here, now there, wherever need may be. Remember that the whole way round our enormous frontiers we are being forced to fight groups of reactionaries supported at first mostly by the Germans, now mostly by yourselves, by the Roumanians, by the Poles, and in some districts by the Germans still. Troops fighting on the Ural front are fighting a month later south of Voronezh, and a month later again are having a holiday, marching on the heels of the Germans as they evacuate the occupied provinces. Some of our troops are not yet much good. One day they fight, and the next they think they would rather not. So that our best troops, those in which there are most workmen, have to be flung in all directions. We are at work all the time enabling this to be done, and making new roads to enable it to be done still better. But what waste, when there are so many other things we want to do!

"All the time the needs of war are pressing on us. Today is the first day for two months that we have been able to warm this building. We have been working in overcoats and fur hats in a temperature below freezing point. Why? Wood was already on its way to us, when we had suddenly to throw troops northwards. Our wood had to be flung out of the wagons, and the Red Army put in its place, and the wagons sent north again. The thing had to be done, and we have had to work as best we could in the cold. Many of my assistants have fallen ill. Two only yesterday had to be taken home in a condition something like that of a fit, the result of prolonged sedentary work in unheated rooms. I have lost the use of my right hand for the same reason." He stretched out his right hand, which he had been keeping in the pocket of his coat. It was an ugly sight, with swollen, immovable fingers, like the roots of a vegetable.

At this moment some one came in to speak to Pavlovitch. He stood at the table a little behind me, so that I did not see him, but Pavlovitch, noticing that he looked curiously at me said, "Are you acquaintances?" I looked around and saw Sukhanov, Gorky's friend, formerly one of the cleverest writers

on the "Novaya-Zhizn." I jumped up and shook hands with him.

"What, have you gone over to the Bolsheviks?" I asked.

"Not at all," said Sukhanov smiling, "but I am working here."

"Sukhanov thinks that we do less harm than anybody else," said Pavlovitch and laughed. "Go and talk to him and he'll tell you all there is to be said against us. And there's lots to say."

Sukhanov was an extremely bitter enemy of the Bolsheviks, and was very angry with me when, over a year ago, I told him I was convinced that sooner or later he would be working with them. I told Pavlovitch the story, and he laughed again. "A long time ago," he said, "Sukhanov made overtures to me through Miliutin. I agreed, and everything was settled, but when a note appeared in "Pravda" to say that he was going to work in this Committee, he grew shy, and wrote a contradiction. Miliutin was very angry and asked me to publish the truth. I refused, but wrote on that day in my diary, "Sukhanov will come." Three months later he was already working with us. One day he told me that in the big diary of the revolution which he is writing, and will write very well, he had some special abuse for me. 'I have none for you,' I said, 'but I will show you one page of my own diary,' and I showed him that page, and asked him to look at the date. Sukhanov is an honest fellow and was bound to come."

He went on with his talk.

"You know, hampered as we are by lack of everything, we could not put up the fight we are putting up against the reactionaries if it were not for the real revolutionary spirit of the people as a whole. The reactionaries have money, munitions, supplies of all kinds, instructors, from outside. We have nothing and yet we beat them. Do you know that the English have given them tanks? Have you heard that in one place they used gases or something of the kind, and blinded eight hundred men? And yet we win. Why? Because from every town we capture we get new strength. And any town they take is a source of weakness to them, one more town to garrison and hold against the wishes of the population."

"And if you do get peace, what then?"

"We want from abroad all that we cannot make

ourselves. We want a hundred thousand versts of rails. Now we have to take up rails in one place to lay them in another. We want new railways built. We want dredges for our canals and river works. We want excavators."

"And how do you expect people to sell you these things when your foreign credit is not worth a farthing?"

"We shall pay in concessions, giving foreigners the right to take raw materials. Timber, actual timber, is as good as credit. We have huge areas of forest in the north, and every country in Europe needs timber. Let that be our currency for foreign purchases. We are prepared to say, "You build this, or give us that, and we will give you the right to take so much timber for yourselves. And so on. And concessions of other kinds also. As a matter of fact, negotiations are now proceeding with a foreign firm for the building of a railway from the Obi to Kotlas."

"But part of that district is not in your hands."

"If we get peace we shall be able to arrange that without difficulty."

Just as I was going he stopped me, and evidently not in the least realizing that English people generally have come to think of him and his friends as of some strange sort of devils, if not with horns and tails, certainly far removed from human beings, he asked: "If we do get peace, don't you think there will be engineers and skilled laborers in England who will volunteer to come out to Russia and help us? There is so much to do that I can promise they will have the best we can give them. We are almost as short of skilled men as we are of locomotives. We are now taking simple unskilled workmen who show any signs of brains and training them as we go along. There must be engineers, railwaymen, mechanics among English Socialists who would be glad to come. And of course they need not be Socialists, so long as they are good engineers."

That last suggestion of his is entirely characteristic. It is impossible to make the Bolsheviks realize that the English people feel any hostility towards them. Nor do they feel hostility towards the English as such. On my way back to the hotel I met a party of English soldiers taken prisoners on the northern front, walking free, without a convoy, through the streets.

Exposing the Powers of Darkness

By V. M.

The Struggle Against Superstition

Baseless charges have been given wide circulation by the newspapers to the effect that the Bolsheviks in Russia are persecuting the clergy. As a matter of fact the Soviet Government has merely carried out complete separation of church from state and of school from church. A great number of Russian priests and of other alleged "True Christians" to-

gether with the "Patriarch" (the head of the Russian Church) and the bishops, have been carrying on among the people a systematic, intensive, counter-revolutionary agitation against the workers' and peasants' government. In certain parts of Russia this activity has gone so far that the local authorities have been obliged to prosecute certain "holy" insurrectionists, who attempted to carry out the ap-

peals of the Patriarch, of the Holy Synod (the supreme governing body of the Church), and the Church Councils. A number of priests have been sentenced for their counter-revolutionary activities to imprisonment and in some cases to the death penalty. As a rule, however, the Soviet Government has practiced complete tolerance toward the church and its "faithful servants" and lets the churches alone. For, true to the principle of religious liberty, both the Soviet Government and the Russian Communist Party consider as their chief instrument in their struggle against the power of darkness, not measures of force, but cultural enlightenment, and communistic propaganda among the broad masses of the Russian people. In reference to the sensational rumors spread in recent days with particular energy, to the effect that the Moscow Soviet intends to take some kind of action against ecclesiastical objects, such as ikons, golden crosses, church vessels, etc., a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, at a meeting of that committee, categorically denied in the name of the Moscow Soviet that the latter had any such plans.

II.

The Sacred Relics

The only "violation" of "sacred objects," which the Soviet Government has undertaken, was an investigation of the so-called "sacred relics." In certain churches, and particularly in a number of monasteries, there were preserved in Russia alleged relics of various saints, or fragmentary portions of such relics. According to the orthodox doctrine, the bodies of saintly persons are "indestructible." A number of pilgrims visit such monasteries in which alleged relics of particularly famous saints are preserved. Wonder-working relics have been an inexhaustible source of the enormous incomes of these monasteries. Therefore it has been customary for such monasteries as were lacking in such objects to purchase portions of sacred relics from some other monastery. A regular traffic in relics had been organized, for believing Christians were not only in the habit of paying for extra masses over these relics, but also of purchasing various souvenirs of them, for example pictures of saints, little wooden crosses, etc.

Such relics, as for example, a piece of the right hand of John the Baptist, or of the foot of the Apostle Thomas, and the like, which were actually exhibited in Russian monasteries, have always been considered by all half-way intelligent Russians as humbug pure and simple, intended for the fleecing of the unenlightened. Yet the Czarist Government persecuted through its police and gendarmes all "skeptics" among the common people who dared expose this fraud. Such persons were declared by the priests to be dangerous schismatics, and were imprisoned or deported to Siberia. Under the protection of the highest church functionaries and of the government there was flourishing in Russia in the twentieth century a form of idolatry which was almost incomprehensible to civilized humanity. We may here mention a few examples of the gross mis-

representation practiced by priests and monks in Russia.

In the great monasteries at Kiev, there were exhibited relics of the fourteen thousand children who were killed at Bethlehem. In the Svyatogorsk monastery in the province of Kharkov even a strand of Christ's hair was preserved. In the New Jerusalem monastery, there was preserved a drop of the milk of the Virgin Mary and a drop of the blood of John the Baptist. In the cathedral of the Apostle Andrew at Kiev, "the faithful" were allowed to kiss the cross, which according to a legend, had been raised by the above named apostle on the hill on which Kiev now is situated. The "faithful" used to lie in wait for an opportunity to bite off a little piece of this wonder-working cross. An old priest once confessed to Lomakin, author of an article on this fraudulent business, in "Izvestia," that while he was in office, this cross had to be replaced three times, for two of them had been actually eaten up by pious pilgrims.

In one Russian monastery the monks traded in the nails with which Christ had been crucified. According to the confession made by the "holy" impostor, the nails that had been sold, would have sufficed for the crucifixion of at least ten thousand persons.

III.

Investigation of the Relics

The "Godless" Bolsheviks determined to open the eyes of the people to this humbug and to expose the "sacred relics." In a number of places the silver and golden chests were opened, and in the place of indestructible corpses, in the most favorable cases, bones much the worse for time were found. But some of these splendid coffins contained wax dolls, ladies' stockings, sacks filled with bricks, cotton, etc., nails, pins, etc. Wherever such investigations were conducted they were attended in addition to the Soviet officials, also by physicians and representatives of the clergy and the population, and an exact record was kept of the proceedings.

The Moscow newspaper, "Pravda," has described among other things the opening of the relics of the Saint Savva Storzhevski, which took place on March 17th, in the large, well-known, Zvenigorodsk monastery. The record of the proceedings was signed by all those present, including a physician. In the coffin was found a doll made of cotton. In the autopsy of this doll, no traces were found of the "sacred" body, but only bones that were so decayed that the physician could not even tell what kind of person they were from. With these bones there were found two coins of the ten and twenty kopek denominations, which had been struck during the present war period. The monks had accordingly recently opened the coffins, and knew the worth of these relics very well, yet they let the people believe in these "wonder-working relics."

The Russian Orthodox Church had the habit of frequently "discovering" new saints, and under the government of Nicholas the Last, "holy" Russia was enriched by many new relics.

Two Accusations

We print below, in parallel columns, the Soviet Government's denial of charges that it is conducting a Red Terror at present, as well as a grave accusation directed by the Soviet Government against the English Government. The former is from a Budapest newspaper; the latter is from the "New York Call" of May 26th.

AN ACCUSATION

A charge that the British military executed without trial 26 Bolshevik prisoners who were on their way to confinement in India is contained in a wireless message, sent out by the Soviet government at Moscow, picked up by the steamer Franklin. The wireless does not state where the executions took place, beyond indicating an indefinite area near the Caspian Sea. The message also indicates that the prisoners were not shot by British soldiers, but by trans-Caspian counter-revolutionaries acting under orders from British officers. The message picked up by the Franklin is given here for the first time:

"News leaked out not long ago that a number of Russian revolutionary emissaries who had been captured were being deported to India by train. The train that carried them was brought to a lonely spot of the desert and the escort appointed by the British military authorities and the trans-Caspian counter-revolutionaries executed the orders given to them. They shot their prisoners, 26 persons in all, and buried their dead victims in the sand. This atrocious and cowardly deed being committed, the British military authorities carefully tried to conceal it. General Thomson having requested Chaykin, of the Russian Soviet Government, to communicate to him the evidence upon which his statement was based. Chaykin demanded that the security of the witnesses should be guaranteed and that a mixed commission should investigate the crime, the impartiality of the investigation being thus secured. However, General Thomson rejected these just demands, clearly showing that the only desire of the British authorities was to take revenge upon those who had disclosed to the world their criminal deed. But the truth being now known, no stratagem can conceal it any more or save the perpetrators of this atrocity from public shame.

"The British Government, whose representatives have so often vilified the Russian workers' and peasants' government for the so-called red terror that is really a necessary act of self-defense; disfigured and magnified it by calumny; this same British Government is now publicly convicted of having committed a base and cowardly murder of defenseless prisoners whose only crime was that they remained faithful to their popular workers' and peasants' government.

"The British Government cannot point out any similar acts on the part of the Russian Soviet Government, the latter not being capable of such cowardice and treachery. The British Secretary of State

A DENIAL

Budapest, April 9th.—The Correspondence Bureau communicates: The Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs has sent the following wireless to England: We have just learned that Mr. Harmsworth, under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declared on March 6th in the English lower House, that the number of men, women and children executed in Russia by the Bolshevik government is exceedingly large, and that the Bolshevik government made use of a portion of its considerable forces of Chinese troops as executioners, adding that a number of their victims had been killed by the application of methods of torture. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs deplores deeply that the British Under-Secretary of State should have made himself the spokesman for empty rumors which have absolutely no relation to truth. It is but a short time since it was officially ascertained that the total number of executions in all Soviet Russia, in the entire period of its control by the Soviet power, amounts to 3,200. Most of those executed were common highwaymen and robbers who had to be put down by the most energetic measures if security was to be re-established. The alleged large number of Chinese troops in Soviet Russia also belongs to the domain of fable. A small number of Chinese—from among the Chinese workers living in Russia, have entered the army and have been organized in small detachments, but they were never used for suppressing disorders. As for the alleged application of torture, it is a pure fabrication and the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs protests emphatically against these untrue accusations and against these attempts to slander Soviet Russia in the eyes of other nations.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

having called the Russian Soviet Government murderers in its life and death struggle against a world of enemies, every honest man will now see who are the real murderers.

"The Russian Soviet Government protests before the laboring masses of the whole world against the shameful deed of the British authorities and appeals especially to the class-conscious workers of Great Britain who will not fail on the side of honor, of real justice and of social good."

The Russian Fronts in June

From one of the numbers of "Avanti," appearing early in June, we take the following article, which acquires an added interest through the confirmation of the report of the taking of Perm by the Soviet troops on July 1st, following soon after the capture of Ufa (June 9th) by the same forces. The article, which is given below in full, is a clear summary at the time, of the military situation in Russia:

From Stockholm and Helsingfors there is a flood of daily news items of the most terrifying nature, concerning the desperate situation in which the Soviet Government is said to be. Defeats following upon defeats; Red armies either exterminated or surrendering or in rebellion; Petrograd in flames, sacked by Chinese mercenaries; peoples' commissaires murdered, etc. etc. This inundation of lying or exaggerated reports is a part of the plan of war against the Russian republic; it is desired to create the impression that the Soviet power is crumbling, thus proving that it has no real roots in the Russian people, who are not fighting and who are unwilling to die in its defense. As a matter of fact, the whole Russian people has risen in arms to defend their state, their government, their republic. The regular Soviet army has been reinforced by hosts of armed peasants who take turns in fighting, going on furlough, working in the fields, and then returning to the lines.

Meanwhile, the Red army is energetic, both when on the defensive and when on the offensive. Its position cannot by any means be designated as desperate.

On the north front, they have already taken Terozerok, twenty-five kilometers northeast of Olonetz, pushing back the Finnish White Guard. The Esthonians have not yet succeeded in getting beyond Pskov, on the Gulf of Narva; the Red Army is holding its own fifteen kilometers north of Narva and neither Peterhof nor Gatchina has been taken by the Esthonians.

Kolchak's army has been defeated in the Bugulma region, one hundred ninety-eight kilometers east of the Volga; the Red offensive continues to be victorious in the direction of Ufa. Along the river Karma, the Red Army has taken Mursisha; further to the north it has crossed to the left bank of the Viatka, and advanced ten kilometers beyond. In the region of Perm, after a slight set-back, the Red Army has assumed the counter-offensive, which is being victoriously pushed. In the Ural region, the White Army has been thrown back over the river Chekan, and the Reds have taken Melensi. The Orenburg Cossacks of General Dutov have been defeated; the Red Army holds the entire course of the Gruskaya; the reactionary general Almazov has been captured. On the southern front, the Red Army has defeated General Denikin in the Donetsk region; it has however suffered a reverse on the shores of the Sea of Azoff, where the French army

and the French fleet are operating; Mariupol has been abandoned and the fighting continues northwest of this city.

On all these fronts, extending over about nine thousand kilometers, (over five thousand miles), the Red Army is fighting bravely in the defence of the Communist institutions of the Soviet Republic, expecting some action of the western proletariats, that may relieve them from their strongest and most dangerous enemy, the Anglo-French-Italian plutocracy and militarism.

GOLDFIELDS SEIZED

The "Freeman's Journal" of Dublin, under date of June 19, 1919, has the following report of a seizure of goldfields in Siberia:

A Bolshevik wireless message states that the Lena goldfields have been seized by the Bolsheviks under the command of Muravieff who is reported to have between 40,000 and 50,000 men. A regiment of Cossacks has been sent against Muravieff.

(The Lena river region is in East Siberia and the gold is obtained by washing the gravels of the river.)

INCENTIVE TO EFFORT

(Continued from Page 2)

structing other industries. Comrades! Workers! This evil must be torn out by the roots. We are determined to combat with all our might any lowering of our productive capacity, as well as any infraction of the workers' discipline that has been established by the workers themselves. In order to attain this end and to abolish the evil above referred to, the whole community of workers will now be subjected to a precise calculation of their performance and expert estimates of the production of the workers, both as individuals and also in groups, will be made.

We herewith announce, that in the future, every worker and employee who falls below his established norm or is guilty of any infraction of workers' discipline, will be placed in a lower category, or excluded from the factory altogether.

On the other hand, workers and employees who display exceptional efficiency in their work will be placed in a higher category.

In submitting this matter to you, we exhort you, in the interest of all, as well as in your own personal interest, to give us your co-operation. We hope that the maturer workers will attempt to influence the young men in the factories in the sense of the above suggestions, and that those who have attained efficiency will seek to encourage those who have not, and to hold them accountable for any irregularities which may result in lowering their efficiency.

Russian Prisoners of War in France

People's Commissaire Chicherin has addressed the following note to the French Government:

In answer to the radio-telegram of the French Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Russian Government regrets that it is compelled to state that the negative answer of the French government to the request of our Red Cross Commission to allow the Commission to communicate with the Russian soldiers and citizens now in France, without having any witnesses present, is for us a continued cause of serious concern as to the lot of the Russians now in France. It will be our duty to aid these Russians in every way. It is a fact that a full year has passed since we repeated the request to send home our soldiers who had remained in France. Every time that we applied to the French Government in this matter, we were answered with vague promises only, although transporting them home through Switzerland or Germany was perfectly feasible. Only after we have interned a number of French officers and citizens, does the French Government now display greater readiness to settle this question quickly.

Our dispatch of March 17 was answered in such an insulting manner that a Government with the slightest vestige of self-respect could not continue the correspondence. Our telegram of March 10 gives the precise data with regard to the facts on the Russians who have remained faithful to the Russian People's Government while on French soil, and who have declared their solidarity with their brothers in Russia. In addition to the facts there mentioned concerning the sad lot of those Russian soldiers who were transported to Africa because they were not able to perform compulsory labors which were beyond their powers, we are now in a position to state that they were laden with sacks of stones and driven about so long under the tropical sun that they collapsed in exhaustion. Many were tied to the hoofs of horses and dragged through the desert sands. Others were without food for four days. The life of the soldiers who are languishing in the prisons of Marseilles, Brest, and Clermont-Ferrand, is an unprecedented torture, usually ending with death. We are also informed of the tortures of those individuals who have insisted on their request to be transported home to Russia. We also are acquainted with the unspeakable lot of those Russian soldiers who are suffering from hunger in laborers' companies scattered all over France, deprived of all medical aid, and housed in unhealthy wooden shacks or moist caves. They must carry out tasks that are beyond all human power, under pain of incredibly barbarous punishments, chief among which are deportation to Africa and assignment to penal detachments. In these penal detachments the men must work in chains. From the fact that the French Government has declined to permit an investigation

of these cases by the first Red Cross Mission, we must infer that the truth of these accusations is admitted. The treaty concluded with the Entente powers regarding transportation of Russian citizens to their country, gives the Red Cross Mission the right to take part in these activities of home transportation.

In the course of all the negotiations, which were conducted in this connection by the Russian People's Commissariat with the representatives of foreign powers, we were always assured that the members of the Russian Red Cross might proceed to France in order to aid in the work of sending home the Russians. It is, therefore, incomprehensible that the French Government should draw a parallel between the officially recognized mission of Manuilski, and the mission which was for good reason interned by the second Russian Government. Furthermore, the conversations of the Russian Red Cross Missions in foreign countries were held in a language which the guards did not understand anyway. The French Government has expressly permitted the Red Cross Mission to make use of the Russian language.

May we, in addition, recall that military personages of foreign representations in Russia have been participating in conspiracies that have aimed at producing the overthrow of the Government, the blowing up of bridges and railroads, and the arousing of a counter-revolution. And furthermore, it was disclosed that they were the tools of a Russian espionage system with headquarters in France. But the Russian soldiers who are being persecuted in France in the manner described above cannot in a single instance be made the objects of serious accusations of this order. The prisoners of war of the Entente Powers in Russia enjoy numerous liberties; they may move about freely in the cities and attend theatrical performances and meetings of societies.

In order to accelerate the return home of the Russians, the Russian Government is ready to consent to the presence of French witnesses at the negotiations of Manuilski's Red Cross Mission with Russian soldiers and citizens. The Russian Soviet Government is also prepared to aid in the return of French soldiers and citizens to France if Manuilski's mission is permitted to visit all the concentration camps, the penal detachments, and other places in which Russian soldiers and citizens are interned, and to talk with the Russians in those places. The return of these Russians must be guaranteed by the governments of England and the United States. In accordance with the speed at which the Russian soldiers are returned home, French subjects will also be permitted to go back to France. Appropriate ratios for the accomplishment of the exchange of these persons will be established at once.

Russian War Prisoners Detained in Finland

From l'Humanité, May 26th.

The Radio Agency, which reproduces a Soviet radio containing the declarations of Manuïlski, delegate of the Russian Red Cross in France, maintains that he has not yet left Malo-les-Bains.

The radio agency is mistaken.

Manuïlski has really returned to Russia, and namely on board the Dumont-d'Urville, sometime about May 10-15.

A number of wireless messages proceeding from Moscow or from Tsarskoye-Selo have spoken of his return. Particularly he was received by the Petrograd Soviet, on May 17th, for which he delivered an address on the beastly manner in which he and his two colleagues, Davtian and Madam Armand, had been treated by the French Government, in violation of its promises.

He spoke in sympathetic terms of the French proletariat, with which Messrs. Clemenceau and Pichon prevented him from getting in contact. He particularly emphasized the impressive character of the French demonstration in honor of Jaures, in the course of which numerous cheers were given in honor of Russia and of the Soviet system. The barbarous internment of the official delegates of the Russian government was duly branded by the Petrograd Soviet.

It constitutes, as a matter of fact, a shameful episode in the reactionary policy of our governing class, which the French people will not forget when the day for settlement arrives.

Russian Red Cross Delegates Back in Russia

News has been received by wireless (May 27th) that about 1,000 Russian soldiers, whom the French Government had promised to repatriate, have already been waiting for a whole month in Hangö for a permit to go through Finland to the Russian frontier. It was obviously the duty of the French Government to obtain the right of passage for these Russian citizens, who had come to the assistance of France during the war, and have since been detained against their will. The Finnish Government's hostility to Russia is sufficiently known to make anyone realize that to hand over Russian soldiers to that Government without any guarantees, is equivalent to leaving them at the mercy of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy. After a considerable delay the Finnish Government gave a permit to the Red Cross, and a week later it allowed some civilians, mostly women and children, to go through Finland, but not a single soldier has been allowed to go, and these unfortunate men are put off with vague promises which do not materialize. Finland is probably going to adopt the methods of the French Government in helping Denikin, and compel these soldiers to join the White Guard regiments of General Yudenitch.

Press Comments

American and European

CAN KOLCHAK FOOL THE AMERICAN PUBLIC?

When the Kolchak campaign of lies was at its height a few weeks ago, his partisans in this country, the ex-officials of the Czar, renegade Russian and American Socialists, as well as orthodox American imperialists, advertised the glories of the Dictator in newspapers far and wide. Kolchak was democratic, Kolchak favored giving the land to the peasants, Kolchak was indorsed by labor unions, Kolchak was praised by so-called Socialists of every description, and, strange to relate, Kolchak was accepted by Jewish organizations as the great and good law-giver, Kolchak—in short Kolchak was like political manna, dropped from the Heavens, pleasing men of all tastes and appetites.

We wonder how many Americans were taken in by the propaganda. "La République Russe," organ of Social Revolutionaries of the Right and democrats opposed to the Bolsheviks, in its issue of May 3, speaks of the Kolchak clique at Paris as "the democrats who cluster around the Czarist minister Sazonoff and the ex-Socialist Savinkoff."

"Indeed," continues an article in the same paper, "we shall advise Messieurs Tchaikovsky, Maklakoff and Lvov to consult on this subject [of democracy] their colleague, M. Sazonoff. This democrat of fresh growth could give them good lessons derived from his glorious past. We speak of the time not so far back when Sazonoff had for colleagues not the present signatories of democratic manifestoes, but the hangman Stolypin and the hooligan (la canaille) Shtcheglovitoff, and as chief, in place of Kolchak and his self-styled Socialist advisers, the monk Rasputin with his group of drunken counsellors. At that time the Government of which Sazonoff was a member answered the protests of Russian democracy with a phrase that has become historic—"First pacification, and then reform." The present manifesto of the Russian Political Union plays the same game.

"Let us conquer Bolshevism, and then you will have what you want.' But while waiting for that event, they enforce a military dictatorship, shoot down workers and members of the Constituent Assembly, expel the democratic directory, suppress all liberty of assemblage, and organize a military force with a general staff permeated with the spirit of restoration. And, after that, they ask us to take seriously the beautiful declarations given out for foreign consumption and without binding force on the unified governments.

"No, messieurs. If you wish to justify yourself before Western democracy, prove your faithfulness to the revolutionary conquests by actually putting through large scale democratic and socialist re-

forms. . . . Such reforms will spare you the trouble of apologetic manifestoes."

Can a leopard change his spots? Can the monarchist tyrant Kolchak transform himself into a democratic socialist? "La République Russe" evidently doesn't think so, for it adds, "It is true that when that happens [i. e., when the reforms are constituted] Russia will have other representatives."

* * *

Under the title of "Agrarian Strategy," the same paper says:

"In the new declaration, M. Sazonoff and his backers do not omit to protest against any suspicion of taking away the land from the peasants. One cannot but applaud this declaration, as solemn as it is opportune, if this demonstration did not coincide with another act, the manifesto issued the 8th of April by Admiral Kolchak himself.

"Like Lenin, the unifier of Russia, Kolchak, using terms borrowed from the Soviet decrees of the month of October, 1918, grants the land to the peasants, and adds that 'the National Assembly will have the final say on the secular disposition of the land.' But while waiting for this Constituent Body, elected freely, and 'under legal conditions,' the author of the manifesto declares in the most categorical fashion that 'henceforth no arbitrary seizure of state, commercial, or private lands will be permitted,' and that any violation of the right of ownership will be prosecuted under the full penalty of the law. Yet while waiting for the legal Constituent Assembly, the manifesto announces certain 'legislative acts concerning the regulation of land holdings, the form of temporary occupation of the grounds seized, their equitable final re-partition, and finally, the conditions of indemnification to the previous owners,' which will follow with the shortest possible delay. This announcement aroused most alarming reflections among the peasants. Our good Admiral tried to suppress their anxiety, and issued this supplementary word:

"The general aim of these laws will be to restore all land occupied for purposes other than work, to the toiling masses, to favor largely the development of small holdings, without restriction as to the individual form or community organization of the holder of the ground."

"Arrived at this delicate point, the hardy strategist takes fright at his manoeuvres, and hastens to add, 'In aiding the passage of the land into the hands of peasants who exploit it with their own labor, the government will facilitate in a large measure the acquisition of these lands in full ownership.' . . .

"The manifesto . . . has dissipated all the illusions which the peasants still could have had in this regard. The strategist conqueror has unveiled his most intimate intentions in a political act even more maladroit. Admiral Kolchak refuses to promise the land to the workers of Central Russia before he is master of this territory."

Shall it be said that Admiral Kolchak could not fool the Siberian moujik, but has been able to pull the wool over the eyes of the American public?

JEW-BAITING IN SIBERIA

The following letter from the special Siberian correspondent of the New York Yiddish "Day," is reproduced here in condensed form from the issue of July 2nd of that periodical.

It should be borne in mind that the "Day," as well as its correspondent, are very strongly anti-Bolshevik:

The Old Russia of by-gone days is beginning to regain control of the well-paying jobs which do not require any work. The course of the political life has experienced a turn to the right, and strong reaction is simultaneously felt. Upon the background of weariness and exhaustion there made their appearance in our province certain so-called "Non-partisans."

"To be sure, we are for freedom; we shall sacrifice ourselves for the cause of a republic . . . , we are with the workman . . . we are with the people . . . , we are for the people!"—thus sing the "Non-partisan" minstrels,—"we want only to unite everybody . . . we belong to no party."

And they are jumping and dancing like circus clowns before the public and are trying by all possible means to arouse the passions which are in times like these hidden deep in the soul of man. "In times of political darkness there creep out into daylight various adventurers,"—wrote once a Russian critic.

A publication of the "Non-partisan Democracy" named "Russkaya Ryetch" has appeared in Omsk. The editor of the paper is our old acquaintance, the notorious Glinka-Yantchevetski, the former editor of the Black Hundred "Zemschina."

In its first four or five issues, the paper refrained from attacks upon the Jews, and the editor did not sign his name in full, "Glinka-Yantchevetsky," but only G. Yantchevetsky. So no one would suspect that it was the notorious Jew-baiter, Glinka-Yantchevetsky. On the sixth day the paper came out in its true colors, and if not for the title "Russkaya Ryetch" one might think that he was reading the "Russkaya Znamya" or the "Zemschina."

In an editorial devoted exclusively to the Jews of Russia and the Jews all over the world the old anti-Semite throws pitch and brimstone. He informs his readers that in Soviet Russia, Sunday has been changed to Saturday. The Russian Telegraph Agency claims to have learned from a "reliable source" that by order of Trotsky the celebration of Sunday has been changed throughout Russia to Saturday! The agency furnished this information to the newspapers. In retaliation (says the editor), the Jews in Siberia should be compelled to work on Saturdays, and their synagogues, where instead of praying, the young generation is taught Free-Masonry, should be closed. The buildings should be used as parochial schools. For every army officer shot by the Bolsheviks, ten respectable Jewish householders should be hanged, because Trotsky-

Bronstein is working hand in glove with the Jews and the Masons the world over. All Jews are jointly and severally responsible for one another.

It was only then discovered that "G." stands for "Glinka"—Glinka-Yantchevetsky, and the "non-partisan democratic" "Russkaya Ryetch" is his old "Zemshchina." Rumor has it that his paper is literally subsidized by men "higher up," while the war minister in Kolchak's cabinet, Stepanoff, has recommended the paper for all soldiers' libraries.

One more proof that the paper is subsidized is the fact that it sells for forty kopeks a copy, whereas the cost of paper per sheet by the pood is sixty-five kopeks. Now, what of the editorial work, typesetting, printing, and other expenses? Nor has the paper any advertisements either.

However it may be, the fact is, that the paper exists, and it is likewise a fact that it makes an impression (of course, among the Black Hundred).

Papers like this "Russkaya Ryetch" are growing here now as mushrooms after a rain. Now all these papers: "Zarya," "Nasha Zarya," "Svyet," "Russkiy Vostok," and "Viestnik," which have made their appearance together with the "atamanshchiki" are doing their dirty work with the approval and support of the government and are instigating pogroms day in and day out.

KOLCHAK IN FLIGHT

The following wireless was sent out by Chicherin on May 25th:

The Entente is circulating impudent lies about our position. We are said to be on the verge of collapse; it is alleged that Petrograd is about to be taken by the White Guards and that Kolchak is advancing into the heart of Russia. All such lies make a comical impression, since Kolchak is in full flight, and we are advancing against our enemies. The British Government is apparently lying deliberately, in order to deceive the public as to the real state of affairs.

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News from London

The People's Russian Information Bureau of London, issues among other items of news interest the following, which we reprint for the benefit of our readers:

NO UNITY AMONGST ANTI-BOLSHEVIKS

The following wireless was sent out from Moscow, on May 26th:

In Siberia there are now at least three governments; Kolchak's, extending to the Lake of Baikal; Semenov's to the Lake of Baikal and Manchuria, and Horvat's, from Manchuria to Vladivostok. All three are fighting for supremacy and are trying to injure one another's position. Each Government issues its own paper money and mobilizes its own army. In every place, however, there are Bolshevik detachments. The strongest Bolshevik force is in the Altai mountains on the Mongolian frontier; it is almost 30,000 strong and has already advanced through Semipalatinsk (in the rear of Omsk). It is under the command of Muravieff. This detachment is formed of men from the former front and workers and peasants who have escaped from the atrocities of Kolchak and other Siberian governments. It has ample artillery and munitions. A White Army under command of Annenkov is making vain efforts to stop the advance of Muravieff. Meanwhile the economic situation in Siberia is nearing a catastrophe; the works and mines in the Urals are idle owing to lack of fuel. Even the simplest textiles are unobtainable beyond Omsk. The small tradesmen and the co-operators are speculating without let or hindrance.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN SIBERIA

Washington, May 15th. American soldiers in Siberia have sent an appeal to Senator McCormick to bring them back from exile. The missive came by messenger, thus evading censorship. Senator McCormick has today published the soldiers' protest without any comment. The letter gives a vivid description of the appalling conditions under which American soldiers are living, and which has caused some to commit suicide.

"L'Humanité," June 8th. Andre Pierre, in summing up Kolchak's reply to the Entente, writes: Kolchak promises that the future régime of Russia shall be determined by the Assembly of his own manufacture—when he will be in Moscow! But Kolchak is not in Moscow; on the contrary, he turns his back on the capital. The Bolsheviks have captured 45,000 of his men and are approaching Ufa. (A Soviet wireless of June 9th, reports the capture of Ufa.)

"L'Humanité." Lenin is optimistic. In a recent speech he stated that the offensive against Kolchak was developing most favorably, and that the danger to Petrograd seemed averted and the Entente's campaign doomed to complete failure.

READING MATTER ON SOVIET RUSSIA

The Bureau of Information of Soviet Russia receives so many requests for information of a general nature concerning the present social, political and economic programs of the Soviet Government, that it has asked us to insert a list of books and other publications that deal with these subjects in a truthful manner. We take pleasure in calling the student's attention to the following pamphlets, books, and articles:

Pamphlets

Published by the Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York.
The Russian Constitution.
Decrees of the Russian Government.
Reprints of Articles on Russia.
Russian Land Law, price 10 cents each.

Published by Rand School, 7 East 15th St., N. Y.
Arthur Ransome, Open Letter to America, 5 cents.
A. R. Williams, The Bolsheviks and the Soviets, 10 cents.
Lenin, N., The Soviets at Work, 25 cents.

Published by the Socialist Publication Society, 243 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
One Year of Revolution, 15 cents.
Price, M. P., The Soviet, the Terror, and Intervention, 10 cents.
Price, M. P., The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia, 10 cents.
Radek and Ransome on Russia, 5 cents.
Trotzky, Leon, From October to Brest-Litovsk, 35 cents.
Lenin, N., The State and Revolution, 50 cents.
Educational Decrees and Other Educational Documents of the Soviet Government, 25 cents.

Published by the Dial, 152 West 13th St., New York.
A Voice Out of Russia, 10 cents.

Published by the People's Institute, 1256 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Trotzky, Leon, What Is a Peace Program? 5 cents.
Lenin, N., Lessons of the Revolution, 10 cents.

Published by The Melting Pot, 809 Pontiac Building, St. Louis, Mo.
Voices from Russia, 25 cents.

Books

E. A. Ross, Russia in Upheaval.
Bryant, Louise, Six Red Months in Russia.
Beattie, Bessie, The Red Heart of Russia.
Reed, John, Ten Days That Shook the World.
Lenin and Trotzky, The Proletarian Revolution in Russia (published by the Revolutionary Age, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.), paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.50.
Various Soviet Authorities, A Year of Proletarian Dictatorship (published by the N. Y. Communist, 43 West 29th Street, New York, N. Y.).

**INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS
For Students of Soviet Russia**

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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Articles

"The Liberator," November, December, 1918; January to July, 1919.
"The Survey," February 1, 1919.
"The Public," January 25, 1919.
"The Intercollegiate Socialist," February-March, 1919.
"The Class Struggle," all issues since beginning of publication in June, 1917.
"The Metropolitan Magazine," June, July, 1919.
"The Revolutionary Age," Boston; most of the issues since beginning publication in November, 1918.
"The New York Communist," No. 1-10, 1919.
"Hearst's Magazine," June, 1919.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Editorials	1	Reaction Under Kolchak	9
The Czecho-Slovaks In Siberia: I, By		Siberia From The Inside, By	
Max M. Zippin	2	Mrs. Gertrude M. Tobinsson	10
Lettonia and Germany	5	An International Protest	14
The American Manufacturer and		Urban Population In Russia	15
Russian Trade	6		

MR. HAROLD WILLIAMS, in one of his cabled letters to the "New York Times," printed in the June 20th issue of that paper, gives information regarding Denikin's forces and their methods which is interesting in a number of ways. The frequent assertions that have been already made, as to the use of tanks by the Entente forces in Russia, are corroborated in Mr. William's article, and some of us, who have been so fortunate as to read Arthur Ransome's new book, "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919," will recall that liquid fire and poison gas have been also used, according to Mr. Ransome.

Mr. Williams speaks with affection of the gentle little baby-tanks; some of the Cossacks came up and "kissed the sides of the baby-tanks"; they had evidently been so effective in murdering Soviet troops, defending the revolution as to deserve this gratitude on the part of counter-revolutionary elements.

Mr. Williams, earlier in his article, says:
 "And then came stories of the miraculous effect of the tanks and of the generous British supplies of munitions and equipment. Public opinion has become enthusiastically Pro-British."

From another corner of the world we receive information that suggests that this new use for British tanks comes none too soon. Russia may yet save the situation. For, as we learn from "The Japan Advertiser" of June 8th, (we quote literally from an "Advertiser" editorial):

"Disposal of the tanks is another problem which is said to be exercising the minds of the British ministry of munitions. 'Break up the tanks,' is one suggestion, and another is to bring them home intact and use them as power machines in agricultural or manufacturing processes. The cost of bringing them home, however, appears likely to exceed any sum that may be received for them, and it is doubtful whether

a hundred and fifty horse power tank can be profitably applied to the dragging of a plough or the driving of a threshing machine. Two are being broken up, experimentally, to see what the work costs and what the residue is worth."

Perhaps the intervention in Southern Russia is a blessing in disguise—to the forsaken British (and for that matter, French) tank. On the battlefields of France they lie deserted: to transport them back to England costs as much as the tanks are worth; that they are of use in ploughing the fields is not yet established; to break them up is also not certain to yield a profit; but there is no doubt of their utility in destroying Russian workers. Efficiency requires that no instrument should go to waste; it should be applied to that purpose which it best executes. And the execution of the proletarian revolution in Russia, if possible, would no doubt meet with approval in England—on the part of a certain small class.

* * *

WE have recently seen frequent news items stating that Petrograd was in a state of riot and disorder, and about to fall. These reports have in most cases been officially denied, either by Entente Governments, or by the Russian Soviet Government. But the game is an old one; an interesting example that is now nearly six months old is recalled by a perusal of Arthur Ransome's new book, "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919."

It will interest the reader to note how, on this previous occasion, his newspapers deceived him.

On February 3rd, the New York Times inserted in the first column of its first page the following: RED ARTILLERY SHELLS PETROGRAD. GUNS RUSHED FROM KRONSTADT TO SUPPRESS RISING OF SOLDIERS OF FORMER ARMY. MANY DEAD IN STREETS. Underneath was a dispatch, "by wireless to the N. Y. Times" from Copenhagen, telling of the mutiny in Petrograd: "The Capitol has been bombarded with

artillery rushed up from Kronstadt. Cannon and machine-guns were used in the streets, which were strewn with many dead bodies."

While the "Times" and other papers throughout the world were entertaining themselves in this fashion, an English journalist, on his way from Helsingfors to Petrograd, also read the story of the mutiny, with added details of how "the Semenovskiy regiment had gone over to the mutineers, who had seized the town," and "the Government had escaped to Kronstadt whence they were bombarding Petrograd with naval guns."

To the traveller to the beleaguered city "this sounded fairly lively," as Arthur Ransome confesses in his "Six Weeks in Russia in 1919." He looked about him as his train pulled into Petrograd. "I walked outside the station to question people about the mutiny and the bombardment of which we had heard in Finland. Nobody knew anything about it." Ransome met Pozern one of the Petrograd Commissars: "I told him that I was surprised to find him here and not at Kronstadt, and asked about the mutiny and the treachery of the Semenovskiy regiment. There was a shout of laughter, and Pozern explained that there was no Semenovskiy regiment in existence, and that the manufacturers of the story, every word

of which was a lie, had no doubt tried to give realism to it by putting down the name of the regiment which had taken a chief part in putting down the Moscow insurrection of fourteen years ago."

All the news that's fit to print! What standard of "fitness" does the Times apply to news from Russia?

* * *

DENIKIN GETS THE ORDER OF THE BATH

General Denikin, the hangman of the workers of the Lower Don and the Lower Donetz regions, as well as of the Kuban province, whose Czarist spirit is not only admitted, but loudly proclaimed, has just been decorated with the Order of the Bath, which was bestowed upon him by General Holman, at Yekaterinodar, in the name of the King of England. The Liberal and Socialist press of England are scandalized by this action. It asks what is the reason why this baleful murderer has been thus "honored." Is it perhaps merely for the reason that he is an excellent customer of the Minister of Munitions?—"Le Populaire," June 25th.)

Or is Denikin being thus splendidly rewarded because, as had been reported a few days earlier, he had recognized Kolchak as the Supreme Ruler of Russia? Birds of a feather flock together.

The Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia

First Article

By Max M. Zippin

Again the Czecho-Slovak troops in Siberia, according to despatches, have become a "pressing problem for the Entente." The gentlemen at Paris are again "disturbed over the prospect of having to transfer to their homes these soldiers, 60,000 or 70,000 in number, exhausted by years of fighting and eager to return to their newly-formed republic." The Czecho-Slovaks have "become so dissatisfied and restless that their usefulness in Siberia is believed to be at an end," and "some of their regiments so infected with Bolshevism, that a general spread of Red ideas is feared if the men are kept from their homes another winter."

Furthermore, a suggestion is even made that they should repeat their crime of over a year ago by "fighting their way through Soviet Russia";—merely a pious wish after all, since the Soviets will not be found sleeping and trusting any more, now that they know how badly their good faith has been abused.

But is this really news? To the American public it may seem startling. For has not the American public been fed up on news and articles to the effect that the gallant Czecho-Slovaks have merely resisted the Bolsheviks, who working under the orders of the German Kaiser, of course, have prevented the Czecho-Slovaks from going to the Western front and thus forced a struggle upon them? But we Rus-

sians, those of us that have had an opportunity to acquaint ourselves with the "problem" on the spot, those of us that have spoken to many a Czecho-Slovak in Siberia, have frequented their meetings, heard their discussions, and watched their behavior towards their Russian brothers, since they were really brothers a little over a year ago,—to us this news is not at all surprising.

We know that the Czecho-Slovaks were dragged into this most criminal adventure of massacre and carnage against their will, and over the most persistent protests of the rank of file. Even their National Council, quartered at that time at Vladivostok, was apparently opposed to this bloody adventure, but was unhappily swayed by one of its members, Gaida by name, who had a greater power behind him than the Czecho-Slovak National Council, namely the French Mission in Siberia. A man, who, by the way, had evidently made himself so obnoxious to the Czecho-Slovaks that he had to leave their ranks and take office under that great fighter for supreme democracy, Supreme Ruler Kolchak.

We know, too, that many of the Czecho-Slovaks were "infected" with Bolshevism long before they were ordered "to rescue Siberia as a refuge for the non-Bolshevist parties of Russia," and to make possible that "respite which permitted the establishment

of the Omsk Government," as our newspaper had it. As to the period after the bloody invasion had started, two whole Czecho-Slovak regiments became so "infected" that they flatly refused to become traitors to the Russian Revolution and were quietly disarmed and interned on Russian Island, near Vladivostok; from three to four thousand of them are rotting even now in the Siberian prisons for refusing to "rescue" Russia, and from seven to eight thousand of them—a most conservative estimate—have organized themselves into Red Army detachments, have joined the ranks of Russian Soviet armies, and are to be found now on the forty odd official fronts, that must still be maintained in "liberated" Siberia. And we also know, that the restlessness among the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia, and their eagerness to return to their homes, are as old as is the criminal adventure that was forced upon them by the holy warriors for civilization.

Yes, we Russians have known this all along and had all the necessary proofs. And if we did not bring the matter before the American public as insistently and as urgently as we wished to, it was not our fault. The fault was with the American public.

The story related below is based on personal experiences and observations, and on irrefutable documents, which will be reproduced as fully as space will permit.

The actual war waged by the Czecho-Slovaks on the Russian Soviets at Siberia was started officially on June 29, 1918. Until that day the most cordial and brotherly relations existed between them and the Russian Soviets of the Russian Far East and Eastern and Central Siberia, as well as in the other parts of Siberia and Russia. There were at that time over 14,000 Czecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok alone, and probably as many in the neighboring regions. They were to be transferred, as was officially announced, to the Western front by way of the Pacific, but they stayed in the Far East for over eight months, sharing the food of the Russian workers and peasants, at a time when there was far from plenty.

In the proceeding January, two little Cossack braves, Semionoff and Kalmikoff, assumed the task of "saving" Russia. Japan was openly furnishing these two "heroes" with arms and ammunition, also with enough funds to enable them to hire Mongols, Buryats, Chinese Chun-Chusers (Chinese nomadic robber bands), and discarded Russian monarchist officers, to fight the Soviets, and, incidentally, to raid Russian business establishments and public institutions in Manchuria; or else flog, ravage, and kill Russian citizens for the noble purpose of robbery. These bands could do little harm outside of Manchuria, but one thing they did accomplish: they stopped the exportation of foodstuffs and goods from Manchuria into the Russian Far East and Eastern Siberia. Our Soviets and Co-operatives had at

that time food and goods in the stores of Manchuria to the value of approximately three hundred million rubles, fully paid up, which could not be moved to our hungry population. We could have made short work of these little brigand bands, but they had entered themselves in Manchuria, and China was made to claim it as her own territory, and neutral at that, although China herself could not see any sense in her helping Japan against the Russian Soviets. There are official proofs for this.

In the middle of April a rumor was spread to the effect that a company of Czecho-Slovaks had joined the Semionoff-Kalmikoff marauders and the National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks at Vladivostok promptly published a strong denial, stating in the most emphatic terms, that they were true friends of Russia and her great free institutions, and that the accomplishments of the Russian Revolution were as dear to their hearts as to those of the Russians.

Why the Czecho-Slovaks were kept in Siberia instead of being sent to the Western front, as they were promised, was as puzzling to them as to the Russians. Food was scarce then on account of the closing of the Manchurian border, and about 3,000 mouths to feed were a considerable drain on available food-stocks, while the pretext, constantly iterated and reiterated, that there were no transportation facilities, was a pretty poor one, to say the least. Every day would bring to the shores of Vladivostok or to the vicinity some ship from some Allied country, until it became a standing joke with the Russians to refer to it as a little private race between America and Japan, with the other nationals as poor seconds and thirds. No one expected that these boats and these Czecho-Slovaks would ever attack our country and her great institutions, which we held so dear. We had the word of President Wilson that no attempt would ever be made to invade our land or to interfere with our internal affairs. We were repeatedly told by the American publicity campaigners, that the American ships and the American boys on board these ships, were there for the sole purpose of preventing others—to be explicit of preventing Japan—from harming us in any way. And we had all the assurances of the American consuls and representatives to this effect.

The little bands of Semionoff and Kalmikoff meanwhile became very annoying, and the Russian workers and peasants were compelled to throw away their ploughs and hammers for a while and take to arms. Red army detachments were quickly organized in Vladivostok and Cheliabinsk, in Chita and Irkutsk. How many of the Czecho-Slovaks joined our little Soviet forces in other parts of Siberia I do not know, although I was assured by trustworthy friends that they did join elsewhere in great numbers, and were thereupon, accordingly, proclaimed Germans, Magyars, and what not. But I do know that in Vladivostok a mass meeting, that gathered over four thousand Czecho-Slovaks, was held late in April, at which the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"We, soldiers of the Vladivostok Czecho-Slovak Revolutionary Regiments, send our greetings to the working population of the Far East. And we solemnly declare here, that we shall recognize only one authority, that of the Soviets, and that we are ready to defend this authority against all its enemies, internal and external. We also declare that we shall obey only the orders of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets and its Local Organs.

"Long live the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

"Long live the brotherhood of the laboring masses."

A protest to be sure, was lodged in the Vladivostok press by the National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks against this resolution. But the whole protest reduced itself to a slight reprimand to the effect that the interests of Czecho-Slovakia do not permit members of that nation to enter Russian political parties "in corpore," while individually everyone was free to do so if he pleased. It also reminded the Czecho-Slovaks that they were only guests in Siberia and might be deported home any day. The admonition, obviously, had no result, as on June 3rd, the first detachment of four hundred Czecho-Slovak Red Army men left Vladivostok for the Manchurian front, and several Czecho-Slovak leaders were among those that delivered the farewell speeches.

But meanwhile something was happening in Western Siberia, that neither the Russians nor the Czecho-Slovaks of Eastern Siberia and the Far East could understand. All kinds of wild rumors and fantastic tales were spread but only one thing was sure, that some misunderstanding had arisen between the Czecho-Slovak detachments going Eastward, and some of the local Soviets, and that telegraphic connection with Moscow was cut.

The Czecho-Slovak National Council on June 5th, asked the Vladivostok Soviet to communicate with the Central Committee of the Siberian Soviets at Irkutsk for the purpose of clearing up the situation. This was done, and the conversation was conducted by direct telegraph wire from Vladivostok to Irkutsk. At the Vladivostok end, Sukhanov, recently so brutally murdered, then President of the Vladivostok Soviet, was talking. At the Irkutsk end, Yakovliev, a member of the Central Committee, was standing. Members of the Czecho-Slovak National Council were present at the Vladivostok end, and took notes and made suggestions.

A part of the conversation follows:

"Vladivostok. Representatives of the Czecho-Slovak National Council are right here at my side. They are not insisting upon the dispatch of all the Czecho-Slovak echelons. But they want to know what has taken place and what has led to the misunderstanding."

"Irkutsk. There are no Czecho-Slovak echelons in Irkutsk. We are dispatching them as soon as they arrive, since we cannot keep them here, if only for the food problem. We had a

little conflict here with two echelons, Nos. 23 and 29, and we are still at a loss as to the reasons for it. One of them was commanded by an officer named Fiala, who was the ringleader. To the west the nearest station at which Czecho-Slovak echelons are to be found is the station of Nizhni-Udinsk. The counter-revolutionists there have taken advantage of the strained relations between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Soviet leaders and have arrested all the members of the local Soviet. But it is not as yet clear whether the Czecho-Slovaks have taken part in these arrests or not. To the East the nearest Czecho-Slovak echelon, No. 17, is at Mikhalev, forty versts from Irkutsk, where it is to stay three days, according to an understanding between their leaders and comrade Lotikin, a member of our Central Committee. With this particular echelon we had some trouble. It was located at the station of Polovina, west of Irkutsk, whence it was to be sent off, according to agreement, on May 29th. But they suddenly seized an engine, armed their train and left for Mikhalev. We could have stopped them, but we were unwilling to employ any repressive measures, in view of the unstable situation at this time, and let them pass through Irkutsk. In the fight at Polovina twenty men were killed on both sides. We arranged for the burial of the eight Czecho-Slovak victims with military honors."

Here follows a list of little clashes at diverse places westward of Irkutsk between the Czecho-Slovaks and local Soviets, all of them occurring for some reasons unknown to both sides, in which some little Czecho-Slovak Commanders were the instigators, and above whom, as has been disclosed later, hovered the moving spirit of Captain Gaida, who, in turn, was acting under the influence of the French Mission, with the other Allied Missions seeming neutral for a time, and the American Mission at first earnestly active in bringing about an understanding between both sides, "only to give it up in despair" later, at the "psychological moment."

But to return to the statement of facts by the representative of the Central Committee of the Soviet of Siberia at Irkutsk. Yakovliev stated over direct wire to Sukhanoff, with the members of the Czecho-Slovak National Council listening in, that:

"Two facts were responsible for the slow movement eastward of the Czecho-Slovak trains. Their representatives negotiated with the Council of Peoples' Commissars at Moscow, concerning the transportation of them through Murmansk, and before we should know the reasons for their not coming to terms (the reasons were that the Allied representatives put their foot down on this method, as it was a reasonably sure method of transportation. M. Z.), we were waiting for developments. The second reason was that at the Manchurian border the Semionov bands had started an aggressive movement for

a while and were at one time as near as seven versts to our railroad, and we were reluctant to drag the Czecho-Slovaks into our fight with them. But no sooner were the Semionov bands driven back into Manchuria than we began speedily to dispatch the Czecho-Slovak trains. You can see for yourself, therefore, that we were far even from the thought of putting any artificial obstacles in their way. With the Eastern Chinese railway closed to us by these Semionov bands, we have only the Amur railway to depend upon, and you know well enough how weak the transportation facilities of this road are. Only one echelon in two days can be moved through it.

"On the Trans-baikal railroad just now a serious food crisis is threatening, and we cannot concentrate too many echelons there. There are seven echelons there and we are very uneasy. We are, however, doing everything in our power to relieve this plight and to provide the Czecho-Slovaks there with all the food necessary. We have sent special Committees for this purpose to Chita and Kuenga. We are all wondering here how it is that the fourteen thousand Czecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok are still detained there, and why they were not sent to the Western front. We urge upon you to see that this be done. As to the German military prisoners said to be attacking the Czecho-Slovaks at certain points, the whole thing is a barren falsehood. I want to call your attention to the question of the arms and ammunition in the hands of the Czecho-Slovaks. These are ours and should, in all fairness, be returned to us since we are menaced by new attacks of the international imperialists, from the West as well as from the East."

From an official announcement of the Czecho-Slovak National Council as well as of the Vladivostok Soviet we find that at the same date, i. e., June 5th, a mixed delegation of Czecho-Slovak and Soviet representatives returned to Irkutsk from Omsk with the glad tidings that the little discrepancies had been straightened out, at least temporarily, and that a temporary truce had been agreed upon till June 16th, to enable the parties to draw up a detailed agreement. The truce was signed at Maryinsk, with the American mission there conspicuously active in bringing that about.

On June 16th, the National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks sent a telegraphic order from Vladivostok to all Czecho-Slovak Commanders to the west that this truce be continued until an extraordinary mixed delegation should reach Irkutsk for the purpose of finally adjusting the little conflicts. This extraordinary mixed delegation left Vladivostok for Irkutsk on June 17th, and consisted of: a member of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, Dr. Shpachek; four representatives of Czecho-Slovak regiments, and an honorary guard of one company of the 8th Czecho-Slovak Regiment; all these from the Czecho-Slovak side; and of the President of the Regional

Central Soviet Committee of the Far East, Krasnoshchokoff; a member of the Executive Committee of the Vladivostok Soviet, Antonov; and an honorary guard consisting of a company of sailors of the Siberian flotilla,—all to make the Czecho-Slovak representatives wonder why they were not even allowed to see the Czecho-Slovak Commanders for about two weeks and afterwards made to return without knowing the reason why.

Now the National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks arrested all the members of the Vladivostok Soviet on June 29th, at 9 A. M. and officially declared war on the Russian Soviets in Siberia on that day, and it may be surprising that only twelve days before the same National Council had delegated an extraordinary Committee to Irkutsk to adjust whatever trouble there was. Nothing extraordinary could have happened in the course of twelve days to compel a declaration of war, and nothing really happened, except that the truce was continued until a secret order suddenly came from somewhere to the unwilling Czecho-Slovaks to start the work of establishing the Kolchak "Government," a whole undertaking indeed.

But we have a bigger surprise in store for those that have taken all the inspired news of the reasons for this most criminal adventure of the Czecho-Slovaks, and like stories, at their face value. We have on hand a record of the most emphatic denial by the members of the Czecho-Slovak National Council that there was at any time any danger whatsoever threatening the movements of their troops Eastward and thence to the Western front. It was made less than thirteen days before the actual war on the Siberian Soviets was declared and started by the same Council.

This and other material showing the provocative nature of the whole bloody adventure will be treated in the next concluding article.

Lettonia and Germany

Stockholm, June 11th. A Swedish newspaper, "Social-Demokraten," appearing in this city, today publishes a manifesto of the Lettish Socialist Workers' Party, containing serious accusations against the German Government, which they accuse of supporting the policy of the Baltic barons. The manifesto demands the cessation of the German occupation, and the installation of the Lettish People's Soviet. This manifesto was communicated to the English and French Socialists. A protest was also sent to the German Government. According to a report of the Lettish Information Bureau, the German representative at Libau has refused to grant permission to enter Germany to the delegation which was sent to protest in Berlin against the coup d'état.

The American Manufacturer and Russian Trade

The American business man wants to sell his wares to Soviet Russia. Of this fact the files of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Bureau give ample evidence. Hundreds of the largest manufacturing firms in the United States have written to the Bureau offering their products for export to Soviet Russia.

This is not surprising in view of the present trade situation. For the past year every organ of expression of business interests has dwelt on the possibilities of this situation. Trade journals, commercial newspapers, speeches of leading business men have been dominated by one idea: foreign markets. "The time is ripe for America to dominate the trade of the world," is the universal cry. Foreign commerce occupies the first place in the mind of every forward-looking American business man.

The desires and ambitions of American business, however, have received a temporary set-back from the trade embargoes of England, France and Italy. A more or less complete boycott on imports was declared in these countries subsequent to the signing of the armistice. Every week of late has seen a reduction in the list of commodities barred from these European markets, but the effect on the American business aspirations has been, and still is, considerably felt.

This, in brief, has been the setting for the offer of the Russian Soviet Government to buy immense quantities of goods in the United States, and its official assurance of a \$200,000,000 gold deposit to the credit of the Soviet Bureau to pay cash for its initial purchases. Two great human and economic forces of maximum power of attraction have been released by this announcement. Russia's dire need of foodstuffs, clothing, agricultural implements, machinery has come to meet America's acute necessity for foreign markets in which to sell these and other surplus products. The designs of statesmen and politicians cannot long withstand the power of such mutual attraction. When oversupply and acute, legitimate demand exist nothing is more difficult than to keep them apart.

In spite of the fact that the press has for months teemed with the grossest fabrications about Soviet Russia calculated to arouse a fury of spurious moral indignation against Russia and the Russian people, and to create the impression that the Soviet Government was about to collapse, more than 1,000 of America's leading manufacturers had only a month after its organization, written or sent representatives to the Soviet Bureau offering their products for sale to the Soviet Government.

No evidence could be more conclusive than these letters of the desire of the American manufacturer to sell his wares to Soviet Russia. No better proof could be produced than these letters of the power of an existent supply to meet a legitimate demand in spite of misrepresentation and the designs of politicians.

This correspondence is on file in the Commercial Department. It has come in from the day the Bureau was established until the present time and it is interesting to note that the recent raid upon the office has not diminished its flow. It is, and always has been open to the inspection of any bona fide inquirer. So far, however, the public has not been given the benefit of any knowledge of the existence of those letters or their contents.

Excerpts from this correspondence are, therefore, of special interest to the public at this time.

The following are taken at random as typical examples of the attitude of the American manufacturer toward Soviet Russian trade:

One of the largest manufacturers of agricultural machinery in the world, a middle-western concern rated "AAAA" in Thomas' Directory has written the Bureau as follows:

"... We are not only prepared to do business in Russia, but we think better prepared than any other concern in our line, as we have the largest line of tractors, motor cultivators and threshers than any other concern in the world we have several young Russians in the factory now, learning to operate tractors. One gentleman left today. He is from the Caucasus. They seem to be quite favorable to the new Government over there. They are going over to instruct the people how to handle tractors, threshers and etc. We consider it to be a very laudable undertaking. . . ."

Another concern in the same line whose name is known wherever plows are used, also an "AAAA" firm:

"... We have quoted you on our general line of goods. If you desire prices on other goods which we make and on which we have not quoted you, please advise us, and we will be very glad indeed to quote you.

"Trusting to have the pleasure of receiving your valued order for goods of our manufacture, we are. . . ."

Another well-known firm in the agricultural implement line says:

"We are in position to do business in Russia. . . . We shall be glad to have your advice giving full particulars of the machinery required, and we will, then, be in better position to state what we can furnish, in what quantities, and probable dates of delivery; that is, the time required to deliver the goods after receipt of order."

A large New York State concern manufacturing agricultural implements and road-making machinery writes:

"... If you are in a position to place orders, we are in a position to supply large quantities of machines of the type of the goods mentioned in our catalogue."

The files of the Bureau contain offers from most of the leading automobile manufacturers to sell trucks, tractors and other machines urgently needed in Soviet Russia. The vice-president of one of these concerns made repeated visits to the office of the Bureau in regard to possible purchases. The firm he represents is closely allied with one of the greatest iron and steel interests in the world. Excerpts from his correspondence follow:

"... We are open for orders for shipment of our trucks into Russia on which we can furnish immediate delivery in any one of the three models, in which they are manufactured."

"The writer has had the pleasure of an interview with Professor Lomonosoff and takes pleasure in calling to your particular attention the prominence of the Corporation, builders of Motor Trucks, as one of the largest manufacturers in the United States."

"We trust that we may have an expression of your further consideration and the pleasure of filling your valued orders in the near future."

"Should you or Professor Lomonosoff desire to make an inspection of the plant at any time, the writer will be glad to arrange an appointment to accompany you or your representative."

Another automobile concern whose contracts with the United States Government have run far into the millions and perhaps the best-known manufacturer of high-grade trucks writes:

"We are prepared to do business with Russia, and are in a position to handle large contracts and make delivery of trucks in quantity within two weeks from receipt of order, making monthly shipments in increasing numbers."

Still another of the leading firms writes:

"We are one of the largest and most successful makers of motor trucks in the world, and are prepared to ship trucks in large quantities promptly."

"We might state that we have shipped many hundred trucks to Russia. . . ."

The leading food purveyors of the United States have shown themselves ready to do business with Soviet Russia. One of the biggest meat packers in the world has written the Bureau as follows:

"Being unable to get you on the 'phone' today, the writer would be obliged if you would call him on Monday, advising at what time it would be agreeable to you to have him call and discuss the matter regarding the purchase of products in our line."

and again:

"Referring to your letter of April 12th, and conversation which the writer had with you on Monday, we take pleasure in quoting your market values on the principal commodities which we think you will be interested."

"If there is any further information we can give you in connection with any of our products, we shall be glad to have you call upon us."

Another packing house writes:

"... We are in a position to do business with Russia. We are in a position to handle contracts for cured product of a million pounds or more for prompt shipment."

"If you are interested in frozen carcasses of beef, could make you at this time a very attractive price."

Still another says:

"We are in position to quote you for prompt delivery on Fresh Frozen Beef, when in the market. . . . We have been furnishing the U. S. Government with Fresh Beef on large contracts to their entire satisfaction, and would greatly appreciate an opportunity to serve you in the same way."

One of the most interesting letters in the Bureau's files is from a concern that is coming to be known not only in the United States, but throughout the world for the magnitude of its operations and the variety of the commodities in which it deals. The following extract from a letter to the Bureau shows this concern's attitude toward trade with Soviet Russia:

"... We are in a position and quite prepared to do business with Russia, provided we can secure the necessary guarantee for the protection and payment upon such goods as we would move into that country."

"As one of the largest manufacturing corporations in the world, we are in a position to handle large contracts covering the products which we manufacture. Our line of manufactured products is too numerous to list here, and, therefore, as you suggest, we are sending you under separate cover, literature covering our full line of products, which we trust will be of use to you, in giving you some idea of the extensive and wide range which our products cover. . . ."

The great steel interests of the United States, are ready to sell their products to Russia. Exporting corporations representing most of the large steel mills of the country have placed their output at the disposal of the Soviet Bureau. The following excerpt from a letter from one of these exporting combinations shows their attitude:

"We note you are in the market for a quantity of material for shipment to Russia, and we beg to say that if you require any pipe, boiler tubes, rails, sheets, wire, plates, shapes, bars, tinplate or other steel products, we shall be very glad to receive your specifications."

"We ship large quantities of the various steel products manufactured by our Interests to Foreign markets, and we feel quite confident that if you require materials in our lines, that we can name you prices which will be attractive."

The number of manufacturers of textiles and clothing that have communicated with the Soviet Bureau, is probably larger than that of any other class of firms. The tenor of these letters is the same as those already quoted: a uniform desire to

send their products to Soviet Russia. A few examples will suffice as evidence.

A New York City firm writes as follows:

"... We are sole selling agents for over sixty knitting mills making various kinds of knit underwear, hosiery and sweaters and are in a position to furnish quantities of merchandise as soon as you are in the market to make any purchases.

"We trust that you will file our letter and as soon as you are in a position to take this matter up definitely, we will be very glad to go into it with you in detail. . . ."

An out-of-town concern says:

"... We make a specialty of handling Government orders, having manufactured ten million dollars worth of underwear during the war for the United States Army, Navy and Marine Departments. We trust that we may have the pleasure of serving you and await your further advices. . . ."

Another firm writes:

"... We are the largest cotton textile manufacturers in the United States, and are equipped to handle orders in any quantity.

"We have given special attention to export work for a number of years, and are therefore equipped to enter all markets. If you are interested in any of the samples which we sent you kindly advise and we will be glad to submit to you various patterns we make in all these lines.

"Thanking you for your inquiry, and trusting we may be favored with your valued orders, we remain. . . ."

Russia needs a vast quantity of goods other than those manufactured by the firms already mentioned. For instance the demand for paper in Russia has grown beyond all precedent on account of the increased markets for books and pamphlets under the new régime. Letters from the country's leading paper manufacturers are on file in the Soviet Bureau. The following is a fair example of their tenor:

"... Due to our excellent mill connections, we are in a position to supply any quantity, no matter how much of any grade of paper you may be in the market for.

"We certainly would appreciate any opportunity you would let us have of going into the matter with you.

"We can assure you we will co-operate with you to every extent and also wish to advise that our mill is in a position to ship within three weeks from receipt of order.

"The writer will be very glad to call on you when you are in a position to go into the matter."

A subsidiary of what is probably the world's best known corporation, writes as follows regarding a variety of its products:

"... Please be advised that we are in a position to supply practically unlimited quantities of:

Edible Powdered Starch, (called Cornflour in British countries).

Glucose, (Corn Syrup).

Corn Syrup, (in cases).

Textile and Laundry Starches.

Solid Glucose, (Corn Sugar).

Glutenfeed, (for Cow Feeding).

Corn Oil Meal.

Edible Corn Oil, (for cooking and salads).

Dextrine.

"Should you desire further information concerning same, we shall be glad to furnish it to you."

A large tea merchant writes as follows:

"We are thoroughly prepared to do business with Russia.

"Our organization, world-wide in scope, has been established for many years, and we are familiar with local market demands in all parts of the world and are experienced in buying teas to meet such demands. As an instance, we may refer to a contract with the French Government which has just been completed. The contract provided for the purchase by us, for the account of the French Government, of about a nine-months' supply of tea for French Morocco. Our familiarity with the producing markets, as well as Moroccan needs, enabled us to buy these teas for the French Government at unusually favorable prices, and gratification has been expressed by representatives of that Government over the results of the contract.

"This company has already had considerable experience in meeting Russian demands for tea, and we look forward to renewing our business relations in that country. We should therefore be very glad to take this matter up with you with the view of placing at your disposal our facilities for the supplying of Russian tea requirements. If you desire, we would take pleasure in having one of our representatives call upon you to discuss this matter."

An interesting bid for Soviet Russian trade is contained in the following letter from a New York City firm:

"... We are prepared to purchase today for cash against documents, hides and wool to the extent of \$10,000,000. We are also prepared to provide for transportation and arrange for ships to receive the goods at any Russian Port within the control of the Russian Government, if permission can be obtained for the ships to proceed there.

"On the other hand we can sell to the Russian Government, fertilizers, leather, shoes, chemicals and all kinds of drugs and we will meet any price that can be made by anyone. In other words, we are prepared to give the best value to the Russian Government that anyone can.

"I am prepared to go into further details when I see you. . . ."

These excerpts, although they represent but a small fraction of the correspondence in the files of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Bureau, are convincing evidence of the desire on the part of the most representative American Manufacturers to do business with Soviet Russia and to do it now. That this desire is met in Russia by an ever greater desire to buy American goods is denied

by no one. The American workingman knows he will benefit by the increased employment which would result from the sale of vast quantities of supplies to Russia. The Russian masses know it is to their interest to get those supplies.

The meeting of these vast human desires and these powerful economic forces in the resumption of trade with Russia is thwarted only by the policy of the Allied foreign offices: the blockade of a country with which the Allies have at no time been at war. Social currents of such magnitude, however, cannot for long be denied by the decrees of statesmen.

Reaction Under Kolchak

KOLCHAK'S GENTLE RULE

The following is quoted from an order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Siberian Army, under date of May 6th, 1919, reproduced in the anti-Bolshevik "Narodnaya Gazeta" of July 10, 1919:

"Official reports and complaints of injured parties show that arbitrary punishments, floggings, shootings, and even punitive expeditions instigated by representatives of the government, it is to be regretted, do not cease. Such a system of arbitrary rule may create in the minds of the population an idea of the new government not as a promoter of sound principles of legality, law and order, but of a government alien to those principles, and walking in the footsteps of its predecessors who have ruined our native country. . . . Reconstruction of the state based on law is unthinkable until the agents of the government, from the superior chiefs down to the rank and file, who are carrying out the will of the chiefs, will come to recognize that the power of government is strong by its adherence to right and law. Meanwhile, the conceptions of legality are to many foreign or unintelligible. They do not think that summary punishments, floggings, and even shootings administered without a trial at their own sweet will, undermine the state machinery which has been built with incredible labor; compromise the authority of the government; and, while creating nothing, destroy the great object,—the reconstruction of Russia."

The order gives warning to officials that those who will continue the practice of flogging and shooting citizens of Siberia without trial will be punished. The document, however, is interesting as an indication of the conditions actually prevailing under the rule of the Omsk Government.

KOLCHAK AND HIS DEMOCRATIC FRIENDS

A few illustrations of the tyrannical rule of the Kolchak Government are quoted here from the anti-Bolshevik "Narodnaya Gazeta" of July 10th, reproducing items from Siberian newspapers:

"Arrest of a Former Editor of 'Vlast Naroda.'"

"An evil fate is pursuing the former leading spirits of the Cheliabinsk co-operative newspaper, 'Vlast Naroda,' which has died an untimely death.

"The first editor of this newspaper, S. Antipin, has been wandering through Siberian jails for over a half year. The tragic death of its second editor, the well-known journalist, Eugene Mayevsky* is still remembered by the Siberian democracy.

"At present the third editor of this newspaper, N. N. Molochkovsky, an uncompromising enemy of the Bolsheviks, has fallen victim to the fate of Antipin, or perhaps to the fate of Mayevsky.

"N. N. Molochkovsky was arrested under the following circumstances: On the first day of May, having learned from the Vladivostok newspapers of the revolution in Siberia and of the overthrow of the Serbian king, he related this news item to a Serbian acquaintance. This was quite enough to cause two Serbian officers to come to Molochkovsky, to arrest him, and to turn him over to the Russian military authorities. The latter charged Molochkovsky with agitating among foreign troops. Nobody knows where the defendant is at present, or to what punishment he was sentenced. All the efforts of some of the members of the Board of Managers of the Union of Loan Associations, which was publishing the 'Vlast Naroda,' to find out his present whereabouts, have failed."

AGAINST INTERVENTION

London, June 23rd.—The National Union of Railway Employees is organizing a conference to prepare a united action against the capitalists, who are trying to destroy the Russian Workers' Revolution, as well as against conscription; ninety-three branches of the trade unions, nineteen Socialist branches, eight Trade Councils, and six Labor Party branches, were present at the organizing meeting, and supported the resolutions that were passed.

* Mayevsky was one of the Mensheviks murdered by order of Kolchak.

Siberia From The Inside

(*My Own Experience*)

By Mrs. Gertrude Tobinon

In writing for you on the subject of the Revolution in Eastern Siberia, I must remind you at the outset that most of the persons who have brought back reports from there, have spoken to you about the country from the viewpoint of an onlooker. They came and saw how matters stood in Russia, liked it or didn't like it, as the case may be, and told you about it from the outside. I come to you as one who has lived it and was part of it. In fact, it was my husband who was president of the Far East Republic and I don't want to tell you of theories but only of that which I have lived through myself.

We came to Vladivostok from Chicago in the early days of September, 1917. My husband was a former political refugee from Russia, having escaped from a Kiev prison in 1901. He had lived through the usual struggles of an immigrant in America, later studied law, and for the past few years was head of the Workers' Institute in Chicago. We lived peaceably in Oakdale, the usual American suburb which you know so well, my husband, my two children and myself, never dreaming that we would break up for this new experience.

However, when the Revolution broke out in March, 1917, my husband felt that he had to return. The cause for which he had sacrificed his youth called him. We wound up our affairs and I took my two children and went along with him. Before going on to tell you of what we found in Russia, I would like to tell you of the work my husband did in Yokohama. When we got there we found terrible conditions among the Russian emigrants who were waiting for transportation. They were huddled together, in a dark cellar, six in a bed, children without parents, and wives waiting for husbands to join them, in fact all the tragedies that the war had caused seemed to be there, and human beings were living in the most wretched and unspeakable conditions for months and months. My husband organized a committee and wrote letters to the Russian papers in America, to wake up the Russian colony here to the need of a well-kept emigrant shelter in Yokohama. We left in ten days, not knowing whether the work had borne fruit or not. When I came back with my two children a year later I saw the result. There was a neat and clean emigrant shelter house with clean sheltered rooms and individual cots and I had the great pleasure of staying in it myself with my children.

When we arrived in Vladivostok, in September, we found a great feeling of discontent among the people, especially against Kerensky. The soldiers and sailors were against him because of the restoration of the death penalty. They always spoke of him as Death-Penalty Kerensky. I remember going to meetings in those days,—they were preparing for elections to the Constituent Assembly,—and hearing

cries of "Down with him! Down with Death-Penalty Kerensky!" The peasants were against him because they were promised the land; they were being continually put off, when they wanted to take it, and told to wait for the Constituent Assembly, which also was continually put off. In many places they went away from the front to go home and take the land. Then Kerensky sent troops against them, just as the Czar had done. They were also promised peace, and instead they had to continue the war, without the secret treaties being published, and there was a very strict enforcement of conscription. We didn't suffer from want of bread in Siberia, because Siberia was always well off, and we could get grain from China; but we suffered from the speculators. They would buy grain for very little in China or in Siberia, and send it through the parcel post to Central Russia, for three times the price. I think you call them profiteers here. We called them speculators. Sometimes the speculators would buy up great quantities of biscuits and keep them to be sold in Siberia for very high prices. When my husband came to Vladivostok he was examined for the military service, but because his eyes were very poor he didn't have to serve. He wanted to go back to Kiev but the Central Union of Vladivostok needed a secretary and they offered him the position. While he was there, there was a vacancy in the Aldermanic Chamber in Nikolsk. In the old days the Czar used to make appointments for the provinces and towns of Siberia, but during the Revolution the local administrations took over the government and they were always rather short of men. My husband went to Nikolsk and was elected Mayor. As mayor, he did his best to stop the speculation and he reformed the red light district and did his best to keep things in the hands of the people as far as lay in his power, but all the time he felt, as everybody felt, that a more radical change ought to take place, which would do away with the need of watching and controlling.

My husband supervised the post office and would order all parcels for Central Russia opened. He would find great quantities of foodstuffs which had been sent on at enormous prices. He would pay the owners the price they had paid for the stuff and would then send it on to Central Russia for just the increased cost of transportation. Once he found a lot of biscuits which the speculators were keeping to sell to the rich for three rubles a pound. They had cost originally ninety kopecks a pound, which he would pay back to the speculators, and then he sold them for a ruble a pound to the people. These biscuits came to them at Christmas time, and the biscuits were called by my husband's name, Krasnoshchekof's biscuits. It was the first time the poor people could afford to have biscuits since the war began, and they were very happy.

During these weeks they were preparing for the Constituent Assembly in a very half hearted way. It was something they had been ordered to do from Central Russia, but they didn't like it. They felt the revolution was too young to be written down on paper and fixed forever just when they were beginning to understand things a little themselves. They didn't know who the people were to make the constitution, they were to be educated people, such as lawyers and professors who knew how to make or to devise tricks in writing, which the people wouldn't be able to see until it was too late. When they elected somebody from their own unions they knew him and could tell him what they wanted, but when they had people write down things for them whom they had never known, they had no confidence in them. When they had but little political experience in the very first days of the revolution, they were not allowed to have a Constituent Assembly, and the latter was being continually put off, and now, that they were beginning to understand that they could govern themselves through their unions they were told to give up the unions and form parliaments and assemblies.

So there was quite a feeling of discontent, when suddenly one morning we got a telegram that Lenin and Trotzky had taken hold of the government. We weren't surprised. It seemed to everybody that we had been expecting this all the time. All the various departments in the Far East became Bolshevik too. The bourgeoisie fled because they knew they couldn't do business, because all business was to go to the nation; so there were no obstacles at all,—not a life lost,—in the change of government in the Far East.

Instead of the many provinces and districts into which Siberia had been divided under the Czar, the Soviet Government divided Siberia into two parts, the Republic of the Far East, and the Republic of Central Siberia. My husband was elected President of the Republic of the Far East. It comprised Vladivostok, Nikolsk, Khabarovsk, up to Kamchatka. The Soviets had to do two things. They had to nationalize the industries and to make a government for the people that would give them the things they needed, schools, etc. When the bourgeois ran away they left their mines and property, and they went to Japan or to Shanghai to try to stir up the Allies to come to their assistance. The Soviets of the Far East called a conference in Khabarovsk where the delegates from all the Soviets met. After the two states were formed the State Soviets federated with Moscow. I remember my husband explaining the Soviet system of the nationalization of industry, picturing it as a wheel, with spokes radiating from a hub. The spokes were the unions or the industries, whichever you prefer and the hub was the Committee of Unions, or the Local Soviet. This Local Soviet sent its delegates to the Central or State Soviet. The Central or State Soviet sent delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which had to meet at Moscow twice a year, and has even met oftener. That is why we are called the Russian

Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The separate unions can have no control over their industry without the authority of the central body and the central body can have no authority without the Local Soviet, which is made up of the local unions. The Central Soviet finds what goods are needed, and does all the financing.

All the workers joined the Soviets. We have great gold mines in the Far East, and at first the gold-miners thought they would not like to have their gold nationalized, but it was explained to them how necessary it was that there be exchange of commodities, and that they needed the unions to help them run the mines, and they saw it would be easier and better for them that way. So in a few days they joined the Soviet also. The coal miners joined the Soviets immediately, as did all the industries.

We were not sure about the merchant fleet on the Amur, because the Amur is frozen over all winter, and we didn't know what the sailors would do. Siberia is dependent on its merchant fleet, because it has but few railroads. But when the first of May came and the river had thawed, the sailors themselves brought out the whole fleet, freshly painted and clean, with the red flags flying at the masts. We were all very happy. The land was nationalized too, but the products of the small peasant were not nationalized. He went to the fairs himself and sold the eggs or milk or chickens or vegetables, or whatever he produced. But in the case of the bigger industries, which had been nationalized, the Soviet distributed the products to the consumers' co-operatives. Everybody bought from the consumers' co-operatives, and the Soviets and the co-operatives worked together in perfect harmony.

The Co-operative Bank was the bank of the Soviets. When General Semionov, and the Czecho-Slovaks cut off communications from Central Russia we were permitted to print our own money. For every piece of paper money printed, an equivalent sum of gold was placed in the bank. When the bourgeois fled, they emptied the banks and took the gold with them. But when the Soviets were overthrown they left the money intact in the banks so that the people did not suffer. The only money that was taken was three thousand rubles for each commissar to carry with him for emergencies. That is equivalent to about four hundred dollars.

The design of the money we printed was rather attractive. It had a globe in the center and on either side were the figures of a man with a hammer and a man with a plough, and also a sailor and a soldier. We did not nationalize personal property. That meant houses and furniture and money up to ten thousand rubles. We didn't nationalize the big shops of the Chinese and Japanese in Vladivostok. We only nationalized the holdings of Russian capital.

The revolution was social as well as economic.—We began immediately to educate and to give to the

people what only the upper classes could afford before. We organized the schools and the decree came from Central Russia that higher schools should be closed for one year, so that all the money we had and all the teachers available should be used in the education of the people. There was a great need of elementary schools, and it was sad to observe how few of the people had a chance to learn even to read and write under the old régime. In the very first days the teachers' union was formed and joined the Soviet. It was composed mostly of young boys and girls who were graduates of the local gymnasiums. They had never been out of Siberia and I don't think they had ever heard of Montessori or Ferrer, but when I came to America and heard all the enthusiasm about modern education, I discovered that the teachers in Siberia were using these modern methods.

Each morning the school children elected their own chairman for the day, and they would vote on what to do first, to read or write or play. There was no discipline from above—from the teachers. If a child got into trouble the children elected a pupils' tribunal and the child was punished by that tribunal. But that very seldom happened, for the children were ashamed to be punished by their own comrades and they tried their very best to be good. The teacher was just like a comrade herself and never used her authority. After school she would go to their homes and learn about the children's lives.

The Commissar of Education was elected by the Teachers' Union and sent to the Soviet to represent them. He was a great idealist and a gentle and noble soul. All he wanted was to bring about a better system of education for the people. When the Soviets were overthrown he was shot. I have his picture still in my possession.

Sixteen men and one woman, a Korean, a very splendid revolutionist were shot the day the Soviets were overthrown by the intervention. The Soviets in the Far East had been so well constructed, that there was never any bloodshed during the eight months of their existence. It was against the spirit of the revolution to kill, so that even on the only occasion when the revolutionary tribunal made use of its prerogative to sentence a murderer to death my husband refused to sign the order. He explained to the people that the revolution was to bring in new life and not to take life. The man, he said, was sick and abnormal. Life in Siberia was very hard and there were many abnormal people—and this man confessed to having killed nineteen people and threatened to kill more. They were afraid to keep him, he was so violent, and that is why the tribunal sentenced him to death. This was the only such case in all Siberia.

And so we continued building in the storm. Some of the conservative teachers who had been teachers in the higher schools refused to join the Soviets or teach in the Soviet schools. The peasants were very angry. They said, "Look at us! We can't read and

write. We had to work so that they could be educated. Now when they are educated they don't want to teach our children. Our hands are hard because we worked with them. If they won't teach our children they will have to work in factories to make a living." But some of the peasants said, "We don't want such people to teach our children. What will they teach them but false things? We'd rather have them illiterate." However, after a few days' strike the higher teachers were ashamed and went back to the schools. In the very first days a troupe of Russian actors came and they offered their services to the Soviet. We organized a Soviet theatre and the best plays were given. The Soviets also founded a conservatory of music and in two months we had five hundred students. We were short of pianos so we opened the houses that had been deserted by the former officers who had run away and moved the pianos to the conservatory.

The unions organized their own evening classes. It was like a workers' university. One needs domestic help in Russia, because there is no water in the houses and no conveniences and it is difficult to get along without help. The servants are mostly Koreans and Chinese. The Chinese were very friendly and understood the Soviet idea better than the Koreans, but the Korean woman who was shot by the reactionaries when the Soviets were overthrown was a very good revolutionist. Then they had plans for homes for the cripples and orphans. There were so many cripples owing to the war and so many unhappy children, and they sat on the church steps and begged. We took them to a small village, with four teachers, and put them into a home. Then we had plans for beautifying the cities, for laying out gardens and playgrounds, and building a street-car system.

All this time we were fighting on two fronts. General Semionov's troops were attacking us near Irkutsk, and Horvath on the Chinese border. Until intervention came it was very easy to hold these fronts. We knew there were some white guards but they were far away and the men could easily hold the line for us and keep the country free for constructive work. I remember once there came a regiment from Vladivostok to go to the Chinese front. It carried its own red flag; when it arrived in Khabarovsk, my husband presented it with a red flag of the State Soviet. He stood on a big table in the middle of the street with all the soldiers around him. He took the red flag and kissed it and gave it to them. He explained the importance of the fight,—that it was not a fight for owners and capitalists, but for the Social Revolution, that it was for them—the people—for their own government. They all wept and said, "We will die or come back victorious." They came back four weeks later, with the same red flag, full of bullet holes and on a new staff, a fresh sapling. The first staff had been shot away. They marched through the streets; speeches were made; the best restaurants welcomed them. Everybody marched all day. I shall never forget it.

The regiments of the red guards had very good discipline. They marched in perfect order and were very effective. The Bolshevik general wore the same uniform as the soldiers. He called them comrades, and was their comrade all the time. He was their general only in action and they willingly took their orders from him.

We had a May day celebration that was also very wonderful. This time the children were the most important persons. In April, when it was warm and the sun was shining, the teachers noticed that the children did not like staying indoors, so they took them out into the parks. One morning I met one of the teachers walking with the children and I asked her what she was going to do. She said she was going to practice singing with the children in the park, so that they would be prepared for the first of May celebration. She taught them to march and to sing revolutionary songs and the children were the first in the parade on May day. There were eight or nine hundred of them marching and singing the Internationale and waving the red flag. There was no other flag but the red flag until intervention overthrew the Soviet Republic. The Commissar of Education made the children a special speech. He told them they were the hope of the world and that if the revolution died they should remember what they had lived through and carry on the work. The whole idea of the Soviets was to center everything around the children. The motto was, "The children the hope of the world."

The graduation certificates were very interesting. They didn't have eagles and church insignia, but were simple sheets of paper with the words "Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic" running in large black type in a semi-circle on the top. Underneath were printed three verses by the poet Nekrasoff, in which this idea is expressed: Within one's self is the possibility of all development. Then followed the name and age of the child and the date of graduation. There was no question of nationality or religion asked or stated. It was signed by the Commissar of Education.

However, just when the Soviets of the Far East were ready to bring their ideas of the new order into being—intervention came and they were destroyed. There were two excuses for attacking us. One night two Japanese sailors were killed in Vladivostok. The Soviet begged the Japanese for just a few days in which to find the murderers. For we had a most wonderful detective service. They were so proud of doing good work because they wanted to show the world that they could keep order in their own government. Once a Chinese boat had been robbed on the Amur and the Chinese sent in a big bill—more than it was worth—for merchandise, pearls and a rich cargo, and the Soviets paid every cent. In a week the detective service had found the thieves and the goods. There were sixteen robbers and all were found, although the robbers had gone far into the wilderness. That is why, when the two Japanese were killed, the Soviet begged the Japanese

consul for time to find the murderers, but he said that the Japanese were not safe in Vladivostok and two warships were sent in. Then the Czecho-Slovaks came. They arrived in Vladivostok with the intention of going to France to fight Germany. The Vladivostok people welcomed them, gave them their best buildings, and made them their guests. They were glad to entertain them while they were waiting for ships to go to France. My husband protested because he thought the Soviets ought to see that the Czecho-Slovaks should get their boats quickly, but the Soviet declared that the Czecho-Slovaks must be well treated, because they were guests. Then we heard there was trouble with the Czecho-Slovaks in Irkutsk. The Czecho-Slovaks were leaving Russia with Russian arms and ammunition, and the Irkutsk Soviet had asked them to leave these things.

When we heard of the trouble, our Soviet sent delegates for a peace conference. While this conference was in session a shot was heard. It was fired by somebody on purpose to make trouble. Firing began on both sides and many were wounded. The wounded Czecho-Slovaks came up to Khabarovsk, where we were, and we nursed them. I helped to nurse them myself. When they heard at Vladivostok that there was trouble in Irkutsk they came one morning together with the Japanese and English and arrested the Vladivostok Soviet.

The Czecho-Slovaks in Vladivostok had a Soviet of their own and the Czecho-Slovak Soviet members did not join with the others. One of the Commissars in the Soviet of Vladivostok, when he was about to be arrested, committed suicide. The sailors and the longshoremen put up a terrible fight, but they did not have arms enough. About forty longshoremen were burned alive in the Soviet building while they were defending it. The Soviet maintained a front for several weeks. My husband was Political Commissar at the front and they also had a Military Commissar. Then Nikolsk was taken and the Soviet decided to retire to Khabarovsk and they came up with their arms and ammunitions, with automobiles and an aeroplane. They fought the Czecho-Slovaks, the Japanese, and the English for four weeks. Then the Americans began to take part and everyone wondered where the Americans had come from. Nobody knew they had been sent on. We were very much surprised.

While the fighting was going on the Soviets called a conference to decide what to do,—whether they should fight the whole world or not. The people did not want to give in. They wanted to continue the fight. They said, "They shall pass only when they pass over our dead bodies." But the Commissars urged them to yield and wait for a better opportunity, rather than lose so many lives. Khabarovsk was taken after the men had returned, without fight. The Soviets left the cities in perfect order; the books were there to show the accounts, and all the gold was in the banks. The Soviets did not keep the money, the banks had it.

I left Khabarovsk two weeks before the Allies came in, because the Soviet thought it was safer for me to go to remain there. I might be kept as a hostage, the Soviet thought, so that my husband would be taken. I left him at the front, and I don't know what has happened to him. I have heard a rumor that he had been executed, but that hasn't been confirmed.

The first thing the white guards did when they came in, was to shoot everybody they could get hold of who was pointed out as a Bolshevik. Apparently the object was to teach the people what terror really is. After intervention the Soviets were overthrown all over Siberia and the old system was brought in again.

In Vladivostok there was a banquet given where there were Russian reactionaries and allied soldiers, all of whom got drunk and sang the Russian national anthem, "God save the Czar." Under the Soviets we had introduced absolute prohibition. Sometimes individuals might try to bring in spirits from China, but the Soviet officers searched the boats and poured the liquor into the sea if they found any, but now the grain of Siberia is being used to make vodka again.

It was their government, and they made rules for themselves. When it was overthrown from the outside they felt that their own government was destroyed and somebody's else, not intended for their good had been installed over them. When Vladivostok was taken my husband issued an appeal to all the foreign consuls in Vladivostok, asking them why they were intervening,—Whether they had asked the Russian people if they wanted interfer-

ence,—and they were asked to give an answer at a conference in Khabarovsk, but instead of an answer came troops and shooting. One excuse they gave for fighting the Bolsheviks was, that they were accused of releasing German prisoners and using them as soldiers. This was not true. All the German prisoners were kept in barracks. There were not many there, but all that were there were confined. There were five or six who had become Russian citizens because they did not want to go back to Germany, and who had joined the Soviet and were very intelligent and helpful.

When I left Siberia, it took me six weeks to get to Japan, because communications were cut off and I had to wait for boats in many little places. The Japanese Government was very suspicious of me, but they allowed me to go on, and when I came to Yokohama, I told the American consul my story and got an American passport. My husband was an American citizen and my two children were born in America. When I reached San Francisco on my home journey, about fifteen secret service men came to me and looked through all my papers and kept many of them. I was taken to Angel Island and held there for four days. They were going to detain me or deport me and I showed them the words on the American passport, stating that I was to be protected everywhere, and asked them why they were keeping me; I was then released. I have not heard a word from my husband as yet.

I am glad to have had this opportunity to tell you the inside story of our people's rule. I know that when you have read it you will not be against us but for us.

An International Protest

Stockholm, June 7th. The Social-Democratic Party of the Left in Sweden, has decided to propose to the Norwegian Socialist Party a common action in an international matter, involving a joint proposal to the Communist and Socialist Parties, the trade-unions, as well as the transport workers' and seamen's organizations of France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, America, Italy, Austria, Bohemia and Spain, to declare a blockade against all such countries as are waging war on states in which the workers' revolution has been victorious, namely, Soviet Russia (including the Lettish and Ukrainian Soviet Republics), and the Workers' Republic of Hungary. The following regions are to be declared under blockade: Finland, Esthonia, Lettonia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, the Russian Arctic Coast, in so far as it is occupied by the English, the Black Sea Coast, in so far as it is occupied by Denikin and Krassnov, and the Siberia of Kolchak. The blockade is to cover the transportation of troops, war supplies, food stuffs, and raw materials under a military flag. The blockade, and if possible, a complete boycott of these countries, is to begin on June 15th. The Norwegian Socialist

Party has accepted this proposition and declares with us: "The working classes may no longer stand by as idle and cowardly observers of the attack launched by the international capitalist class against our struggling comrades. Our central committee therefore intends to address to all labor bodies, particularly to the unions of transport workers and seamen, the urgent call to inaugurate a comprehensive blockade against the conspiracy between the blood-stained capitalists and imperialists at Versailles. But the transport workers and seamen should not be allowed to stand alone in this fight; they must have all the workers behind them, all the moral and economic support they can give. The whole procedure must bear the stamp of union and determination."

NEXT WEEK

"Soviet Russia" will appear as a 24-page issue. There will be a Soviet Note to Italy, an article on Italy's Russian Policy, by Zanetti, and other interesting matter, including the conclusion of Mr. Zippin's exhaustive treatment of the Czecho-Slovak Question. Order from your newsdealer, in advance.

Urban Population In Russia

It was mentioned in a previous article,* that the real urban population of the Russian Empire, was far in excess of that of the incorporated cities and towns which is usually mistaken for the entire urban population. In the table next following the population in settlements with 2,000 inhabitants or more, at the census of 1897, is shown, both for incorporated cities and towns and for unincorporated places.**

It appears from the preceding table that whereas the population of 798 incorporated cities and towns at the census of 1897, numbered only 16,485,926, the aggregate population of the 7,167 settlements with 2,000 inhabitants or more was as high as 39,644,133, which represented 31.5 per cent of the total population of the Empire. There is very little difference, in this respect, between the Russian Empire (exclusive of Finland) within the boundaries of 1897, and European Russia.

In order to bring home these figures to the American reader, the per cent distribution of the population of Russia into urban and rural is next shown in parallel columns, with the distribution of the population of the United States into urban and rural. The definition adopted by the Census Bureau "classifies as urban population that residing in cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more."

To these settlements have been added for comparative purposes all incorporated places of less than 2,500 inhabitants both in the United States and in Russia.

In the Russian census statistics the lowest group of urban settlements comprises all places with a population between 2,000 and 3,000. Of that number there were 2,219 places in the Russian Empire with

* Soviet Russia No. 1.
** Compiled from the volume of the Russian Census Report on "Cities and Settlements with a population of 2,000 or more inhabitants."

TABLE I.
POPULATION OF RUSSIA IN PLACES WITH 2,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE, 1897.

INHABITANTS PER SETTLEMENT	INCORPORATED CITIES AND TOWNS		UNINCORPORATED PLACES		TOTAL	
	Number	Population	Number	Population	Number	Per cent of total population
Russian Empire	798	16,485,926	6,369	23,158,207	7,167	31.5
Over 50,000	55	8,174,959	.....	.....	55	6.5
20,001 to 50,000	112	3,361,740	10	269,669	122	2.9
10,001 to 20,000	169	2,323,113	138	1,740,858	307	3.2
5,001 to 10,000	264	1,919,624	834	5,540,144	1,098	5.9
2,001 to 5,000	198	706,490	5,387	15,607,536	5,585	13.0
European Russia	556	11,929,240	5,061	18,205,352	5,617	32.3
Over 50,000	43	6,331,907	.....	.....	43	6.8
20,001 to 50,000	71	2,159,573	10	269,669	81	2.6
10,001 to 20,000	121	1,671,766	88	1,152,281	209	3.0
5,001 to 10,000	172	1,237,379	648	4,272,192	820	5.9
2,001 to 5,000	149	528,615	4,315	12,511,210	4,464	14.0

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a population ranging between 2,500 and 3,000. In order to make the figures comparable with those in the United States, these places alone have been included in this table. It has been assumed that each of these settlements had an average population of only 2,500, which is, of course, below the actual figures. The error, however, will result in an underestimate of the urban population of Russia. The same method was applied to the population of European Russia in settlements between 2,500 and 3,000.

It appears from the preceding table that the total urban population of Russia at the census of 1897, was 29.3 per cent, and that of the Empire 29.9 per cent of the total population. In the United States,

the respective percentage was 43.6 in 1890 and 48.7 in 1900.

While the percentage of the urban population in Russia was accordingly lower than in the United States, yet the difference appears to have been due mainly to the extraordinary growth of cities with a population of over 50,000 in the United States. On the other hand, the population of cities and towns of less than 50,000 inhabitants constituted approximately the same percentage in Russia as in the United States. As has been shown in the preceding article the population supported by agriculture in Russia, is practically the same as the population of rural settlements shown in the preceding table, namely over 70 per cent of the whole population.

TABLE II.
PER CENT OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN RUSSIA
AND IN THE UNITED STATES

Inhabitants Per Settlement	Russian Empire 1897	European Russia 1897	United States	
			1890	1900
URBAN SETTLEMENTS.....	29.3	29.9	43.6	48.7
50,000 and over.....	6.5	6.8	18.6	22.3
Under 50,000	22.8	23.1	25.0	26.4
10,000 to 50,000.....	6.1	5.6	9.2	9.5
5,000 to 10,000.....	5.9	5.9	4.0	4.3
2,500 to 5,000.....	10.7	11.5	4.3	4.4
Incorporated places of less than 2,500.....	0.1	0.1	7.5	8.2
RURAL SETTLEMENTS	70.7	70.1	56.4	51.3
TOTAL.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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About Russia

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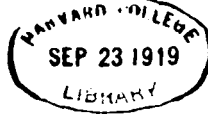
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INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
YESTERDAY AND TODAY, <i>By Maxim Gorky</i> . . .	1	THE CZECHO-SLOVAKS IN SIBERIA,	
EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA,		<i>By Max M. Zippin</i>	14
<i>By Arthur Ransome</i>	2	AGAINST INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA	18
RUSSIAN COMMERCIAL CONCESSIONS	5	SIBERIAN JEWS IN FEAR OF POGROMS	19
EDITORIALS	6	THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA	20
ALLIED ATROCITIES IN UKRAINE	7	THE FOOD SITUATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA	21
AN ITALIAN VIEW ON ALLIED INTERVENTION		THE FATE OF RUSSIANS FROM THE	
IN RUSSIA, <i>By Armando Zanetti</i>	10	FRENCH FRONT	22
		ECONOMIC NOTES ON SOVIET RUSSIA	23

Yesterday and Today

By Maxim Gorky

YESTERDAY was the day of the Great Falsehood—the last day of its power.

For ages, man has spider-like, thread by thread, diligently woven the strong cobweb of a cautious philistine life, impregnating it more and more with falsehood and greed. Man has to feed on the flesh and blood of his fellow men and the means of production, the weapons in the struggle with nature, are merely a means to oppress men,—this cynical falsehood was looked upon as immutable truth.

And yesterday this road brought mankind to the madness of the all-European war. The red glow of this nightmare threw a light on all the ugly nakedness of the ancient entrenched falsehood, and now we see the old world shaken to its foundations, shattered to pieces; its obscure secrets exposed, and today even those who were blind have opened their eyes and see the utter ugliness of the past.

Today is the day of reckoning for the falsehood which reigned yesterday.

The violent explosion of the people's patience has destroyed the outworn order of life, and it cannot again be re-established in its old forms. Not all of the outworn past is annihilated, but it will be—tomorrow.

Today there is a great deal of horror, but it is all natural and comprehensible. Is it not natural that people infected by the strong poisons of the old order—alcohol and syphilis—should not be generous? Is it not natural for people to steal,—if theft was the fundamental law of yesterday? Is it not natural, that tens, hundreds, thousands of men should be killed, after we had been accustomed for

four years to kill them by the millions? The seed of yesterday brings fruit today; the present day is brutal, but its brutality is not the offspring of today. Malice is created by the power of men; everything comes into existence through men. Among the ruins of the past is clearly visible every force that held it together, and everything that lay hidden in the heart of the oppressed is today impelling them to oppression.

It is easy to find fault with man as he is today,—man is facing the mirror of history, naked as a beast, burning with the fire of belated, useless revenge.

But we should remember that the day is too bright, and that is why the shadows are so heavy. We should understand that in the midst of the dust and mud, of the chaos of destruction, of today, has already begun the great work of liberating mankind from the strong, iron cobweb of the past, a work which is as painful and difficult as the pangs of a new birth; we should feel that we are witnessing the death of the evil of yesterday, which is going through its last hours together with the man of yesterday.

It has so happened that the peoples marching to the decisive battle for the triumph of justice are led by the least experienced and weakest fighters,—by the Russians, a people of a country which is backward economically and culturally, a people worn out by its past more than any other people. Only yesterday the whole world looked upon them as semi-barbarians, and today, almost dying from hunger, they are marching toward victory or death with the ardor and courage of old, tired fighters.

Everyone who sincerely believes that the irresistible aspiration of mankind toward freedom, beauty, and a sensible life is not a vain dream, that it is a real force which alone can create new forms of life: that this force is a lever which can turn the world,—every honest man must recognize the universal significance of the activity which is carried on by the earnest revolutionists of Russia.

The activity which is now going on in Russia should be interpreted as a gigantic attempt to incorporate in life, to turn into actuality the great ideas and watchwords which were created and enunciated by the teachers of mankind, by the sages of Europe. Yesterday the Socialist thought of Europe pointed the way to the Russian people, today the Russian worker is striving for the triumph of European thought.

And if the honest Russian revolutionists, few in numbers, surrounded by enemies and worn out by starvation, will be conquered, the consequences of

this terrible calamity will fall heavily on the shoulders of all the European revolutionists, of the whole working class of Europe.

Should this catastrophe occur, all those who do not feel, who do not comprehend the terrible struggle which is waged by the workers of Russia day after day, will have to pay for it with their blood and lives.

The honest heart does not waver, the honest thought knows no temptation to compromise, the honest hand will not cease working while the heart is still beating. The Russian worker is confident that his brothers in spirit will not permit the strangling of the revolution in Russia, that they will not permit the resuscitation of the old, which has received a deadly blow and is expiring, disappearing, and which will disappear,—if the revolutionary thought of Europe will comprehend the great tasks of today.

Education in Soviet Russia*

(From Arthur Ransome's new book: "Six Weeks in Soviet Russia in 1919")

February 28th.

AT the Commissariat of Public Education I showed Professor Pokrovsky a copy of "The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy," published in America, containing documents supposed to prove that the German General Staff arranged the November Revolution, and that the Bolsheviks were no more than German agents. The weak point about the documents is that the most important of them have no reason for existence except to prove that there was such a conspiracy. These are the documents bought by Mr. Sisson. I was interested to see what Pokrovsky would say of them. He looked through them, and while saying that he had seen forged documents better done, pointed as evidence to the third of them which ends with the alleged signatures of Zalkind, Polivanov, Mekhanoshin and Joffe. He observed that whoever forged the things knew a good deal, but did not know quite enough, because these persons, described as "plenipotentiaries of the Council of People's Commissars," though all actually in the service of the Soviet Government, could not all, at that time, have been what they were said to be. Polivanov, for example, was a very minor official. Joffe, on the other hand, was indeed a person of some importance. The putting of the names in that order was almost as funny as if they had

produced a document signed by Lenin and the Com-mandant of the Kremlin, putting the latter first.

Pokrovsky told me a good deal about the organization of this Commissariat, as Lunacharsky, the actual head of it, was away in Petrograd. The routine work is run by a College of nine members appointed by the Council of People's Commissars. The Commissar of Education himself is appointed by the All-Russian Executive Committee. Besides this, there is a Grand College which meets rarely, for the settlement of important questions. In it are representatives of the Trade Unions, the Workers' Co-operatives, the Teachers' Union, various Commissariats, such as that for Affairs of Nationality, and other public organizations. He also gave me then and at a later date a number of figures illustrating the work that has been done since the revolution. Thus, whereas there used to be six universities there are now sixteen, most of the new universities having been opened on the initiative of local Soviets, as at Astrakhan, Nijni, Kostroma, Tambov, Smolensk and other places. New polytechnics are being founded. At Ivano-Vosnesensk the new polytechnic is opened and that at Priansk is being prepared. The number of students in the universities has increased enormously though not to the same proportion as the number of universities, partly because the difficulties of food supply keep many students out of the towns, and partly because of the newness of some of the universities, which are only now gathering their students about them. All edu-

* We are printing this chapter, as well as another, from Ransome's book, as the book is as yet inaccessible to American readers. We understand, however, that it will soon be published in New York by B. W. Huebsch and Co., of 32 West 58th Street. It is announced to be sold at \$1.50 per copy.

cation is free. In August last a decree was passed abolishing preliminary examinations for persons wishing to become students. It was considered that very many people who could attend the lectures with profit to themselves had been prevented by the war or by pre-revolution conditions from acquiring the sort of knowledge that could be tested by examination. It was also believed that no one would willingly listen to lectures that were of no use to him. They hoped to get as many working men into the universities as possible. Since the passing of that decree the number of students at Moscow University, for example, has more than doubled. It is interesting to notice that of the new students a greater number are studying in the faculties of science and history and philosophy than those of medicine or law. Schools are being unified on a new basis in which labor plays a great part. I frankly admit I do not understand, and I gather that many teachers have also failed to understand how this is done. Crafts of all kinds take a big place in the scheme. The schools are divided into two classes—one for children from seven to twelve years old, and one for those aged from thirteen to seventeen. A milliard rubles has been assigned to feeding children in the schools, and those who most need them are supplied with clothes and footgear. Then there are many classes for working men, designed to give the worker a general scientific knowledge of his own trade and so prevent him from being merely a machine carrying out a single uncomprehended process. Thus a boiler-maker can attend a course on mechanical engineering, an electrical worker a course on electricity, and the best agricultural experts are being employed to give similar lectures to the peasants. The workmen crowd to these courses. One course, for example, is attended by a thousand men in spite of the appalling cold of the lecture rooms. The hands of the science professors, so Pokrovsky told me, are frostbitten from touching the icy metal of their instruments during demonstrations.

The following figures represent roughly the growth in the number of libraries. In October, 1917, there were 23 libraries in Petrograd and 30 in Moscow. Today there are 49 in Petrograd and 85 in Moscow, besides a hundred book distributing centres. A similar growth in the number of libraries has taken place in the country districts. In Ousolsky ouezd, for example, there are now 73 village libraries, 35 larger libraries and 500 hut libraries or reading rooms. In Moscow, educational institutions, not including schools, have increased from 369 to 1,357.

There are special departments for the circulation of printed matter, and they really have developed a remarkable organization. I was shown over their headquarters on the Tverskaya, and saw huge maps of Russia with all the distributing centres marked with reference numbers so that it was possible to tell in a moment what number of any new publication should be sent to each. Every post office is a distributing centre to which is sent a certain number of all publications, periodicals and other. The local Soviets ask through the post offices for such quantities as are required, so that the supply can be closely regulated by the demand. The bookselling kiosks send in reports of the sale of the various newspapers, etc., to eliminate the waste of overproduction, a very important matter in a country faced simultaneously by a vigorous demand for printed matter and an extreme scarcity of paper.

It would be interesting to have statistics to illustrate the character of the literature in demand. One thing can be said at once. No one reads sentimental romances. As is natural in a period of tremendous political upheaval pamphlets sell by the thousand, speeches of Lenin and Trotsky are only equalled in popularity by Demian Biedny's more or less political poetry. Pamphlets and books on Marx, on the war, and particularly on certain phases of the revolution, on different aspects of economic reconstruction, simply written explanations of laws or policies vanish almost as soon as they are put on the stalls. The reading of this kind has been something prodigious during the revolution. A great deal of poetry is read, and much is written. It is amusing to find in a red-hot revolutionary paper serious articles and letters by well-meaning persons advising would-be proletarian poets to stick to Pushkin and Lermontov. There is much excited controversy both in magazine and pamphlet form as to the distinguishing marks of the new proletarian art which is expected to come out of the revolution and no doubt will come, though not in the form expected. But the Communists cannot be accused of being unfaithful to the Russian classics. Even Radek, a foreign fosterchild and an adopted Russian, took Gogol as well as Shakespeare with him when he went to annoy General Hoffman at Brest. The Soviet Government has earned the gratitude of many Russians who dislike it for everything else it has done by the resolute way in which it has brought the Russian classics into the bookshops. Books that were out of print and unobtainable, like Kliutchevsky's "Courses in Russian History," have been reprinted from the stereotypes and set afloat again at most reasonable prices. I was also able to buy a book of his which I have long wanted, his "Foreigners' Accounts of the Muscovite State," which had also fallen out of print. In the same way the Government has reprinted, and sells at fixed low prices that may not be raised by retailers the works of Koltzov, Nikitin, Krylov, Saltykov-Shtchedrin, Chekhov, Goncharov, Uspensky, Tchernyshevsky, Pomyalovsky and others. It is issuing Chukovsky's edition of Nekrasov, reprints of Tolstoy, Dostoievsky and Tur-

genev, and books by Professor Timiriazev, Karl Pearson and others of a scientific character, besides the complete works of Lenin's old rival, Plekhanov. It is true that most of this work is simply done by reprinting from old stereotypes, but the point is that the books are there and the sale of them is very large.

Among the other experts on the subject of the Soviet's educational work I consulted two friends, a little boy, Glyeb, who sturdily calls himself a Cadet though three of his sisters work in Soviet institutions, and an old and very wise porter. Glyeb says that during the winter they had no heating, so that they sat in school in their coats, and only sat for a very short time, because of the great cold. He told me, however, that they gave him a good dinner there every day, and that lessons would be all right as soon as the weather got warmer. He showed me a pair of felt boots which had been given him at the school. The old porter summed up the similar experience of his sons. "Yes," he said, "they go there, sing the Marseillaise twice through, have dinner and come home." I then took these expert criticisms to Pokrovsky who said, "It is perfectly true. We have not enough transports to feed the armies, let alone bringing food and warmth for ourselves. And if, under these conditions, we forced children to go through all their lessons we should have corpses to teach, not children. But by making them come for their meals we do two things, keep them alive, and keep them in the habit of coming, so that when the warm weather comes we can do better."

A Bolshevik Fellow of the Royal Society

By Arthur Ransome

(From the same book as "Education in Soviet Russia")

At Sukhanov's suggestion I went to see Professor Timiriazev, the greatest Russian Darwinian, well-known to many scientific men in this country, a foreign member of the Royal Society, a Doctor of Cambridge University and a Bolshevik. He is about eighty years old. His left arm is paralyzed, and, as he said, he can only work at his desk and not be out and about to help as he would wish. A venerable old savant, he was sitting writing with a green dressing gown about him, for his little flat was very cold. On the walls were portraits of Darwin, Newton and Gilbert, besides portraits of contemporary men of science whom he had known. English books were everywhere. He gave me two copies of his last scientific book and his latest portrait to take to two of his friends in England.

He lives with his wife and son. I asked if his son were also a Bolshevik.

"Of course," he replied.

He then read me a letter he had written, protesting against intervention. He spoke of his old love for England and for the English people. Then, speaking of the veil of lies drawn between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world, he broke down altogether, and bent his head to hide his tears.

"I suffer doubly," he said, after excusing himself for the weakness of a very old man. "I suffer as a Russian, and, if I may say so, I suffer as an Englishman. I have English blood in my veins. My mother, you see, looks quite English," pointing to a deguerreo-type on the wall, "and my grandmother was actually English. I suffer as an Englishman when I see the country that I love misled by lies, and I suffer as a Russian because those lies concern the country to which I belong, and the ideas which I am proud to hold."

The old man rose with difficulty, for he, like every one else in Moscow, is half starved. He showed me his Byron, his Shakespeare, his Encyclopedia Britannica, his English diplomas. He pointed to the portraits on the wall. "If I could but let them know the truth," he said, "those friends of mine in England, they would protest against actions which are unworthy of the England we have loved together."

UTILIZATION OF WASTE PRODUCTS

A convention on the utilization of waste products was held in Moscow, on February 16th and 17th. The convention was addressed by A. I. Rykov, Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

In the opinion of the Council this work is of the highest importance, since the present industrial crisis will last for many years in Europe. Only strict economy will be able to overcome the present conditions without exhausting the supply of raw materials. The condition of Soviet Russia is, in this respect, especially hard, inasmuch as on the one hand it cannot rely upon foreign markets and on the other, it is cut off from many home sources of supply. The crisis has recently assumed threatening dimensions, owing not only to the decline of the productivity of factories and mills, but also to increased consumption on the part of the peasantry.

In the restoration of the economic life of Russia no aid from western nations may be expected, inasmuch as the industry of western Europe will be pressed into service for the support and reconstruction of Belgium, France, and Poland, which have suffered from the war. Therefore, the old methods of economic and industrial reconstruction are not applicable at present. Economic life has been invaded by new conditions which have increased consumption. New methods must be found.

The utilization of waste products is the way towards the solution of the industrial crisis.

Russian Commercial Concessions

Washington, D. C., July 9.—The Daily Consular and Trade Reports issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of the Department of Commerce, today include the following interesting statement from the "Svensk Handelstidning" of April 3, 1919, transmitted by Trade Commissioner Norman L. Anderson, stationed at Stockholm, Sweden.

The Soviet Government in Russia is said to have lately given concessions to a Norwegian-American syndicate to exploit the enormous resources of northern Russia. The following is a report of the concession, taken from the official organ, *Severnaya Kommuna*, in Petrograd:

The concession first comprises the establishment and operation of a railway line of normal gauge for general traffic from Ob in Siberia to the west, in the direction of the town of Kotlas on the Dvina River, and from there two main tracks to Zvanka, where the Murman Railway joins the Petrograd-Vyatka-Siberia railway, or past Zvanka directly to Petrograd. Besides, there are also proposed spur tracks to the town of Ustyug-Veliki and the Nadyezhinski mills. The railway concession represents lines aggregating about 3,000 versts (approximately 2,000 miles).

Use of Extensive Forest Lands

The concession also comprises the right to use 8,000,000 dessiatines (about 22,000,000 acres) of forest. Of these 8,000,000 dessiatines of forest, 2,000,000 dessiatines (5,500,000 acres) will be for the company's own needs for a term of 80 years. The net profit from these 2,000,000 dessiatines and the saw-mills and factories that the company may establish is included in the surplus of the railway. Of the remaining 6,000,000 dessiatines the company has a right to fell the whole district, estimating that the forests are renewed every 150 years. The concession for these 6,000,000 dessiatines is given for 48 years. According to the statutes, the company may hold its timber-lands over the whole of Russia. As to the 6,000,000 dessiatines, the company may demand that the districts be transferred in connected forests of 500,000 dessiatines (1,350,000 acres) for the establishment of special enterprises, according to the directions of the company.

Farming, Mining and Other Rights—Taxes—Concessionaries

The company will have a right to use the soil that is laid out for the railway which is not cultivated or common land and is not taken up by other railway lines.

The company has a right to use all live lodes found on examination of the lines. The company pays to the State one-half kopeck per pood (36.1128 pounds) for ore dug out, without regard to the kind

of ore. The company also has a right to establish and run shipyards and ports, to open steamship lines, to get, without charge, districts for the establishment of towns and villages. All such undertakings are looked upon as parts of the railway project. Further, it may use water power in the neighborhood of the railway line.

The railway is permitted to start banking enterprises of its own at all railway stations and in neighboring towns. It is to be observed, however, that these banking enterprises must not take cash loans on interest.

The company must pay to the Soviet Government a charge of 5 per cent of the quotation on the London market for timber cut, while the charge for fuel and building material for local use is according to local prices. Instead of paying income and industrial taxes, the company pays 25 per cent of its net profit, but no minimum sum is fixed. When necessary, the company must procure tonnage of 10,000 to 20,000 tons.

The concession is granted to the Russian, Borisof, and the Norwegian, Ganewitsch (Hannevig), who has American capital behind him. If the Hannevig group does not assume the undertaking, the concession will be offered on the international financial market.

Deportations from North Russia

Reported in "Stockholms Dagblad," June 21, 1919.
(From Russian Telegraph Agency)

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs Chicherin sent the following radio telegram to the Foreign Ministry at London:

"The Russian Government has learned from the local authorities in North Russia of mass evictions undertaken under orders from the English and French military commands in the Murmansk district and affecting tens of thousands of inhabitants, including many entire families with women and children, and involving a transportation by force over the demarcation line. The Allies forced these persons to seek refuge and work in the neighboring districts, which are the poorest in all Russia as far as food conditions are concerned, and which can barely support their own population. The Government of the Russian Soviet Republic states its most emphatic protest against such criminal modes of conducting warfare, which can have no other object than to wipe out the civil population of a whole country. The Russian Soviet Government demands the immediate cessation of the proposed deportations, and declares that if the great numbers exiled shall lack any place of refuge, owing to the fact that they are between the lines of the belligerent parties, the entire responsibility for their inevitable sufferings must fall upon the British and French Governments."

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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.

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THE defeat of Kolchak at Ekaterinburg is only the most recent of the long line of catastrophes that have overtaken every anti-Soviet enterprise. The military critic of the Manchester Guardian, reviewing the course of British policy towards Russia since the Revolution, says:

"Our first idea was, like that of the French, to support anyone who would fight against the Bolsheviks. So we backed the Ukrainians, who straightway made a treaty with the Germans and invited them into their country; and then we backed the Finns, who promptly called in German aid, chose a German Prince for the Finnish throne and were engaged in making ready to put him on it when the great collapse led them to discover how much they really loved the Allies. Then came the Czecho-Slovaks. . . ."

When the Czecho-Slovaks were no longer useful as a pretext for intervention, support was given to Kolchak in the widely advertised hope that he might be the "strong man" of Russia. Whereupon Kolchak immediately demonstrated his strength by suffering a series of overwhelming military defeats culminating in the recent retreat from Ekaterinburg.

* * *

DENIKIN also appears to be a poor horse to bet on. While during the past month the pious hopes that the counter-revolutionary Kolchak might destroy the proletarian revolution in Russia have been fast waning, the defenders of reaction still

pinned their aspirations and their financial aid to his fellow-counter-revolutionist, Denikin, who now, after pronouncing his inflexible allegiance to the unparalleled Kolchak a few days ago, also gives up the ghost, militarily speaking, and is reported in New York newspapers of July 22nd, as "again" retreating. We are tempted to remind these newspapers that "again" would seem, to judge from their previous reports, to be hardly the proper term, since they had never reported him as in retreat before.

Politically, Denikin's "again" retreating is of great importance. The fact is, Denikin is retreating; the fact is also, that every counter-revolutionary general in Russia will retreat, no matter how much secret aid he may receive from foreign or internal Russian reactionaries. How long will European statesmen attach their hopes to such leaders? Does Premier Lloyd George mean to carry out his promise made in Parliament, and reported in New York papers of July 22?

Concerning Russia, he said, the Government still stood by the policy he announced a few months ago.

* * *

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY continues to be claimed in Soviet Russia by all those elements that conspired, during the early days of the Soviet Republic, to overthrow its rule, and are still conspiring as well as engaged in open military action, to do so. The latest claim of this sort is reported in an Associated Press dispatch of July 21st, from Stockholm, printed in New York papers on the following day. Seven employees of the Swedish Legation at Petrograd, it appears, were arrested by the Soviet authorities, in spite of their claim to have diplomatic immunity granted to them. Now, diplomatic immunity never needs to be invoked in Soviet Russia except by those who need it badly—and no one needs it except for counter-revolutionary activities. The Associated Press dispatch does not state what these two men and five women had done in order to incur retribution at the hands of the Soviet Government, but we are told that after Sweden had lodged a protest, the Soviet Government replied "that the arrests were based on violations of laws and that the plea of diplomatic immunity could not be recognized. Answering a renewed protest, the Soviet Government said only three persons had been arrested."

The New York Tribune of July 22nd, after printing this news item, adds the following note:

The names of all those in charge of diplomatic archives at foreign legations in Petrograd have appeared in lists of executions published daily by Petrograd newspapers, according to a dispatch from Helsingfors on Friday.

This may be a pun on the word "execution," which probably really means "a legal eviction or seizure," but may convey to the reader the meaning of "a killing." We predict that the fact which will transpire when the truth comes out is this: No one is being killed in Petrograd at all.

* * *

An Associated Press dispatch from Berlin, July 16th, states:

"The builders' trade paper reports an order placed with a German firm for thirty hotel kitchen outfits for Russia cancelled, as American competition is furnishing them at half the German price."

* * *

In reply to questions in the English Parliament some days ago, regarding the opening of trade relations between Germany and Soviet Russia, Cecil B. Harmsworth, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated:

"I believe it to be the case that the German Government is endeavoring to enter into trade relations with Soviet Russia and that a German industrial and commercial mission has visited or is about to visit Soviet Russia."

* * *

The following text, somewhat defective in the decoding or transmission, of a cipher message from Acting Secretary of State Polk to the American Peace Commission is published in the Nation, July 19th:

CGW

GREEN,

Dated January 25, 1919.
Washington,

Ammission,
Paris.

425, January 25, 8 P. M.

For Colonel House from Bullard, Tokio.

"Still in hospital, but hope to sail soon to join you. Very sorry for delay. I hope no formal recognition will be extended to Kolchak. His personality is of small significance. He is surrounded and dependent on the support of reaction elements whose principal idea of government is the reconquest of former grafts. His army is being organized on old lines of Czarist discipline. Several units have already revolted against brutality of officers. The vengeance of his (apparent omission) against Bolsheviks. We have helped to disable riots as red as the Bolshevik terror in Moscow. After allowing the Siberian Government and the directorate which were both sincere attempts at liberation to collapse from lack of recognition the Allied support of Kolchak's experiment in reaction is a feature regrettable. Please communicate to Creel."

POLK,

Acting.

Mr. Arthur Bullard was an agent of the American Committee on Public Information in Siberia.

Allied Atrocities in Ukraine

(Radio telegram of April 4th, from Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Government to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, copy to the Paris Peace Conference.)

THE Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Government calls the attention of the French Government and the Peace Conference in Paris to the atrocities committed by French and Greek soldiers in Southern Russia on their retreat from Kherson.

For the investigation of these atrocities the Ukrainian Government appointed a special committee which included, besides the representatives of Soviet Authority, one from the former Procurature and one from the former city council. The results of this investigation have fully proved the former data about brutalities committed upon the inhabitants by Greek soldiers under the French Command during the whole time of their presence in the Southern Ukraine.

On the second of March, three Greek soldiers have taken from the Monastyr Borough of the City of Kherson the following persons: Joseph Chu, 60 years of age; Dimitry Ostapenko, 60 years of age; Ivan Privoda, 75 years of age. Also Grygory Tkachof, of 50, and Kuzma Keleso, of 35. These persons were accused of Bolshevism and on the following day they were shot by Greek soldiers. The witnesses prove that they were innocent.

Mass executions and atrocities were committed, before the retreat from Kherson, by Greek and French soldiers. The inhabitants living on Mikhailov and neighboring streets in the vicinity of the harbor, were taken regardless of sex, age or social standing, to a wooden storage house in the harbor. Their homes were ransacked by Greek patrols and on their offering the slightest resistance and protests they were beaten by Greek soldiers with rifle-butts and revolvers.

In the wooden storage house were collected about 1,000 inhabitants. During the night they were guarded on the inside and outside by Greek soldiers. By 6 o'clock in the evening on the 10th of March, the Greek patrol left the inside of the storage house. Shortly afterwards the storage house was shelled from the nearby French torpedo boat, two of the shells hitting the storage house. The wooden structure began to burn and some of those that were inside perished in the flames while some succeeded in escaping through the collapsed walls.

Up to the present time there were identified 95 corpses of citizens that perished in the horrible fire ordered by the French Command in Kherson.

The barbaric methods used by the Greek soldiers can be proved by witnesses. Tzezar Jatou, an old man, shows that he, together with others, was taken

by Greek soldiers, who dealt with him in an extremely brutal manner and beat him up. Jatón, by his social standing, belongs to the bourgeoisie, and in order to avoid being beaten by Greek soldiers, referred to his acquaintance with the French commandant, but he, together with others, was taken to the above named storage house. Immediately the shelling began and one shell destroyed the eastern part of the building; broken beams and iron, with the burning roof, fell down on the people inside and part of them attempted to escape through the door leading to the river, but there they were subjected to the fire of machine guns and rifles from the nearby cruiser.

Among those killed, the witnesses have recognized the following inhabitants of the city of Borislav: Andrey Kalujny and one woman, Zborovskaya.

Witnesses Cheremchenko, Bonde, and Grank have told how a militiaman, named Goldberg, was taken and shot just for being in a soldier's overcoat.

Efrisinya Musika related that her husband Panteley Musika was taken by Greek soldiers and shot by them.

Witness Kaplun, a superintendent of the Kherson Navigation School, together with his sons Vladimir and Tsezar, were taken to the above named storage house. His testimony corroborates that of Jatón. One of his sons was killed in the storage house. At the time of his arrest his home was robbed by the Greeks.

An instructor in the same school, Alexander Salnikov, corroborates that the cannonading was done by the French torpedo boat located not over one verst from the city.

Witness Peter Gaber tells that at their arrest his sister Yanofskaya, who had not recuperated from her confinement, begged the Greek soldiers to leave her with her new-born babe, but they did not pay any attention to her condition and took her with the others. On the way to the storage house, Salnikov's mother, an old woman of 73, fell down, but one officer did not permit anyone to help her. Next day, Peter Gaber found her lying on a sidewalk with a bullet in her leg. Wife and child of Peter were shot. His evidence has been corroborated by Alexander Panteleev.

Witnesses Alexander Bugman, Boris Voznalov, with his wife and Ivan Zakharov show that on March 9th, Greek soldiers threatening to execute, dragged out from the basement of Serebryakof's house, hiding there from the cannonading of the city, Boris Bezpalov, his wife with a child of 3 years, house servant Anuta, 15 years old, his brother David, another servant Khaya of 13 years, his mother, an old woman of 62 years, and a third servant, Fooma. Together with Bezpalov they were dragged out of the basement, hiding there, teacher Pinsker from Minsk province, citizen Zakharov and Bezpalov's neighbor Mendel, with his wife and two children,

and Bezpalov's brother Zelman and Jacob Shneierson. They were taken under guard to the storage house in the harbor, where appeared a Greek officer soon, who through an interpreter announced: "All of you ought to be shot as Russian prisoners, but I will do you a favor and will leave you here until the arrival of the Bolsheviks, when you will be released."

After that the Allies began the cannonading of the storage house, and by their fire there were seriously wounded: Boris Bezpalov, his wife, servant, Zakharov and Jacob Shneierson. There disappeared, probably killed in the fire, Bezpalov's mother, a girl, Teacher Pinsker, and the whole family of Mendel. There died in the Jewish Hospital from wounds, Zelman Shneierson.

Besides this, Boris Bezpalov declares that Greek soldiers, while searching him, took away from him a pocket book with over 1,000 rubles.

Before the cannonading of the storage house, there entered several Greek soldiers and French sailors and lighted the inside with candles. The witnesses presume that this was done in order to be sure that the arrested persons were all there. At the head of them was a chief officer, who, according to the uniform described by Izrail Zacharov, appeared to be a commander of the Greek Coast Guard.

Post-mortem medical examination disclosed that many of the killed had been bayoneted while still alive.

All the above mentioned facts show in sufficient degree what were the methods of the French Command in Southern Ukraina in the campaign that it is carrying on against Ukrainian workmen and peasants, in its attempt to re-establish the rule of the landlords, the capitalists and the old bureaucracy.

Expressing deep indignation, and protesting against the atrocious deeds of the French Command and the Greek soldiers, before the whole civilized world, and particularly before the French working class, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic considers it necessary to announce that the responsibility for all these deeds falls upon the Chief Commander of French Forces in the South, General Ansleme, who hereby is declared to be outside the law.

Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Government and Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

(Signed) RAKOVSKY.

II.

Our complete investigation proved that in the executions that have taken place in the Odessa in the night from the first to the second of March, four French officers took a direct and active part.

One of the Serbian comrades who was sentenced along with 11 other workmen, that have been shot,

who succeeded on the way to the Jewish Cemetery in escaping by jumping off the auto truck, corroborates the evidence of other witnesses. He also points out the merciless beating to which the arrested men and women were subjected before they were executed. In the executions the French officers have taken the most active part, alongside of Russian White Guards.

As a result of these repeated executions, the Provincial Executive Committee of Kherson has given the following notice to the government: The Provincial Executive Committee hereby informs all Soviets and Revolutionary Committees that at its session of March 16th, there was passed, on the motion of the Communist faction, the following resolution concerning the atrocities going on in Odessa: All white-guardists, "samostyyniks," and representatives of the bourgeoisie are to be arrested and transferred to the concentration camps. All Soviets or Deputies and Revolutionary Committees are to be instructed to carry out this measure and an ultimatum is to be sent to the government of Odessa, that for each workman or peasant there will be executed 10 men from among the representatives of the White Guard and bourgeoisie, domestic and foreign.

(Signed) Chairman of Executive Committee,
LUBETZKY.

" Secretary of Executive Committee,
MIKHAILOV.

Calling to the above the attention of the French Government in Paris, which has a share in the government of Odessa, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic has ordered the arrest of some of the French citizens in the Ukrainian Republic, to be interned and held as a guarantee against further atrocities.

Chief of the Ukrainian Soviet Government
and Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) RAKOVSKY.

Peasant Rebellions in Siberia

From the Budapest "Pester Lloyd," a periodical which rarely is seen in this country, owing to the interruption of postal communication with Hungary, we take the following wireless message, forwarded by the Russian Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chitcherin, to Bela Kun, Hungarian Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, and dealing with Kolchak's régime of terror in Siberia and its consequences. The message, which is dated May 31st, and which contains some new data, is printed in translation below:

"While some persons are now saying that Kolchak is a good democrat, the fact is that he has actually not only had thousands of Soviet adherents shot, but has even executed great numbers of Social-

Revolutionists, mensheviks and adherents of the Constituent Assembly. Kolchak does not permit the soldiers to read anything but Czarist literature; he supports the Czarist press in every way, and encourages everything that has any connection with Czarism, or with the black hundred. The Kolchak gangs make use of every kind of violence, to squeeze the taxes out of the peasantry, and to impress the sons of the peasantry into his army. This is often done to the accompaniment of mass floggings and mass butcheries. This has led to a general uprising of the peasantry in all of Siberia, where the rule of Kolchak is built up on the presence of Japanese troops. In western Siberia, the entire government of Yenissey, as well as many parts of the government of Tomsk, has been affected by peasant rebellions. Everywhere the Kolchak bands must fight against rebellious subjects. The railroads in western Siberia are guarded by Czecho-Slovaks, who had asked in vain to be sent back home. The French General, Janin, and Kolchak, did not permit them to go home and the Czecho-Slovaks had to continue doing service in guarding the railroad. They have lost over 25,000 soldiers. The remaining fifty thousand are staying in Siberia merely because they have no choice in the matter. The discipline in Kolchak's army is based on barbarous punishments and recalls the most repulsive features of the old Czarist army. The knout is constantly being applied. If a soldier asks why the war is being waged, he is answered with a penalty of two hundred lashes. Any serious infractions of discipline on the part of the soldiers are punished by immediate execution. Kolchak's rule is artificially maintained by numerous foreign contingents in his army. He is conducting an extremely fanatical church policy and the orthodox clergy are therefore carrying on an energetic campaign in his favor. Kolchak has declared that a Constituent Assembly will be convoked later, and that for the present a strong hand must pacify the country!

Finns Do Not Want to March Against the Red Armies

Helsingfors, April 2 (Rosta).—The English army at Murmansk has carried out a mobilization of the whole male population. Most of the men mobilized were Finns. At the end of the mobilization, they were sent to the Archangel front. At the station of Mustanoki, the Finns categorically refused to march against the Soviet troops. A great number of Finns were shot by the English troops.

An Italian View On Allied Intervention in Russia

By Armando Zanetti

The following article, by one of the regular contributors to the *Giornale d'Italia*, of Rome, appears in the issue of June 2nd, 1919, of that periodical. It is written from a bourgeois standpoint, and this adds weight to its suggestions as to the folly of encouraging intervention in Russia, as well as the necessity for Italy, of entering into commercial relations with Russia. It will be noted that the author lived for a long period in Russia, after the outbreak of the Revolution.

One of the fundamental defects of Italian public opinion during the war has been and remains an almost exclusive preoccupation with our own questions of race and territory: absorbed by these matters, Italians have had no opportunity to look about them, to ask themselves what lay beyond their boundaries; what might be the influence of the solution of these greater problems on our future. There has been no attempt to acquire a conception and an attitude on the complex problems that are demanding the attention of humanity in this dangerous after-the-war crisis. And therefore Italian public opinion has no place in large international policy: no place in the discussion of the Russian question, of the Hungarian question, the question of Finland, Poland, and the Baltic in general; it is concerned only with Adriatic and Yugoslav matters, and, to a certain extent, in colonial questions. . . .

But for us, more perhaps than for any other great power, there is the great problem of the reorganization of production, tomorrow, the question of accelerating exchanges of goods, the search for new markets that may afford an outlet for certain flourishing branches of our industry, as well as furnish in sufficient quantities the raw materials that we need. Of these markets the most important for us, both by reason of the wealth and the resources it controls, as well as for its character as a counterbalancing and competing element with regard to the present monopolistic position of America—is Russia. Therefore a speedy solution of the Russian question, a re-establishment of normal or almost normal relations with that immensely wealthy country, is a matter of great and direct importance to us; just as it is to our interest in this present period of uncertainty and disaffection of crises even for the victors, to terminate as soon as possible the present state of disorganization in the vanquished countries, which are sources of discord and malcontent, of revolutionary and anarchistic contagion. It is therefore necessary for Italian public opinion to take up these grave questions also, and to arrive at a definite attitude, giving up its ancient custom of following passively in the wake of the more energetic and crafty countries, particularly of France.

The Policy of France

Italy has been drawn irreluctably into following the French policy in Russia, although that policy, even before the Revolution, was characterized by

the absolute inability of its representatives to take in the symptoms that were becoming daily more outspoken and threatening, throughout the last few months of Czarism, and which had already been very grave in the eyes of any accurate observer in the winter of 1915-16,—the symptoms of the approaching tempest. Of the Entente diplomats, the only one who grasped the omens and made any effort to prevent, or divert, or regulate the inevitable catastrophe, was the English Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan. . . .

But the Revolution, as we know, went much further, in fact, chose a different task, and Sir Buchanan like all the other (non-military) diplomatic representatives of the Entente, and the western governments who were informed by them, fell into the universal error which had its culmination in a blind faith in Kerenski, in spite of the thousands of facts which daily demonstrated his almost farcical insufficiency. Such an error was perhaps excusable for a day or so after the revolution, but its erroneousness must have been apparent after a few days, to anyone who had even so slight a curiosity as to move him to walk about and look around in the streets, and to cast an eye into the barracks of the capital; surely this error hardly had any right to persist after the fall of Milyukov and Guchkov, except in such persons as were leading, as European diplomats always do, a life of false relations, and feeding themselves up on the gossip of clubs and parties, and depending confidently on the optimistic semi-official data of the officials of the old régime who had not yet been discharged from the offices of the Foreign Ministry.

With the outbreak and success of the Bolshevik insurrection, the active and aggressive spirit of the French policy . . . displays itself in Russia with exceptional energy and vitality, but also with all the impetuosity and volatileness and stubbornness of which the Gallic spirit is capable when it inclines to error.

An Absurd Situation

It was difficult to choose a path, particularly in the first months, when we add to the surprise and the indignation inevitably resulting from the first application of the Bolshevik methods, and from the cruelty of the war which then seemed inevitable, the further element of uncertainty as to the final outcome of the movement, an uncertainty that was

particularly easy to understand in men who were on friendly terms with the Russian bourgeoisie, and whose ears were full of the assurances and of the eloquent diatribes which some Russians so much love to substitute for concrete action in moments of difficulty. To attempt, as did the French, to aid at so early a period, and by every possible means, the elements hostile to Bolshevism and to peace, with the hope of preventing the latter (although as a matter of fact, Russia had stopped fighting more than a year before)—even that might still appear to be a praiseworthy effort.

But once the peace of Brest-Litovsk had been signed and the capital transferred to Moscow, it was thenceforth clear that Bolshevism, one might like it or not, was in a fair way to strengthen its position, and the above policy began to become incomprehensible.

From that moment on, two possibilities only were available, a complete break, a recall of diplomatic and consular representatives, with a declaration of war, and a blockade situation, the inauguration, in so far as such action was possible, of military campaigns; or, the recognition of the actual condition, the finding of a *modus vivendi*, which, while it might not lead to official recognition (which was not even dreamt of by the Bolsheviks), might nevertheless have saved from confiscation, by the new régime, the interests of the Entente and of its subjects. France, with her Allies behind her—in this matter her Allies gave her a free hand—was unable to make a choice in this dilemma, and there resulted the following ridiculous situation: An Allied diplomacy which did not recognize the Russian Government, and was, at bottom, not recognized by the latter, nevertheless continued permitting its representatives to live on Russian soil, demanding the diplomatic immunities and yet in every way breaking the most rudimentary diplomatic requirement of engaging in no intrigues against the government of the country. An impossible policy was carried on, which perhaps was inspired by the refusal to recognize the French loans to Russia, a policy which, while attempting in every way not to compromise itself with regard to the new government, while not sparing the representatives of the latter any humiliating rebuffs, nevertheless continued to labor under the delusion that its own representatives might continue to live in Russia respected and undisturbed. This situation could not hope to be long tolerated by a government that was beginning to feel its strength, and the Allied Embassies one fine day found themselves turned out of the country, and had to move out by way of Archangel, leaving the Consulates and the Military Missions at Moscow exposed to the reprisals of the Bolsheviks, at a moment when the latter were beginning to yield to the necessity of inaugurating a Red Terror.

The fact is that France and the Allies did not recognize—did not want to recognize—the truth:

a truth which their best-informed observers, men who, quite differently from the diplomats, had remained living, at great personal risk, in the very heart of Bolshevism, and continued traveling about the country, did not tire to transmit to them; and this important truth that was daily becoming more manifest was simply this: Bolshevism was solidifying its position. The fear that Bolshevism might prove contagious and spread through the Entente, which was engaged in a life-and-death struggle; the psychological impossibility of treating, on terms of equality, or at least, without aversion, with men who had, in a moment of great danger to the Allies, signed the peace of Brest-Litovsk; personal resentment for the numerous refusals, by the Bolsheviks, to recognize diplomatic immunity, especially in the Petrograd period; these things might appear to justify much hostility while the war was going on; but they could not justify the irresoluteness and the hysteria of the path pursued.

But after the victorious conclusion of the war, after the armistice, the situation changed radically; with Germany defeated, and with the breaking of the chain by which Germany had held Russia bound, the internal arrangements of Russia became, or at least, should have become, a matter to be left entirely to the self-determination of the latter; to leave to the free play of all the Russian forces the solution of that country's internal problem; to aim to secure, as much as possible, a compromise between the opposing parties, that was the only logical policy: a policy which in the last analysis, went to pieces against the machinations of the French, who, in spite of all their failures, which culminated recently in the loss of Odessa, continued to hold, and still hold to their plan to overthrow the Soviet Government, by imposing on Russia a masked centralized Restoration of Monarchy, which would be favorable to the French financial interests.

The Ensuing Dilemma

We repeat, the policy of non-intervention and of conciliation was the most logical one to pursue, unless one believed in the possibility—a possibility which is daily losing all plausibility—of launching a thoroughgoing military campaign capable of reducing the Soviets within a short time, and of substituting for them a government having a greater apparent legitimacy and broader foundation among the masses of the people. But this result was impossible to obtain—and this is the fundamental self-contradiction of the French policy—with the resources then, and now, at the disposal of the Allies: such a plan cannot be carried out by sending to Russia a few thousand boys from hot climates to bulldoze the populations of the icy Arctic coast; irregular money subsidies to the Cossack bonds were not enough to attain this end, nor were the limited al-

lowances of arms and ammunitions to the populations of the Baltic coast.

Thus far all efforts of this kind have ended without any result, because of the inadequacy of the means applied. Rather have they furnished Bolshevism with a new slogan with which to strengthen its army, by appealing for resistance to foreign invasion, and to the love of the homeland, which always lies dormant in the rural population, as well as to the class feeling which is kept up by the Bolsheviks by means of an extremely able propaganda among the urban workers. All the more easy was this, in view of the fact that the puppets of the Entente bore such names as Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenich, that is, symbols of a régime that was forever fallen, even in the minds of the most simple: the banner of the Constituent Assembly, especially after their first unhappy experience, no longer finds anyone to fall for it in Russia.

Today the hope and the work of this policy of intervention that is fathered and manipulated by France is all bound up in the combined onslaughts on Petrograd and from the Urals.

At present we do not know, because the communications on this matter are not characterized by overmuch clearness, what forces are actually operating against Petrograd; we do not know why, or in the name of what ideals, the Estonians who have no desire to enter into the Russian body politic, should have permitted themselves to be drawn into a political offensive to re-establish in Russia a power, which, according to the open confessions of French policy, must be essentially a centralized power. Nor do we know for what reason Mannerheim, who knows that he has a half-socialistic country behind his back—and not a rose-water socialism, either—is taking the dangerous risk involved in removing 40,000 men from Finland for an expedition which does not have any relation of any kind with the real interests of Finland; we do not know of what elements are composed the so-called White Guards in the army of Yudenich: the experience of two years leads us to suspect that they are mercenaries. But, even supposing that behind all this trumpery there should be one of the Great Powers, with Allied armed forces, and that the co-operation of the English fleet should be such as to guarantee the success of the operations on land, we nevertheless do not see the concrete object of an occupation of Petrograd. Aside from the difficulties of provisioning the city, once it should be occupied, we must bear in mind that Petrograd, even though it may have been the cradle of the revolution, has nevertheless lost any essential importance in Russian life, now that the capital is at Moscow. A city of idle factories, easy to isolate from Moscow by cutting a single railway line, a city of 600,000 famished inhabitants, tired of all changes, its occupation could have importance in the eyes of the conquerors only if, having been accomplished by a surprise attack it should result in the capturing by the victors of the heads of the Soviet Government, with whom as

hostages it might be easier and more convenient to impose upon Moscow the conditions of the Entente. But, militarily speaking, the occupation of Petrograd could have no importance for Russia as a whole.

A Final Doubt

More serious and more pregnant in consequences, if it should turn out to be successful, would be the Kolchak enterprise; but even in this case, not to mention the vagueness of the geographical indications in the newspapers (the Kaznaw Yekaterinburg Line, which is mentioned in the communications, was not in existence seven months ago, and it would be remarkable if it should have been possible to build it in so short a time, and under circumstances so turbulent), we are again completely in the dark as to the elements of which this invading army is composed. The best elements among the volunteers and the ex-officers, who had once been gathered under the command of Alexeyev, were either destroyed or dispersed by the Bolsheviks, by hunger, or by fatigue. Recruiting in Siberia (which has 12,000,000 inhabitants) could hardly have furnished an army big enough to put into the field against the Bolsheviks, who control all of European Russia, and who have had an excellent opportunity to raise a big army. It is said: the Bolsheviks do not give battle. May be; but anyone who was in Russia last year, and who had watched the tactics of the civil war in progress there, knows that for a year and a half civil war in that country has assumed the form of a series of desertions from each side to the other, and that therefore many battles have been won by propagandists, and the propagandists of the Bolshevik army are very much more able, and expert, and better organized, than those of the "Constituent Assembly," and furthermore, they appeal to much more deeply-rooted sentiments than the idea of a Constituent Assembly, in the name of which the troops of Kolchak are said to be fighting.

Unless the skeleton of this army consists of powerful Allied or Japanese nuclei, of whose presence we have not yet been informed, we do not understand where it would draw any strength; but this would raise another tremendous political problem, and would lead to efforts to fix the responsibility on those persons who, in order to attain the political object—by no means unquestionable—of intervention in the internal affairs of Russia, would be willing to create the precedent of bringing yellow troops to Europe.

Lenin and Kolchak

Unless the above surmise is correct, we shall hear, in a few days, that the Soviet Government will again herald its victories over the "reaction advancing from the East." The writer has been away from Russia for more than eight months and has had only indirect means of keeping himself informed on the conditions of the country since his departure.

The period of terror is long past; there has succeeded a period of solidification: in spite of enormous difficulties, and with a certain method, and with unquestionable pertinacity. Lenin aims to reconstruct the economic organism of Russia. During this reconstruction, in which all are interested, Russia essentially has need of quiet, and of a resumption of regular relations with rest of the world. To assume under these circumstances, that the new Kolchak adventure is likely to arouse any great enthusiasm among the Russians, who now, at least in very great majority, have adopted themselves to the new régime, and have all, more or less, made plans for their personal reorientation on the basis of the new situation, would be equivalent to ascribing to those Russians who remained in Russia, and who are now calling upon the assistance of the Entente against the "Muscovite oppression," a political conscience and a spirit of sacrifice which they never displayed in the days when it was easy to fight and success was possible. As a matter of fact, the Kolchak advance cannot but irritate those, who, either through love of peace or a legitimate desire to return to regular work, had permitted themselves to hold the delusion that the period of civil wars was past; add to this the fact that most of the militant Russians in politics, though they may be anti-Bolshevik, are opposed to any forms of bourgeois restoration, and it will be apparent that this movement, if left to its own powers alone, will find no sympathy among the Russians living under the Bolshevik régime today. And, without internal insurrection, the success of such forces as Kolchak's even if they should amount to 200,000 or 300,000 men, is practically out of the question.

To take sides under these circumstances, with either one of the two combatants, Lenin or Kolchak, to recognize Kolchak even with reservations, would be about the unwise thing the Allies could do from the standpoint of gaining the good will of the Russian people. From the standpoint of a legal basis of recognition, Kolchak is no more the heir of the Provisional Government than is Lenin; he also bases his power on a seizure by force: if, on the other hand, we set out from the standpoint of fact, we must be frank enough to admit that unless recent events deceive us considerably, the power of Lenin is no less, and perhaps much more, a reality than that of his rival, and that the question of recognizing Lenin is after all only a question of time and of form. That is, unless it is our desire to prolong indefinitely the present state of civil war and external blockade, with the serious consequences it involves for the peace of the world and for the economic interests of our country, which we have already indicated.

Italy's Interests

Now, if France, or its rulers, will adhere to their idea of wrecking vengeance on Bolshevism, and of creating over a re-established Russia, a sort of French High Economic and Financial Protectorate, it is possible that they may imagine they are realiz-

ing their aim by pursuing the policy which is theirs at present. But our interests are diametrically opposed to theirs. Italy has, in Russia, a very small quantity of interests which are in any way touched by Bolshevism (the value of the Italian participation in Russia's economy may be estimated, for the eve of the Revolution, at about 200,000,000 rubles). Italy therefore has every interest and every chance to enter into very extensive mutual exchanges with Russia, and to obtain in that country a broad field for its technological resources; for Italy has won the war and has no fear of Bolshevism, and Italy, more than any other country, owing to the limits of its resources, is interested in re-establishing at the earliest possible moment, as close an approach as can be realized to normal conditions in the trade with the Orient and in the political life of Central and Eastern Europe. Italy should not and must not follow France in this new adventure, which will very probably redound to the disadvantage even of France. But, in agreement with the more sensible English and American elements, our country should take a stand that upholds emphatically the doctrine that the solution of the Russian problem must be left to the Russians themselves, and that we should not continue the prolongation of the already absurd blockade against a country of 100,000,000 people, which is the richest in Europe in point of natural resources—the only country capable of indemnifying both victor and vanquished for their immense economic losses in the war. Whatever may be the Russian Government, once it is consolidated, we are concerned only with one point: around the council-table, and especially in such a treaty as is now being negotiated at Versailles, it will be possible not only to attain a very broad recognition of the rights acquired by foreigners, and particularly, of their interest to develop their economic activity in Russia (this has been expressly conceded by the Soviet Government in official documents), but—and this is the important point—we may thus obtain a greater recognition for those elements of the Russian population which have not become the oppressed and pariahs of the new system. There can be no intention on the part of the Soviet Government to continue forever the system of oppression to which they were compelled by circumstances to resort, during the early months of their existence as a nation, and we are sure that some of the Bolsheviks themselves are only awaiting a helping hand to enable them to dispense with acts forced upon them by the difficult political situation in which they have hitherto been involved.

By maintaining such a policy of calm, guided by a relative sense of the situation in Russia, Italy may exert an influence of prime importance in the later developments of the Peace Conference, and may acquire a reputation for real benevolence toward the peoples of Eastern Europe, who are harassed by the most difficult crises; and simultaneously, we may thus provide for our own economic interests in the East of Europe in a most appropriate and secure manner.

The Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia

Second Article

By Max M. Zippin

ON June 17th, 1918, an extraordinary mixed delegation of representatives of the Czecho-Slovak National Council and of the Siberian Soviets left Vladivostok for Irkutsk for the purpose of finally settling those little collisions that had taken place in Western Siberia between Czecho-Slovak detachments and local Soviets. Neither the Czecho-Slovaks nor the Central Committee of the Soviets could think of any plausible reason for these little quarrels. Both sides were convinced that they were the result of either some foolish misunderstandings, or else of some wire-pulling behind the scenes, and every one concerned was anxious for one thing: to have the Czecho-Slovak troops quickly dispatched to Vladivostok and thence to the Western front.

On June 16th, at 4 P. M., less than two weeks before the unwilling Czecho-Slovaks were forced to declare war against their truest friends and protectors, the Siberian Soviets, the following colloquy had taken place between the representatives of the Czecho-Slovak National Council and the representatives of the Soviets. The report was published broadcast in the Vladivostok press by the Vladivostok Soviet, with the full acquiescence of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, and was transmitted by direct wire from Vladivostok to Irkutsk. At the Vladivostok end of the direct wire, Dr. Girska, a member of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, was speaking. At the Irkutsk end, Geitzman, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the "Centro-Siberia" (the Central Executive Committee of the All-Siberian Soviet) was talking. Several other members of both the Czecho-Slovak National Council and the Vladivostok and Far Eastern Soviets were present at the Vladivostok end, occasionally taking part, or making remarks. Their conversation is given here in part, and if this shall not serve to convince every unbiased and disinterested American of the true attitude of the Czecho-Slovak leader towards this bloody adventure of murder and destruction of thousands upon thousands of human lives, we don't know what would.

The conversation follows:

"Geitzman: Thanks to the actions of the Czecho-Slovaks, the counter-revolutionists have raised their heads. From personal talks with the representatives of the Czecho-Slovaks, we have all become convinced that they were our best friends, yet they act towards the Soviet Republic as if they were its worst enemies. Death from starvation is threatening us all if the roads are not cleared immediately. We made all possible endeavors to have their trains move eastward with maximum rapidity, yet they all persist in staying, without assigning any reasons. On the 16th inst. the term of the truce

expires and what is to happen afterwards we do not know. Lotikin (member of the Central Committee of the All-Siberian Soviets, active in bringing about the truce) has just returned to Irkutsk. He tells us that Captain Gaida—a leader of the Czecho-Slovaks in politics and strategy, is very militantly disposed, but only very few of the others support him. There is quite a number of influential elements among the Czecho-Slovaks that demand the immediate movement of all the Czecho-Slovaks eastward. The Mission (the American Mission) has given up further mediation in despair, and has withdrawn from participation in the peace parleys. This is about all we are able to tell you just now. Things cannot continue very long this way. We do hope, however, that the conflicts will be settled some way or other, in a few days; we wish it with all our souls. We, on our side, have taken all proper measures that this conflict be settled felicitously for both sides. That is all.

"Girska: What seems to be the reason for their inability to agree? Isn't it because you have demanded their arms? Were there any members of our National Council? Is it a fact that some of the members of our National Council were arrested at Moscow? Where is Gaida? Can he be called to the telegraph? Where is Daxper?

"Geitzman: It is hard to define the reason for their inability to agree. There are all kinds of rumors. There is a persistent rumor that the highest policies of France, or else the local French Mission, are very much behind this obstinacy. At any rate it is not because of the arms. Nor is it because of the arrest of the members at Moscow. We could very easily straighten that up. Captain Gaida is at the present moment at Omsk, while Daxper is at Nizhne-Udinsk. We are unable to call Gaida to the telegraph, because the telegraphic connection is still cut off. We shall certainly not prevent you from calling him to the telegraph wherever he can be reached, insofar as that may depend upon us, but he seems to care very little about it. That is all.

"Melnikoff (Commissar of the Telegraph): Up to what place do you have telegraphic communication? to Kansk or Krasnoyarsk? Do you get any information from the West and from Moscow?

"Geitzman: The telegraph is working only to Zima. From Moscow we have only casual information.

"Girsa: In Inokentievskaya our representatives Gerik and Novak are stationed. We beg of you to deliver the two telegrams we have dispatched today to Irkutsk (one dealt with the agreement as to arms, the other was an order to all the Czecho-Slovak troops and officers to refrain from any petty quarrels with the Soviet members, as it was both unworthy and detrimental to their cause. M. Z.), and tell them to send these telegrams immediately to Omsk by couriers, also to send copies of them to each and every echelon, and particularly to Gaida. It is essential to call some one of them to the direct wire at Irkutsk, so that we can talk to them. Let us know when that can be done. Tell us: Are our representatives at Moscow already freed?

"Geitsman: Your request will be fulfilled immediately. Of Moscow I cannot say anything, as we do not know whether your representatives were really arrested there. At any rate this incident, if it has taken place, can be no obstacle to an agreement, because the Centro-Siberia is in a position to pledge that they will be freed. Moscow always reckons with our requests.

"Nikiforov (Member of the Vladivostok Soviet): We advise you to pass all Czecho-Slovaks without disarming them, to Khabarovsk, where we will, together with representatives of their National Council, take over the weapons. We have agreed on that.

"Geitsman: Is it really a fact that you have agreed?

"Nikiforov: Yes, we have agreed on that with the members of the Czecho-Slovak National Council of Vladivostok. Are they ready to continue their movement eastward?

"Geitsman: We must first find the Czecho-Slovak Commissars before we can give you a definite answer. When can we come to the telegraph with them? We think that we may get them tomorrow or the day after tomorrow.

"Girsa: The main thing to be done now is quickly to send westward our two telegrams of today. If you cannot find any Czechs, send your own men, but in Inokentievskaya there is a whole company of our couriers attached to the Commissars at the military posts. Dr. Rashe is soon to arrive at Irkutsk with a sanitary train—transmit to him immediately our order to go west with the whole sanitary train, up to Omsk, and to assure all our echelons on the way, and especially Captain Gaida at Omsk, that the road is clear and that no danger is threatening our echelons on their way to Vladivostok. Particularly, let him tell all our people that we here,

in Vladivostok, having, as we do, the most concise information from the Allies, demand the quickest movement possible of all our echelons to Vladivostok, if they don't want to spoil our whole work and to endanger the attaining of our aim. The National Council will hold Dr. Rashe responsible for the prompt and exact carrying out of this order, which has been sanctioned by General Ditrichs, all the more since Dr. Rashe has had every opportunity to convince himself personally, on the way, that there is no danger threatening any of our echelons on their way to Vladivostok. This order is signed by: Gouska, Girsa, Shpachek, and General Ditrichs.

"Geitsman: We, naturally will do our best that your telegrams, as well as the order, shall reach their destination. We shall promptly get your couriers or our own to deliver them.

"Sukhanov: (President of the Vladivostok Soviet) We are sending a telegram to Moscow, to Lenin, with a copy to Chicherin, by way of America, acquainting them with the situation."

How the same people could harmonize afterwards their blackest of deeds with these assertions, is a question similar to that other question: How can the Japanese publish manifestos to the Russians, couched in a phraseology even more democratic than that of President Wilson, with all the love, the professions of good will, and the eager solicitude to help the Russians to organize their lives according to their wishes; while they burn down whole Russian villages populated by children and old people, and shoot down Russian school children as if they were rats? Or how can the democratic Allies help the unspeakable Kolchak gang to establish in Russia its peculiar order of executions and gallows, of extermination and restoration of Czarism? But the facts are before us. The National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks was ready to hold its representatives responsible for even little quarrels with the Siberian Soviets. The National Council of the Czecho-Slovaks knew as an undeniable fact that no danger had ever threatened their troops on their way to the Western front, and that there was not a particle of truth in the notorious lie that they were to be sent to France, but those Bolsheviks, "in the employ of the Kaiser," would not let them pass. Likewise there was not an atom of truth in the flagrant falsehood that it was a case of the Bolsheviks trying to disarm the Czecho-Slovaks and the valiant and brave Czecho-Slovaks fighting against such disarming. The arms and ammunition in their possession belonged to Russia, and they had officially agreed to return them to their owners at Khabarovsk.

The fearless Czecho-Slovaks had quite an easy time of it at first, holding the cities and the railroad stations until the courageous Allies came to their "rescue." Any little company of palefaced boy and girl scouts from the tenements could perform this valiant exploit. There could not be any serious resistance, since the workers and peasants of Siberia were not prepared for any attacks on them, and had

put in all their energy to help feed the capitals and those little partisan detachments that were hurrying towards Ukraine, to save Russia from the German Kaiser. But not all over Siberia, however, was the job of paving the way for the coming of Kolchak such an easy matter for the Czecho-Slovaks.

In the Amur region our Soviets had at that time a few volunteer detachments to fight the Semionov bands. These were quickly joined by the peasants, workers, and Cossacks from the adjoining villages and cities, and the fight there lasted for many months. The fight is still going on there, a truly courageous fight, notwithstanding the fact that Japan has assembled there an army of from 70,000 to 80,000 men, with a few thousand soldiers of every possible nationality added into the bargain. At Irkutsk, one of the Black Hundred Russian officers had evidently had a little vodka, and so mixed up the secret orders given to him that he "spilled the beans" and started the attack on the Soviets a few days before the preconcerted time. This had operated as a signal for the workers and peasants to rally around the Red banner, and Irkutsk was taken only after months of severe fighting. It is not taken as yet, and when the Soviet army reaches Irkutsk, as it eventually will, it will come into its own territory, hailed by its own people. The same can be said of Krasnoyarsk, and, as a matter of fact, of every Siberian city, town, village, and hamlet, including Omsk, Kolchak's "seat of Government."

But to return to the valiant Czecho-Slovaks, and to their willingness to fight the battles of Kolchak.

We have mentioned before that at the outset two whole Czecho-Slovak regiments refused to take part in this "fight for Democracy" and were disarmed and sent off to Russian Island. We also mentioned that approximately eight thousand of them went over to the Red Army and that about four thousand of them rot in the Russian jails for refusing to fight the battles of Kolchak. On the railroad station of Razdelnie, for instance, a battle lasting many weeks took place in the early part of July, and this amounts in a sense, to a Czecho-Slovak civil war, as both sides were Czecho-Slovaks. And this was not the only battle among the Czecho-Slovaks. Besides, the whole Czecho-Slovak army in Siberia seems to have become very unreliable soon after that bloody adventure started, as the great majority of these forces were withdrawn from the fronts and turned into a sort of a police force, a task far from being honorable, but nevertheless less dangerous, we may add, by no means requiring much bravery. Even so, Professor Masaryk quite frequently sent them little letters from Washington, to reassure and quiet them, calling them "dear children," and assuring them that it was all for their own good,—telling them so to speak: the pill is very bitter but we have to swallow it.

Their Commanders seem to have lost their influence over the rank and file as early as October, 1918, since a special Chief Commander was sent to them, F. O. B., in the person of a French General named Maurice Janin, who announced, on the day of his landing in Siberia, that he was to be the real Chief, while the Czecho-Slovak Commander, General Stefanek, was to content himself with "directing the general political line," whatever that might mean. He also brought along with him a staff of his own, at the head of which was Colonel Buxenschutz, an Alsatian, once a military attaché to the Czar and therefore heralded as possessing a thorough knowledge of the New Russia. In his talk to several Czecho-Slovak units, this colonel tried to impress them with the necessity of military discipline and of the continuation of the fight in Russia, by the assertion that this war could by no means be the last, because he said, "it is impossible to conciliate the Wilsonian principles of self-determination of nations with the true facts."

After the armistice was signed, the Czecho-Slovaks obviously became terribly discouraged and something, besides a new Chief, was necessary to inject into them the sermon of valor. This something was given them in the form of a lot of decorations and medals, sent to their Generals, officers, and men, by King George of England. The little metal things were delivered by the English General Knox to the Czecho-Slovak General Sirovo, with the following telegram from the King as a supplement:

"I have watched with admiration the heroic exploits of the valiant Czecho-Slovak armies. I beg of you to transmit to them my earnest gratitude for the great service they have done in the common cause of the Allies, the cause that must be fought for to the end, so that Russia may remain a truly Russian power, and that peace, order, and tranquility again reign on earth, a cause truly important to civilization."

The great service to civilization, and the valiant deeds, in the common cause of the Allies, of the brave Czecho-Slovaks consisted at that moment, mainly in "freeing" the already "freed" territories not alone from Bolsheviks, but from all Right Socialist-Revolutionists, Mensheviks, or even Cadets, that would not hail Supreme Ruler Kolchak as the George Washington of Russia (as one American official is reported to have done the other day). But then some people at the very top do have peculiar ideas of what is order and civilization; we ordinary mortals may never understand them.

Further records state that all these remedies were of little avail. The infection was past cure, and in March and April of this year agents of the Czecho-Slovaks were to be found in many cities of Eastern and Central Siberia hunting for buildings that could be requisitioned by them for the purpose of quartering in them the men and officers returning from the fronts "for a rest," and actually requisitioning a few

buildings in Irkutsk for that purpose, that were until then exempted from such use; that is, schools, libraries, churches, houses of prayer, and other like buildings. And in April of this year the Czecho-Slovak War Minister, Stefanek, gave to his fellow-countrymen his solemn promise, before leaving for his native land, that everyone of them would be returned home within two months at most.

The Czecho-Slovak people, as much as we have seen of them before they were dragged in into that appalling bloody adventure, are a peace-loving and democratic people. Their sojourn in Siberia and other parts of Russia benefitted both them and the Russian masses. It was once a positive pleasure to watch these two peoples mingle, converse, intermarry, work together and share their adversities as well as their joys and thus bringing, into life, perhaps, a new Slavic culture containing the best elements of both cultures.

The Czecho-Slovaks have sinned much against their brothers in blood. Theirs has been the most abominable and abhorrent offence in history. But the Russian masses know that that they were unwilling tools in the hands of such people, for whom the shining light of our great Revolution was too blinding. And when this conflagration shall have passed the Russian masses, who will come out, in fact—who must come out victorious in the end, will not treasure up their guilt against them. The truly just and truly democratic Russian masses will never retaliate against a whole nation for the crimes of a few of their leaders, who condescended to become tools in the hands of the most unscrupulous imperialists.

Not long ago, an appeal from the Russian peasants and workers of Siberia to the working masses of America was published here. An identical appeal was promulgated from the same sources, i. e., from the Siberian workingmen's, peasants' and Cossack Soviets, on July 3rd, 1918, but fate willed that it should remain unannounced and unheeded.

Sometimes we shall translate and make known this appeal in full, if only for its historical value. Just now we shall quote a few lines from it.

"The Russian Counter-Revolutionists, thrown out of Russia by the powerful convulsions of our Revolution, have found refuge in foreign lands, where they are conducting an organized campaign of lies and provocations, in order to have foreign powers help them overthrow the government of the Soviets in Russia, and establish instead their autocratic government. . . .

"We know that the kept press, in the employ of the Imperialists, will always find ample means to spread lying information to cover up the true

base designs of the Imperialists, and it is not our intention to prove the falsity of all their machinations. . . . Again we call your attention to the fact that all the provocative rumors about the wholesale arming of the German military prisoners in Siberia, and their alleged preparations to seize Siberia for the Kaiser, were at the proper time totally refuted by official representatives of America and England. And again we announce that the Czecho-Slovaks will be given every opportunity to pass through Siberia on their way to their destination, at any time.

"We declare, that the endeavors of the Russian counter-revolutionists to bring about an interference, by the Allies, in our internal affairs, have evoked such an animosity and such a perturbation among the Russian workers and peasants, that any government, whether in Siberia or in Russia, that is being established by the help of foreign bayonets, is even more repulsive to the Russian masses than the one dethroned by the Revolution, the autocracy of Nicholas Romanoff, and will undoubtedly meet the same fate as did the autocracy of Nicholas Romanoff itself. . . . The workers of Japan, France, England, and America must make it clear to their Imperialistic governments that they will not tolerate the wholesale shooting, hanging, and imprisoning of the Russian workers, peasants, and Cossacks, and that they will not suffer the strangling of the Russian Revolution and the Russian Freedom. In the name of all the Russian workers, peasants, and Cossacks, we declare that the Russian masses will never stand for foreign domination in Siberia and will throw off the yoke that foreign Imperialism in combination with the Russian counter-revolutionists, are preparing for them. . . . Only over the bodies of the Russian people will foreign Imperialism penetrate Siberia. The Russian workers, peasants, and Cossacks will fight with arms in their hands, and until the last drop of their blood, against invasion by foreign armies, and for the independence of Siberia and Russia and for the maintenance of their revolutionary conquests."

This they do.

It is over a year since that bloody and criminal adventure started, and it is still being kept up by the Imperialists. But they will have to evacuate Russian territory and permit the Russian people to organize their lives in accordance with their own sovereign wishes.

It costs blood. Rivers of it. Rivers of our best, holiest, and noblest blood flow in the trail of the retreating invaders. But we shall conquer them. On their side is the imperialistic lust for usurpation and subjection. On our side is the right to our own self-determination, and our readiness to sacrifice our very lives for true freedom and eternal peace. Who dares doubt that we shall come out victorious in the end?

Against Intervention in Russia

A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FEDERATION OF THE SEINE

(The following is the text of a resolution passed on June 16th, by the Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation of the Seine, proposed by Citizen Oscar Bloch):

Text of the Bloch resolution:

The Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation of the Seine votes the following resolution:

WHEREAS, War which is defined in international public law, as a group of actions of violence performed by one state against another state in order to force the latter to submit to its will, is unquestionably the legal status of the present relations between France and Russia; and,

WHEREAS, this war has been undertaken on the initiative of the French Government; and,

WHEREAS, the right of waging war, in France, is fixed by article 9, of the Constitutional law of July 16, 1875, in the following terms:

"The President of the Republic may not declare war without the previous consent of the two Chambers," and,

WHEREAS, This consent was not obtained or even asked and this is in fact equivalent to a violation of the Constitution; and,

WHEREAS, while it is true that the above cited article 9, in requiring the previous consent of the two Chambers, is speaking of a declaration of war and not of war itself; and,

WHEREAS, the intention of the legislator cannot be in doubt, since to give the President of the Republic the right to wage war without the consent of the two Chambers on the simple condition of not declaring war, would be equivalent to giving him full powers to launch a war, which was very evidently what the legislator wished to prevent, and would completely nullify the intentions of Article 9; and,

WHEREAS, furthermore, the preparatory labors and the report presented by M. Laboulaye in the name of the Commission of the National Assembly (Volume 38, Proposed Laws, etc., page 223) clearly state this intention of preventing the President of the Republic, not only from declaring war, but also from undertaking it without consent of the two Chambers; and,

WHEREAS, the final version of the law, which makes use only of the general term "to declare war," is very well explained by the universal and deeply-rooted opinion, that in order to fulfill the preliminaries for the right to wage war, it is necessary that a war be preceded and introduced by a regular declaration of war; and,

WHEREAS, war, without a "preceding declaration" has always been reckoned not with war as such, but with acts of brigandage, thus making any

Government which should undertake such action guilty of an infraction of the nature of "high treason" and of a crime perpetrated in the exercise of its functions; and,

WHEREAS, violation of the Constitution as well as "crimes of high treason" and in a "general way," all crimes committed by ministers in the exercise of their functions are recognized in the Constitutional law of February 25, 1875, and by article 12, of the Constitutional law of July 16, 1875, by the terms of which both the President of the Republic and the ministers may and should in the proper circumstances be charged with such offenses by the Chamber of Deputies; be it herewith resolved:

First, to invite the C. A. P., the acting organ and the permanent representation of the Socialist Party, to obtain from the Socialist group in Parliament, immediately, a motion to present charges and vigorously to prosecute such charges by all its members, against the President of the Republic and the ministers guilty of the crime of undertaking and continuing the war against Russia;

(a) Without the consent of the two Chambers;

(b) Without having declared such war; and,

Second, to state the imperative and urgent necessity for the Socialist Party to fix the governmental responsibility before it permits the Socialist republics of eastern Europe to be crushed, and before it permits the so-called mutineers of the Black Sea fleet to be led to execution, and,

Third, to decide, in view of the urgency of the situation, to send a copy of the present remarks not only to the C. A. P., but also directly to the Socialist group in Parliament, in order to enable the latter to prepare immediately the necessary ways and means.

(Le Populaire, June 26, 1919.)

ITALIAN MINISTER MAKES A PROMISE

Milan, June 10th.—"Avanti" publishes the following telegram from the Minister of Transportation to the Commandant of the Port of Genoa:

"I authorize you to inform the Seamen's Union as follows: Your representatives at Rome have negotiated with us, and have arrived at an agreement, to the effect that the ship 'Fedora' is to go to Gibraltar, and there discharge its present cargo, after which it is to enter the normal transportation service of the Allies, and no longer to be used for transporting troops or war materials to be used against Russia. We must, therefore, immediately make the necessary arrangements with the representatives of the Allies to enable the ship to leave port."

The above note requires a little comment. It must be recalled that the "Fedora" had been anchored in the port of Genoa for several days, with

six thousand tons of explosive material on board, which were destined for Russia. The ship's crew suddenly declared that they would not go to sea except under the condition that the ship should not be used for transporting these materials of war to Russia. In discussing this message, "Avanti" emphasizes its importance, and declares that a precedent has thus been created which will prevent any Italian merchant ship hereafter from being used to transport soldiers or materials of war for use against the Russian people.

SWEDISH METAL-WORKERS DEMAND OPENING OF TRADE RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA

The Stockholm Trade-Union of Workers in the Metal Industry on Thursday waited upon the Minister of State with a petition in which they ask that the Government shall immediately re-open relations with Soviet Russia. In this document they pointed out that in consequence of the cessation of such relations there is great unemployment among the metal-workers, which prevents their organization from relinquishing its demands. The organization has therefore decided that, in case the government does not immediately take the steps which it requests, it will set in motion the necessary machinery for inaugurating a nation-wide agitation with this end in view.

The Minister of State made a number of objections, pointing out the alleged disorders in Russia, the lack of means of payment, etc., and expressing the hope that the conditions may become such as to permit a re-opening of the exchange of goods. The men then visited the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who promised to give an answer in writing after laying the matter before his Council.

(Stockholms Dagblad, Saturday, June 21st, 1919.)

Siberian Jews in Fear of Pogroms

The anti-Bolshevik Yiddish daily, "The Day," of New York, in its issue of July 14th, has a letter from its Siberian correspondent, B. Schumacher, on the anti-Semitic agitation in Siberia. We quote from this letter the substance of the address made by Mr. Ginzburg, in behalf of a delegation of the Jewish Community Council of Tomsk, which was received by the President of the Council of Ministers of the Kolchak government on April 23rd. While emphasizing the loyalty of the Siberian Jews to the Kolchak government and disclaiming any responsibility on the part of the Jews, as a race, for Bolshevism, the spokesman for the delegation charged the officials of the Siberian administration with inciting the populace to pogroms upon the Jews. He said in part:

"The Jewish Community Council of Tomsk has requested me to bring to your knowledge the alarm produced among the Jewish population by the recent occurrences. It is surely no secret to you that anti-Semitism has recently raised its head, and is spreading not only among the populace but in the army as well. Nor is it a secret to you that the instigators come mostly from quarters directly connected with the army and the higher officials. We have no doubt but that your answer will be of an encouraging nature. But your answer cannot calm us, for it will remain within four walls and it will not reach those for whom it ought to be a warning. We are not even convinced that we shall find enough friends in the press who will reprint your words. We know, moreover, that while calumnies and lies against the Jews are being circulated in thousands of leaflets, your friendly remarks addressed to the Jewish community of Omsk were published only in the 'Petropavlovski Vestnik'. We see clearly what we may expect in the near future.... But on the strength of our loyalty and endless sacrifices we demand that the government stop its passive attitude toward the Jewish problem and enter upon an active campaign against the growing danger."

The President of the Council of Ministers, after hearing Mr. Ginzburg, said that all these regrettable facts were known to him, and that the matter would be given due consideration.

PETLURA'S SOLDIERS CARRY ON POGROMS

The anti-Bolshevik Yiddish "Day" of New York, has the following cablegram from its European correspondent, N. Shifrin, under date of July 11th:

"Persons who have arrived in Copenhagen, tell about the cruelties of Petlura's soldiers, of which they have been eye witnesses. At the station Tchudnovolinsk, 36 Jews were killed in one car. In Dubno, they saw 18 Jews executed in the market place. In Rovno and Lutnik, they find daily two or three Jews murdered in their houses. Under the Ukrainian Soviet Government no pogroms have ever occurred anywhere."

SOVIETS PUT DOWN POGROMS

An interesting personal letter from Mr. Isaac Don Levine to his brother in Boston, was published in the Yiddish Daily "Forward," of New York, on July 4th. Mr. Levine says in part:

"As Dr. Brutzkus (a Russian Zionist leader) has told me, 100,000 Jews perished in the pogroms which spread over Ukraine in the months of March and April. . . . The pogroms to which I am referring were made by Petlura's 'Haidamaks' (soldiers).

"The Soviet government energetically fights all anti-Semitism and suppresses every anti-Semitic attempt with an iron hand. In Soviet Russia pogroms upon the Jews were attempted several times, but the Bolshevik government immediately suppressed those attempts."

The Situation in Russia

The following is a report (dated Budapest, June 12th) appearing in a German newspaper:

After a number of conversations which I had with Commander-in-Chief Böhm and People's Commissaire Tibor Samuely, who had just returned from Russia, I arrived at the conclusion that the situation of the Russian Soviet Government, and particularly that of the Russian Red Army, is very favorable. In spite of the tremendous efforts put forth by Entente Imperialism, and in spite of the hundreds of millions which the French Bourgeoisie has been spending in inciting counter-revolutionary adventures, the Russian Army, and consequently the Russian Revolution, is unconquerable. The Russian proletariat wants peace. It wants to devote itself to constructive work and is nevertheless obliged by Entente Imperialism to fight along a front of ten thousand kilometers. The heroic struggle of the Red Army has annihilated the plans of the Entente Imperialism. The lie-drive of the Entente cannot push back the army of the workers. The Soviet army is advancing on all fronts. Thus the workers and peasants have gained a complete victory over the Krassnov army. General Krassnov committed suicide in desperation. A Korniloff regiment consisting of four thousand officers has been destroyed.

On the Amur, the Cossacks have joined the Red Army. The Crimea and Ukraine are almost entirely under the rule of the workers' battalions. The gangs under Grigorieff, who murdered four thousand Jews in Proskurov, and eight hundred and fifty in Vinetza, have been annihilated.

Within the last week, the Red Army advanced two hundred kilometers and made thirty thousand prisoners. The Kolchak army, which has made itself famous by the White Terror it has practiced in Siberia, is retreating in panic.

The Ukrainian Red Army has crossed the Dniester, and is nearing Kishineff. The Finnish and Swedish White Guards, who had come within thirty kilometers of Petrograd, have been thrown back to forty-five kilometers. The Petrograd proletariat is fighting at the front, heroically defending the seat of the revolution. On the Galician front, the Red Guard is effectually combating the Polish and Roumanian White Guards.

Before the Greek soldiers withdrew from Khereson, they perpetrated unheard-of atrocities. The counter-revolutionary province of Yaroslav, a center for conspiracies, has been captured. After serious struggles, the Bolsheviks are advancing in the Kuban and in the Ural against the bandit Mannov.

The food conditions are not good, as the peasants are leaving the fields in order to go to the front. In Siberia there are three counter-revolutionary governments. Kolchak rules from the Urals to Lake Baikal; Semionov from there to Manchuria; Horvat over all Manchuria.

MONARCHISTS SUPPORTING KOLCHAK

The "Narodnaya Gazeta," in its issue of July 3rd, has an article from Mr. Kovalski, an anti-Bolshevik emigré, who was identified with the Omsk government and has recently arrived in New York. According to him the "reactionary elements" of Omsk are led by "such men as Prince Kropotkin, an Octobrist of the purest water,* and Professor Weinberg, who declared from the platform of the regional Siberian Duma at the time of the Directory, (preceding the dictatorship of Kolchak), that the Russian people thirsts for a Czar. They are confirmed monarchists, dreaming of the restoration of monarchy with a limited constitution and a restricted popular representation."

The characteristic feature of their policy is "dis-trust of the zemstvo and municipal self-government, and a struggle against democracy on all fronts. They are building up the reactionary ranks chiefly with former officers of the Imperial Guard, former gendarmes (officials of the political police), and former large landed proprietors who have fled to Siberia. . . . It was they that had a hand in the November coup d'état of Omsk."

These elements are the main support of Kolchak. "They are planning to restore to the throne one of the former Grand Dukes. They accuse the intelligentsia of the destruction of the Imperial Monarchy and promise a White (or rather a Black) Terror in place of the Red Terror. The assassination of Novosiolov, Moiseyenko, Mayevski, Bruderer, Kirilenko, Rogov, and Fomin (all radical leaders who supported the Ufa Government) in Siberia is their handiwork."

Recently the Kolchak forces have been joined by the Cossack leader Semionov, whom the writer describes as "a Monarchist who is in active communication with the monarchist reactionary groups in Japan, Harbin, Shanghai, Paris, and in the northern Caucasus."

SALVAGE OPERATIONS AT ODESSA

Moscow, April 24, (Soviet Radio). It is reported from Odessa that the administrative board of the port has decided immediately to undertake work aiming at the raising of steamers sunk in the Odessa region during the war. At Odessa itself is the sunken "Patagonia," a large English ocean liner and around Ochakov are the "Mary," "Express," "Mercury" and some small foreign vessels. With the aid of specialists, the lifting would not make any difficulties. The value of the sunken ships is enormous. It is hoped by the Soviet authorities that they may be in good condition.

* This is not the famous anarchist and writer, Peter Kropotkin.

The Food Situation in Soviet Russia

The following details were supplied by a messenger of the Third International who left Moscow, on May 20th, and came to England via Petrograd.

THERE is plenty of food in Russia to feed the people. There is a surplus in the Ukraine and the Volga district which is more than enough to supply the north and northwest and the industrial districts of Petrograd and Moscow. Scarcity in the parts of Russia where little food is produced is only due to counter-revolutionary fighting, and the railways being largely monopolized by the transport of troops.

The Allies are to blame for this and for their seizure of the oil at Baku which is needed for railway and river transport. Russia has been longer in a state of war than any country. Nevertheless by the great efforts made by the Russian people through their Soviets, and especially since the recovery of the Ukraine the situation has rapidly improved.

BREAD

Bread is rationed as follows:

1st class: heavy manual workers — 1 lb. of bread per day.

2nd class: sedentary workers — $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of bread per day.

3rd class: those who refuse to work — $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. of bread per day.

These rations are in practice usually exceeded and are sometimes doubled.

The bread is made of rye, which is the bread most commonly eaten in Russia, and indeed all over the Continent, and is more nutritious than the wheaten bread eaten in Britain. White bread is obtainable in the Ukraine and Volga districts. The rye bread which forms the ration is now of excellent quality and unadulterated. Last year it was mixed with oats and other things.

In addition to the fixed ration bread and flour can be obtained in two other ways. It can be bought from private speculators, who still exist in Russia. (The people say it is as difficult to clear them out of Russia as to clear bugs out of a house.) The speculators charge enormous prices. The rationed bread costs two roubles per pound: that seems a big price, but the cost of the rouble has fallen tremendously, and a rouble is worth less in Russia even than outside. The unrationed bread bought from speculators costs 20, 25, even 30 roubles per pound.

The second way of obtaining bread beyond the ration is only open to workers: a factory or an office arranges to import a supply of flour from the Ukraine and when it comes it is divided equally amongst all the workers in the factory or office. The amount which any group of workers may import is limited, but the limit is large enough not to be reached. These consignments come often enough

for the workers never to be in want of bread. Such opportunities are not open to the bourgeois who refuses to work. Therefore he is forced to exist on his quarter of a pound daily ration or to buy from the speculators.

MEAT, FISH, VEGETABLES

Meat is scarce, except horse meat, of which there is plenty, but which is not liked by the people. Invalids have the first share of the meat, the rest of the population being served later.

Fish in Moscow has always been scarce and of indifferent quality owing to the city's geographical situation. The supply of vegetables varies according to the season and transport facilities.

SUGAR

Sugar is scarce, but it has to be remembered that before the war no people consumed so little as the Russians, though great quantities of sugar were exported from Russia.

MILK

Milk is rationed, and can also be bought from speculators at a high price. It goes first to the children, but comrades in whose households there are no children are able to buy milk every day in Moscow.

Of wood and leather there is no special scarcity in Central Russia, but oil, owing to the English capture of Baku, is scarce in every part of Russia, not merely for transport, but for domestic use. This is no novelty, for the peasants never had oil to burn in their houses. They used to have only about 16 to 20 roubles a month. Before the war they ate little and exported much. Now they have better food than any other class. The industrial workers also have much better food than before.

There is no grumbling at the price of food because the people know that the food they buy with coupons is cheaper than in any capitalist country relatively to wages and the value of money. There is no want and no hunger.

A leaflet published by the People's Russian Information Bureau, of London.

COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DOCUMENTS SEIZED

London, June 24th.—A Soviet wireless message announces that a "Red" torpedo boat has captured a steamer in the Caspian Sea, having on board a courier, on whose person some correspondence between General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak was found. These documents will be published.

ANTI-ENGLISH TROUBLES IN KURDISTAN

Moscow, June 22nd.—(From our correspondent)

The last Moscow dispatches confirm the sending of British troops to Persian frontier to fight the Soviet Republic, and announce that the inhabitants of the mountain regions south of the Caspian, have revolted and are carrying on a guerrilla warfare against the English.—"Le Populaire," June 25th.

The Fate of Russians from the French Front

A Letter to the Editor

Sir: Permit me to call your attention to a matter bearing on the subject of the Allied treatment of the Russian citizens that were once fighting the battles of the Allies on the French front, and now appear to be outside the pale of the law.

The story is told in three small items, appearing in "Novosty Zhizni," of Harbin, dated February 18, 23, and 27, 1919, respectively, which are quoted here.

"Letters reaching here from Vladivostok state that there have arrived from France, on four transports, 21,000 Russian soldiers who took part in the war on the French Front. The whole division came armed and equipped for action, but on the way to Vladivostok the men had declared collectively to their Commanders that they would not take part in the 'political war' in Siberia, and had demanded that they be sent to their homes on their arrival in port. They, likewise, refused to turn in their arms. In view of this rather unique 'neutrality' on the part of the 21,000 Russian soldiers, an order was given to all four transports to anchor in the open sea, somewhere off the Russian Island."

"Word came from Vladivostok that besides these 21,000, another transport with 6,000 more Russian soldiers, is expected there from France tomorrow or the day after."

"An official statement as to the result of the parleys with the Russian soldiers who have returned from France was refused by the authorities. The Vladivostok newspapers were forbidden to publish anything in connection with this subject."

It would be highly interesting to know what they have done with these 27,000 Russian citizens that have fought the Germans, but have refused to shed the blood of their brothers in Siberia. Were they surrounded, as was done by Denikin in a similar case on the Don, and simply exterminated by artillery fire, or were the transports bearing them sent to the bottom of the sea with all on board, or were they—an extremely unlikely event—allowed to return to their homes? Mr. Embry, who seems to be very well posted on Siberian affairs, should be able to throw some light on this ghastly subject.

Respectfully yours,

MAX M. ZIPPIN.

FOREIGNERS IN THE SOVIET ARMY

Among the peculiar falsifications that have been used to discredit the Red Army is the assertion that it consists largely of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Letts and Chinese. To be sure, the presence of foreigners in the army of a Republic based on the

principles that lie at the foundation of the Soviet Republic, would be neither surprising nor disgraceful, but, since the statement is one that has been going the rounds in anti-Soviet papers for a long time, it is perhaps simplest to call attention to the fact that it is a falsehood. As early as January 9, 1919, when this story was still in its infancy, the following wireless from Moscow contained a reference to it. By the way, it will interest American readers to learn that the original of this wireless message was forwarded from Moscow in English.

"The counter-revolution, of which the position is being more and more shattered, has recourse to falsehoods in order to do more harm to the cause of the revolution. Just now it is spreading the most absurd falsehood about supposed operations of armies of the Russian Soviet Republic in the Ukraine.

"Among other things, it is spreading the laughable tale about the supposed operations of an army of Hungarian prisoners, Chinese and Letts, alleged to have been sent against the Ukraine by the Russian Soviet Government. The Hungarian prisoners are either already at home or on their way to their country. No Chinese and Letts fight on Ukrainian soil.

"There is civil war in Ukraine, but it is carried on by the Revolutionary Ukrainian Soviet Government, consisting of Ukrainians. These armies are getting stronger every day. The masses of the working people of the Ukraine are more and more gathering around the Ukrainian revolutionary Soviets. Seeing their danger the counter-revolutionaries are attempting to throw a shadow and disparagement upon the growing Ukrainian popular movement. The Government of the Russian Soviet Republic declares that it is not waging war in the Ukraine and that no army of theirs operates on Ukrainian territory."

FINLAND AND RUSSIA

By Phedon

News arriving from Helsingfors informs us that the situation of the former Russian capital, Petrograd, is much less endangered than is generally stated. In fact, the headlines of our Czarist or our Kolchakist papers—it is six of one and half a dozen of the other—has never inspired me with anything but mistrust. For eighteen months, the immediate downfall of the Soviet government has been predicted. Hardly had it taken possession of great Russia, than its fall was already announced. And it seems that in January, 1919, it was not much worse off than in January, 1919; one is forced to admit that it must harbor peculiar and important virtues to be able to resist for so long a time a destruction of such constant imminence. But the news that is

telegraphed from Helsingfors deserves examination. Petrograd was threatened neither by the Russian-English corps at Archangel, which will never advance very far, nor by Kolchak, who is now looking towards Asia rather than towards Europe; so that there is nothing more foolish than to speak of an encircling of Petrograd. The danger might come from Yudenich or from Mannerheim. Now, the latter has been neutralized by several causes.

First, his dictatorial velleities are striking against serious resistance, both in the Finnish Diet and in the country itself, in which the Socialist Party represents a real power.

Second, the Finnish cabinet which is disputing with Sweden on the question of the Aland Islands, has grasped the necessity of being prudent.

Third, Mannerheim hesitates to undertake an operation in the East which would be of no value to him, since Yudenich would deprive him of the fruit of the fight.

Fourth, the taking of Petrograd remains an operation which would transcend his powers. In short, Petrograd will not fall unless the Allied governments send tens of thousands of men to this front. Everything disposes us to believe that they will be stopped by a veto on the part of the international proletariat.

(Le Populaire, June 26th.)

Economic Notes on Soviet Russia

SMALL METAL TRADES

The Supreme Council of National Economy considered the condition of the small metal working shops (*Kustari*). From a report submitted by one of the experts of the Council, it appears that the small scale production of metallic articles still holds an important place in Russian industry. Nails, axes, chains, knives, locks, hardware, etc., are produced in small artisan shops. The principal center of these handicrafts is the Pavlovo region of the province of Nizhni Novgorod. Before the war there were about 25,000 workers employed in those shops; from six to seven thousand of that number were filling orders for larger factories. The handicraft production, however, has been well nigh superceded by factory production. The chief articles, such as knives, scissors, axes, razors, etc., are nowadays produced in factories. It may be said that all metal trades are in one way or another connected with factories.

With the beginning of the war the condition of the small metal trades became very critical. A number of establishments took up war work. Difficulties in the supply of raw materials and fuel interfered however with their operations.

Recently a number of districts have appealed for aid to the Metal Division of the Supreme Council of National Economy. The question was discussed at a Committee meeting of the Metal Division. It was thought necessary to ascertain those branches which could develop into large scale factory industries, and to work out a plan for supplying those branches with raw material. It was recommended that the following industries should be encouraged:

The factory production of knives, scissors, locks, razors, axes, chains, wire screens, sieves for flour mill and paper factories, hardware, articles of jewelry, and trays. On the contrary, the production of cast iron and the manufacturing of locks, knives, samovars, etc. on a small scale, must be stopped as a waste of material.

After considering this report the committee adopted a plan for the establishment of a special section of metal handicrafts. It will be the object of the Section to combine the scattered small metal trades into co-operative associations, and to encourage the transformation of that industry into a factory industry.

(From the Official Organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy, *Economicheskaya Zhizn*,—February 18, 1919.)

SUGAR REFINING IN THE NORTHERN PROVINCES

(Reported from Vologda)

An interesting question has been raised as to the utilization of a portion of the cultivated area for the sowing of beets and for the organization of independent sugar refining in the North.

Last year a desyatine in the Vologda province was yielding from 1,500 to 2,000 poods of beets, the beets containing as much as 12.7% of sugar. The cultivation of one desyatine, the seeds, and the harvesting, cost on the average 2,000 rubles; assuming 1,500 poods as the average yield of a desyatine, the cost price of a pood of beets amounts thus to 1 ruble and 35 kopecks.

According to estimates, 10 poods of beets are needed to get 1 pood of sugar. The production of one pood of sugar will cost 50 rubles.

Thus the cost price of one pood of sugar will be 63 rubles 50 kopecks, or 1 ruble 50 kopecks for a pound (Russian).

SUGAR FROM THE UKRAINE

In connection with the occupation of Kiev and a part of the province of Kiev by the Ukrainian Red Armies, a possibility is afforded of exporting a larger amount of sugar than had been assigned formerly for export. The Produce Central expects to export not 5, but 7 million poods of sugar.

READING MATTER ON SOVIET RUSSIA

The Bureau of Information of Soviet Russia receives so many requests for information of a general nature concerning the present social, political and economic programs of the Soviet Government, that it has asked us to insert a list of books and other publications that deal with these subjects in a truthful manner. We take pleasure in calling the student's attention to the following pamphlets, books, and articles:

Pamphlets

Published by the Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York.

The Russian Constitution.

Decrees of the Russian Government.

Reprints of Articles on Russia.

Russian Land Law, price 10 cents each.

Published by Rand School, 7 East 15th St., N. Y.

A. R. Williams, The Bolsheviks and the Soviets, 10 cents.

Lenin, N., The Soviets at Work, 25 cents.

Published by the Socialist Publication Society, 243 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

One Year of Revolution, 15 cents.

Price, M. P., The Soviet, the Terror, and Intervention, 10 cents.

Price, M. P., The Old Order in Europe and the New Order in Russia, 10 cents.

Radek and Ransome on Russia, 5 cents.

Trotsky, Leon, From October to Brest-Litovsk, 35 cents.

Lenin, N., The State and Revolution, 50 cents.

Educational Decrees and Other Educational Documents of the Soviet Government, 25 cents.

Published by the New Republic, 421 W. 21st Street, New York

Ransome, An Open Letter to America.

Published by the Dial, 152 West 13th St., New York.
A Voice Out of Russia, 10 cents.

Published by the People's Institute, 1256 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Trotsky, Leon, What Is a Peace Program? 5 cents.

Lenin, N., Lessons of the Revolution, 10 cents.

Published by The Melting Pot, 809 Pontiac Building, St. Louis, Mo.

Voices from Russia, 25 cents.

Books

E. A. Ross, Russia in Upheaval.

Bryant, Louise, Six Red Months in Russia.

Beatty, Bessie, The Red Heart of Russia.

Reed, John, Ten Days That Shook the World.

Lenin and Trotsky, The Proletarian Revolution in Russia (published by the Revolutionary Age, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.), paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.50.

Ransome, "Six Weeks in Russia, in 1919," published by Huebsch, N. Y., \$1.50.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

Address:

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110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
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Articles

"The Liberator," November, December, 1918; January to July, 1919.

"The Survey," February 1, 1919.

"The Public," January 25, 1919.

"The Intercollegiate Socialist," February-March, 1919.

"The Class Struggle," all issues since beginning of publication in June, 1917.

"The Metropolitan Magazine," June, July, 1919.

"The Revolutionary Age," Boston; most of the issues since beginning publication in November, 1918.

"The New York Communist," No. 1-10, 1919.

"Hearst's Magazine," June, 1919.

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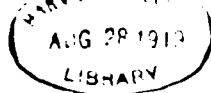
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA, By M. Philips Price	1	EDITORIALS	8
RUSSIAN RAW MATERIALS AND AMERICAN BUSINESS	4	THE MILITARY SITUATION IN RUSSIA	11
"NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN"	6	JAPANESE TERROR IN SIBERIA	13
THE FRENCH IN RUSSIA	7	OFFICIAL MURDER BY BRITISH OFFICERS	13
SOVIET RADIOGRAMS	7	IN SEMIONOV'S PARADISE, By Joseph Eisenberger	14
		ITALY OPPOSED TO THE KOLCHAK ADVENTURE	15

The Truth About Soviet Russia

By M. Philips Price

(First Instalment)

AT the end of the eighteenth century the French people after two hundred years of embittered struggle threw off the tyranny of a feudal aristocracy. During this struggle they were surrounded by armed forces of a coalition of European kings, who had invaded France to subject her people to that slavery from which they had just freed themselves. Prussian peasants shed their blood in the Argonnes that Royalty might once more oppress the French people. British seamen died at Toulon that feudal seigneurs might rule again at Versailles. Looking back on these times today we recognize that the rôle of the English and German governments during the French Revolution was not a creditable one.

A little over a century has passed. Mediaevalism has given way to modern bourgeoisdom; the Divine Right of Kings to the Divine Right of Mammon. Russia, which has never been touched by the purging fire of the French Revolution, has groaned under a three-fold tyranny—a theocratic Tsarism, the relic of her proximity to Asia; an agrarian feudalism, which had escaped the European conflagration of last century; a middle class, grown up under the influence of Western industrialism, but demoralized and corrupted by its two companions. At the beginning of this century, the governing power in Russia rested on these three rotten pillars—two of them, decaying relics of a bygone age; the third an abortion of modern bourgeoisdom. It could not last long, but was bound to collapse from its own internal weakness. How did the governments of England, France and Germany treat the new Russia, which, phoenix-like, rose from the ruins of the old? History will prove that they treated the new Russia as shamefully as the governments of England and

Prussia treated the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century.

The Russian Revolution, like every great popular movement was set in motion by vast, elemental, anarchic forces, which had been pent up throughout the ages and like a lava-flow burst the overlying crust of convention, unreality and insincerity. Everyone was discontented with Tsarism. The war caused untold miseries. Famine, for which the Bolsheviks are accused of being the authors, was already raging in the autumn of 1916, and got steadily worse under Kerensky, as the war, like a great pump, sucked the life blood out of the country's industries. I know from my own observation as a war correspondent that after the summer of 1916, the Russian army was no longer fit for the offensive, owing to the impossibility in an economically undeveloped country of feeding and supporting fifteen million soldiers. By the winters of 1915-16 and 1916-17, when no one in Russia but the intellectuals had heard of the Bolsheviks, the principal towns of central Russia were filled with deserters. One of the Tsars retired diplomats even admitted in the columns of the "Novaya Zhizn," in July, 1917, that the Russian Revolution was nothing more than a mass uprising against the war. But it was something besides.

The working classes of the Russian towns used to live in conditions of want and misery probably without parallel in Europe. They were forced to work such long hours that they often dropped of fatigue. They were systematically underfed. The factories where they worked were simply spy-dens. Nor was the peasant's lot any better. Half the land of Russia belonged to the landlords, the Church and the Imperial family, and that was the best half. On

it the peasants had to work like serfs. The rest of the land, much of it forest and swamp, was left to them to get what they could out of it. The corn produced on the good land (a large percentage of the cereal production of Russia) was systematically exported under the bounty system to pay for Tsarist warships and armaments, while the peasants in the villages nearby were often starving. Add to this the miseries of the three years of war and it is not difficult to see why, as soon as the rumor got about that over the length and breadth of the gigantic plain that "little father Tsar" was no more, that policemen had been locked up by the workmen in Petrograd, that Cossacks had gone over to the masses, that the spell-binding discipline, born of fear, vanished. Everywhere throughout the land in those days squads of soldiers got together to talk things over. Groups of workmen hung about the factory shops and peasants crowded round the village commune building. The same word was on everyone's lips. "What next?" These thousands of informal meetings that took place from the Baltic provinces to the Pacific coast, from the Arctic circle to the oases of Turkestan, were not summoned by anyone. They were the creation of the free spirit of man, which had just burst the bonds of an archaic, now useless form of society. They were the first rude instruments, now anarchic, soon to be organized, which were to build the new order of society. They were in fact the embryo Soviets.

For the new social order the first necessity was to create a new discipline. The informal gatherings of workmen, soldiers and peasants which were called Soviets (the Russian name for a Council) had now this task before them. In Petrograd on the second day of the March revolution the garrison soldiers issued an order that there was to be no more saluting officers, that no order was to be obeyed unless it was countersigned by the Soldiers' Soviet. Inasmuch as the bulk of the officers and all the generals were known to be Monarchists or at the best only supporters of a bourgeois republic the necessary measures had to be taken to protect the Workers' Revolution. "What is the meaning of this war with Germany?" began to come from a thousand throats. "Is there no means of stopping it by appealing to the German soldiers directly," they argued. Surely a natural and obvious, if somewhat unconventional thing for war weary soldiers to do. Soldiers using Soviets to fraternize with people whom they no longer wished to fight, became now a common phenomenon. No one had heard of Bolshevism in these days.

In the factories, meetings were held and committees elected. The latter were to see to it that wages kept pace with the cost of living. They were to look into the proprietors' books and see how much war profit was being made and lop off enough to fill up that ever narrowing margin between weekly wages and weekly expenses. And was the peasant with his *dessyatine* of land, on which he had to starve, going to allow the rich black earth near by

to fill the barns of the "baryn"? Here too the spell was broken, the "Zemsky Nachalnik" (chief of the county administration) was sitting in the local jail, whither he was used to send others. The fruits of that seigneur land were to go to the peasants' barns that year. And they went—somewhat anarchically it is true, and not without heartburnings as to how much should go to each peasant.

By the summer of 1917, the class which considered itself the rightful successors to the Tsarist heritage—the bourgeoisie, manufacturers, and war-profit parvenus—began to recover from the shock of this revolution, which had gone so far past what they considered respectable. Girondin-like, they began to organize resistance to "anarchy," to insist on discipline in the army, to demand that every citizen of the republic should carry out his patriotic duty. Alas! what duty? To shoot at and be shot at by German workmen in order that Russian war-profit parvenus should dominate at Constantinople and French bankers exploit the Alsace-Lorraine iron mines! No, the time for this had gone by. The spell had been broken. The people now must know the reason why they were to die. But the Russian bourgeoisie could not read the signs of the times. The Mene-Tekel hand was writing on the wall, but they could not see it. Desperate, they organized the Korniloff rebellion, which only aggravated the strife. This rebellion first showed the real power of the Soviets. The soldiers' committees put their men into the field telegraphs, they had their comrades on the railways. No message of the counter-revolution passed. Their messages for help and instructions flew all over Russia. The counter-revolution vanished, but the war did not. Winter was coming down. The soldiers came to the Soviet offices and said: "start negotiations with the Germans for a general peace; we shall stay in the trenches till the first snows and after that we go home with our rifles and divide up the landlords' land." No, it was not Bolsheviks who said this; Lenin at the time was in hiding and accused by the very soldiers who were saying this of being a German spy. Lenin's friends, who had control of most of the soldiers' Soviets, by September, 1917, were trying to calm these war-weary soldiers and indeed, when they came into power in October, they exhorted them to remain in the trenches and not anarchically to demobilize and turn Russia into a chaos. A mighty power—the will to international solidarity, had laid hold of the psychology of the Russian masses. That power was manifesting itself in disorderly, anarchic ways, because it was crude, elemental, and sprung from the masses themselves. If the Bolsheviks had not put themselves at the head of that movement, some other unknown group would have done so and have become world famous. The Bolsheviks, finding the movement there, led and directed it into orderly channels, and seeing the Soldiers' Soviets, those informal bodies, which had sprung up spontaneously in the first days of the Revolution, used them as the channels through which their will could be expressed to the outer world.

All through the summer of 1917, Petrograd and Moscow workmen tried to better their conditions through their own elected factory or shop stewards' committees. But every step they took to control the actions of the employers was met by counter-measures of sabotage and often of open resistance by "white guards," hired by the employers to defend the "sacred rights of property." Heads of the shop stewards' committees were arrested and sent off to the army, raw materials hidden and the men locked out on the plea of no work to be done. The workers replied by organizing Red Guards, seizing the factories and trying to run themselves without a staff and without technical knowledge. Chaos increased. One group of workmen often struggled with another group in the attempt to get hold of the much needed raw materials. Meanwhile, famine became worse and worse and the Workers' Soviets were in danger of turning into committees for grabbing whatever they could get for their own members. Then the Bolsheviks came along, and in October, when they came into power to control the Soviets, gave the latter political as well as economic power, as an organized proletarian mass.

And so with the peasants. During the summer of 1917, the landlords and their agents among the war-profiters parvenus organized a resistance to the peasant land committees. Peasant elders were arrested and thrown into prison, some were even shot. The peasants replied by sacking the landlords' mansions. Anarchy was raging in the provinces long before the Bolsheviks came into power in October. The latter, restraining the righteous indignation of the peasants, declared their informal committees, the first fruits in the villages of the March Revolution, to be the legal authority, possessing the right to take the landlords' land and work it in the interests of the whole community. Long and difficult has been the struggle of the Bolsheviks with the disorderly forces among the Russian peasantry. The latter, divided into rich and poor, struggled among themselves for the landlords' land, split up into two contending factions—one, of small proprietors and rich speculators, the other of laborers or those peasants who hire no labor. The latter group became the "committees of the poorer peasantry," or the reconstituted rural Soviets, whose duty it became to stop the disorderly scramble for land and to create the new communal system of land tenure. Thus the seed sown in the soil of anarchic revolt germinated into the young shoot, which fed in the atmosphere of order and discipline.

The Struggle With Foreign Imperialism

The regeneration of Russia could only begin when once the Soviets had completed their development and come to the zenith of their political power. After October, 1917, it seemed that order, through the Soviets would prevail over the chaos bred in the first days of the March Revolution. For the working classes, schooling themselves in their factory and village committees, were fighting famine and

struggling to raise production. But the war was still nominally going on with the Prussian war lords. The country was open to any tyrant that chose to walk in. The soldiers had nearly all gone from the front by Christmas, 1917. The Bolshevik leaders of the Soviets had now the most terrific task before them. They had to secure some sort of peace in order to give the ruined and exhausted land a breathing space and the workers a chance to repair the damage of the war.

There will probably be nothing more tragic in history than the picture of Russia struggling with the German war-lords and deserted by the Allies. Not possessing any material resources to enforce the justice of his cause, Trotsky relied upon the conscience and sense of justice of the Western world. This was the time when the Allies, if they had known the day of their visitation, if they had understood what was the driving force of the true Russia, would have declared their peace program and, sustaining Trotsky, would have exposed to the world the cynical intrigues of the Prussian militarists. The Allied governments did not do this because they could not. They did not dare face their people and tell them that they had plans of conquest. The moment for uniting the moral front of the Allies with that of revolutionary Russia passed. It never came again.

Revolutionary Russia was thus left alone in the world to face the German war-lords. Two courses were open to it. It could either play the idealist and decline to accept any peace which did not embody its principles in toto; or it could pursue Real-Politik and, estimating all the forces which were making for the internal breakup of their enemies, could make an agreement with them as a temporary expedient. In the days preceeding the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace, two very fundamental human impulses were struggling together inside the Russian Revolution. The one was altruistic, ready for self-sacrifice, Brunnhilda-like, upon the flaming pyre of an idea. The other was wise and calculating, prepared to save what could be saved now in order to gain the surer in the end. The struggle between these two impulses, old as the human race itself, was reflected in the controversy between those among the Russian revolutionaries, who would sign the Brest-Litovsk peace and those who would not. The left socialist-revolutionaries and the anarchists in Russia, like artists, lived only for their ideals, which they would have realized at once or else would perish. The greater part of the Bolsheviks, and the hungry masses following Lenin, lived not only for their ideals but for the means to realize them. The former, rather than sign the Brest-Litovsk peace, renounced all claim to participation in the government and resorted to acts of individual terror in the hopes of striking fear into the breasts of the tyrants. The latter recoiled, *pour mieux sauter*, fostered their forces till the day came when they knew they could strike.

The Prussian warlords, not because they wanted to, but because they had to, gave a breathing space

to the Russian Revolution. For they were engaged in playing their last card in a terrific onslaught on France. Revolutionary Russia is accused of being responsible for this onslaught, but I submit that its tactics did more than anything else to break the power of Prussian militarism. The very fact that the politically non-conscious elements of the German people got a taste of peace on the East front, broke their will to war. "If we can have peace with Russia," their minds instinctively argued, "why can we not have it also with the Allies." But month after month went by and they began to see that the German army must either conquer the world or else make a compromise peace. They knew they could not do the former, because of America; their own warlords would not let them do the latter. But the example of the peace with Russia was before them, and seeing it, their spirit of rebellion against the war rose ever stronger. The German towns began to fill with deserters, workers struck, discipline collapsed, and with it the army. And the

Russian revolutionaries knew how to make use of this new psychology in the German people's mind. The peace on the East front was made use of to flood the Ukraine with Bolshevik agents, who spread revolutionary literature broadcast and who, within a few months, had turned the Kaiser's glorious "Heer im Osten" into a little better than a hybrid between a rabble and a revolutionary committee. M. Joffe, while playing at diplomacy with the Kaiser's Ministers, was distributing pamphlets right and left, calling upon the German proletariat to overthrow their tyrants. The fear and hatred in which the propertied classes of Germany hold Bolshevik Russia can be seen by the fact that at the moment of writing, Russian Bolsheviks are now pining in German prisons, are hunted like hares, and murdered by the armed hooligans of the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske government of "socialist" Germany. I ask an unprejudiced observer: Does this look as if the Bolsheviks are the agents of German Imperialism?

(To be Continued)

Russian Raw Materials and American Business

PROOF that the leading American firms desire to sell their wares to Soviet Russia was given in a previous issue of this magazine. Extracts from typical letters from the largest concerns in the country showed that American business men are ready and willing to meet to the limit of their capacity the urgent need in Russia for goods of foreign manufacture. Only the refusal of the United States Government to allow exports to Russia holds back the meeting of these powerful human and economic forces—Russia's need and America's desire.

But these are not the only forces that beat upon the walls of the Russian blockade.

Just as there is a banked-up reservoir of American manufactured goods ready to find its level in Russia's shortage, so there is a reservoir of surplus raw materials in Russia straining to find its level in the demands of the United States. Just as the files of the Commercial Department reflect this situation in the desire of American business men to send their goods to Russia, so also do they show that American firms are eager to secure the vast supplies of raw materials which the Soviet Government as sole exporter for the Russian people has now on hand for distribution in foreign parts.

Russia has always had a trade balance in her favor. That is to say, she has exported to other countries more than she has imported from them. Russian trade has been an exchange of raw materials for manufactured products with the balance distinctly in her favor. Russia exceeds any other country in the world in the production of flax, rye, oats, hemp, barley, platinum, and timber. She has exported vast quantities of these commodities as well as other materials produced in Russia on a large scale, such as hides, dairy products, bristles, licorice, sugar, wheat and other goods.

Previous to the war Germany controlled 33 per cent of all exports from Russia. A large proportion of these exports were re-exported from Germany to other countries, Germany acting as broker or middleman. German brokers with the aid of the Imperial Bank were, before the war, in a strategic position to finance Russian trade transactions. Now that the war is over, German interests are making strenuous efforts to resume their control of Russian trade.

The nationalization of foreign trade by the Soviet Government has, however, enabled Russia to finance her trade in direct negotiations with buyers and sellers in other countries. German competition and the increased facilities for direct relations with Russia are an added stimulus to American trade at the present time.

In spite of the exhaustion due to the world war and to the utter disorganization of economic life, which the Soviet régime inherited from the Czar and Kerensky, and from the vast dislocation of revolutionary change, the Soviet government in behalf of the Russian masses has accumulated large stores of these raw materials. They are piling up in Russian ports in increasing rates as the reconstruction of the country's economic machines proceeds and the Allied blockade keeps back their normal flow in export trade.

An official wireless dispatch in the latter part of May from the Soviet Government stated that large stocks of merchandise were then ready for exportation. Included amongst these, the dispatch stated, were over 3½ million poods (approximately 56,250 tons) of flax, hemp and other merchandise.

The following excerpts from the Soviet Bureau's files show the kind of demand among American business men for Russian raw materials.

As 97% of the world's output of platinum is produced in Russia, American firms are especially anxious to buy this commodity from the Soviet Government, the sole Russian exporter. A leading manufacturing and importing chemical concern with headquarters in New York and branches in all the largest cities, writes as follows:

"..... We are purchasers at all times of platinum and its allied metals....."

"If you have anything to offer in the line of platinum or iridium, we should be pleased to know what quantities you have and what prices could be made on arrival in New York....."

"If we can give you any further information regarding this matter, we will be only too pleased to reply to any communication you may address to us."

Another firm interested in platinum writes:

"..... As one of the two or three largest purchasers of platinum in this country, we are interested in buying Russian platinum....."

"We purchase many thousands of ounces of platinum. The quantity we would be interested in importing at present depends upon the rate of delivery, price and other conditions."

"We are very much interested in this matter and await your reply to this letter with much interest."

There are few articles in general use in the United States, which have risen so enormously in price during the past few years as all kinds of brushes: toilet, painters' and artists' particularly. The reason we pay 60 cents now for a tooth brush we paid 25 cents for a few years ago is, in part, the Allied blockade of Soviet Russia. Russia has been the chief source of supply for American brush manufacturers. The closing of trade has been one cause for these irritating price increases. The manufacturer, on the other hand, finds his business curtailed by the shortage. He is, therefore, anxious to trade with Soviet Russia.

Witness the following from a large trading corporation in New York City:

"..... As we are importers of Russian and Chinese products, we would be pleased to hear from you in regard to bristles."

"If you have samples of same please send them to us, together with quotations, terms, and quantities."

Another firm dealing in badger hair, used in soft brushes of all kinds, writes:

"I use about 50,000 Russian Badger Skins annually. I believe that the way to get them now is to buy them directly from the present Russian Government. Will you kindly advise me as to what you can do for me?"

A side light on the possibility of eliminating Germany from her middleman's control of Russian trade is given in the following excerpt. It is taken from a letter to the Bureau from a leading Philadelphia dealer in hair and wool for American manufacturers:

"We bought Russian products very extensively before the war through German houses and we will no doubt be able to handle these commodities again providing they are properly

prepared and shipped in good condition. The stock used to be very poorly packed, in loose bags of various sizes, but it would be much more advantageous both to the shipper and to ourselves if they could be packed in compressed bales weighing possibly 500 lbs. We could handle these stocks in large quantities if the qualities and prices are right."

High prices for shoes and leather goods have been the bane of every American these past years. Shortage of hides and skins has contributed to this result. The influx of raw material from Russia, would have a relieving effect upon practically everyone in the country if sufficient quantities were shipped. Dealers in hides and skins, as well as leather manufacturers, are eager to increase their business by taking advantage of this trade with Soviet Russia.

The following is an excerpt from a typical letter received only a few days ago by the Commercial Department of the Soviet Bureau, from a prominent New York firm:

"..... We are interested in hides and skins of all description in any quantity offered....."

"We have handled very large quantities of this merchandise before. We had before the war our own house in Riga, and were represented in a great many places in Russia. We were considered one of the largest purchasers of Russian raw hides and skins."

"We shall be very glad to confer with you personally if anything further could be done in the matter."

An Indiana concern writes:

"We are in the market for the goods that you offer, for any quantity of hides that you can send us. We can buy any quantity that can be delivered to us, also goatskins, or any quantity of wool."

A large Boston firm says:

"..... We would be interested in hemp, flax, hides, skins, bristles and wool."

"We would be prepared to handle these materials in as large quantities as they could be secured....."

"We would want to take acceptance of delivery in this country."

"We would require samples with full details as to quantities, deliveries, and lowest prices. Samples must be thoroughly representative."

A San Francisco concern of international traders with world-wide connections writes:

"..... We have in the past handled bristles and furs. These were of Russian origin but imported from Japan. We would be interested in importing these items from Russia and are also interested in Hemp. The latter we have not handled but wish to become connected with the importation of it....."

"Your further recommendations and suggestions in this regard are awaited with interest, as we are very anxious to start business with your country."

The demand for hemp and flax, as well as hemp

and flax-seed, in the United States is great at the present time. American firms are eager to take advantage of the enormous reserves of these products in Soviet Russia. For instance, a New York concern writes:

"Your letter of July 11th received. We are very much interested in hemp, flax, flax-seed and other Russian food and seed products...."

"Our house in Koenigsberg before the war was the largest export and import house and we know exactly the nature of that business and how to handle it."

"As far as we know we believe that the undersigned is the only expert available here in New York for the time being at least, and will be very much pleased to have an appointment with your Mr. Heller."

A large trading corporation with headquarters in New York says:

"The writer has handled flax and hemp and other articles from Russia in very large quantities for the past twenty years and is well known in the trade throughout this country and Canada...."

"It is needless to say that we shall be pleased to give you any information that may assist both you and ourselves in handling these products. It might be as well perhaps to arrange an interview by telephone so as to insure against any waste of time on either side."

Space forbids a further citation of letters. These, however, are typical. They leave no doubt as to the attitude of American business today toward imports of raw materials from Soviet Russia.

"Nationalization of Women"

A nearly dead story has just been revived, it seems. It is the tale of the "Nationalization of Women" in Soviet Russia. Do you believe it?

The American State Department says:

"The rumor as to the nationalization of women is not true."

(Official statement by U. S. Department of State, February 28, 1919, based upon reports of Red Cross workers and others coming from Moscow; Standard Daily Trade Service, Vol. 7, March 1919, page 318.)

The Russian Soviet Government says:

"The calumny against Soviet Russia which has had the widest circulation—the baseless lie that women have been nationalized—is the most ridiculous and absurd of them all." (Official wireless from Moscow, "Manchester Guardian," May 5, 1919.)

Mr. Jerome Davis, who spent two and a half years in Russia as Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association says:

"I am absolutely certain that leaders of the Central Soviet Government, such as Mr. Lenin and Mr. Chicherin, would be absolutely opposed to anything so preposterous as the nationalization of women. I am sure every American Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. worker who knew these two leaders, will agree with me in that statement. In all my stay in Russia, I never met any one connected with the Soviet Government, with whom I talked on the subject, who was not only violently opposed to any such immoral doctrine but who did not also think it was too ridiculous a suggestion even to discuss." ("Independent," March 15, 1919.)

Catherine Breshkovsky was asked by her biographer, Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, whether the story was true:

"She denied that women have been 'nationalized' or made 'common property,' or that the Government puts any compulsion upon them in matters of sex. She said to me: 'Women have more freedom in Russia now than they ever had before.'" ("Nation," March 1, 1919.)

Mr. H. V. Keeling, an Englishman who left Russia last January after five years' residence says:

"There are altogether too much nonsense and untruth printed about Bolshevism and the Soviet Government. The absurd story about the nationalization of women, for instance. I never saw or heard anything of it in Russia, and it is supposed to have taken place long before I left. It simply couldn't be true. Women there have equal political rights in all respects with men, and other countries might well learn much from Russia with regard to the position and treatment of women." ("N. Y. Evening Post," April 12th, 1919.)

"The New Europe," which printed the story last year, has made the following retraction and apology:

"We desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake." ("New Europe," March 13, 1919.)

Do you still believe it? Then we shall not argue with you.

Anyone interested in the origin of this miserable lie should read the article by Mr. Jerome Davis, "More Light on Russia," in the "Independent," March 15, 1919, in which the fantastic rumor is traced to its source. The law of the Soviet Republic governing marriage was printed in the "International Relations Supplement" of the "Nation," Dec. 28, 1918.

The French in Russia

Extract from Debate in French Chamber as reported in "L'Humanité," June 12th.

M. de Kerguezeo (recorder of budget of the Fleet) who had been sent by the Commission together with M. Charles Meunier (a conservative member of the French Chamber) to the Black Sea to investigate, gave an account of the terrible conditions prevailing amongst the French Black Sea Squadron, and at the bases of Tarente, Itea, Corfu and Salonica. The sailors were in rags and half starved. From there he went to Sebastopol and to Odessa, where he found with our troops the "more than famous" volunteers of the Russian army who are fighting with us. Out of about one thousand men there are hundreds of colonels and dozens of generals; out of two thousand men, 1,900 officers.

Lafont spoke of Odessa, where France was represented by the "famous" consular agent Henaut, who issued orders in the name of the Allies, and who is now in Paris and has not been arrested, although he has compromised and degraded the policy of his country. According to Lafont the people in Odessa were starving, pillaging, thieving, and shooting took place under the paternal eye of French generals who must not intervene against the reactionary groups who indulged in these terrible excesses. M. Henaut took part in these excesses ("I shall investigate" M. Pinchon murmured). "The troops were there, but you had no army that had any of the fighting spirit required for battle." The soldiers also were asking, "What are we doing here? What right have we to be here at all? If you were obliged to leave Kherson let me remind you of the reason: because the 21st colonial and the 56th infantry regiments at Tiraspol had refused to advance. Engineer corps had gone over arms and baggage to the Bolsheviks. This happened not because French soldiers have ceased to be brave; they are ready to suffer and to die for an ideal, for a just cause, but not for your incoherent politics, and not to protect the disgusting excesses of your officers and consular agents." In conclusion Lafont denounced the attempts of the Entente to restore the monarchy in Russia.

Soviet Radiograms

"L'Humanité," June 15th. A telegram from Budapest says that Chicherin (Russian Commissary for Foreign Affairs) has sent the following wireless to Bela Kun:

"Please notify Radek that the Ukrainian Soviet Government has appointed him as plenipotentiary to Berlin and that, as retaliation for his illegal arrest by the German Government, the German Consul in Odessa and several other nationals of Germany have been arrested."

Cultural Work in Soviet Russia

A historical museum has been established in Vologda. An important branch of the work of public education in Soviet Russia is the establishment of museums not only in the capitals but in the provinces as well. In May, an interesting museum has been established in the city of Vologda for the conservation of ecclesiastic art and ikons. The museum contains a vast collection of antique ikons and artistic church implements, and also many products of popular art which illustrate the religious conceptions of the Russian people. Russian workers and peasants are evincing great interest in such institutions. So, for instance, a museum recently opened in the village of Libna, which contains antique paintings, portraits, ikons, etc., is very much frequented not only by workers, but also by peasants from nearby villages.

* * *

Amsterdam, June 14th. A Bolshevik wireless announces that as a result of the recognition of Kolchak by the Entente, a large Japanese army will be dispatched to Siberia against the Red Army.

KOLCHAK'S "CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY"

The following news item of the Japanese Publicity Bureau, concerning the "Democratic" promises of Kolchak to the Big Four is quoted from the Japanese "Ji-Ji" in the Vladivostok "Ekho," of June 18, 1919:

"The United States insist on the summoning of the Constituent Assembly of 1917, for the purpose of complying with the principles of a democratic form of government.

"But most of the members of the Assembly of 1917, have now joined the Bolsheviks, and the possibility of trouble is therefore anticipated. The influence of the Bolsheviks in Siberia has not yet weakened, and the position of the government cannot be considered stable. This is confirmed by the fact, that in the recent elections in Blagovestchensk the Socialists succeeded in electing a majority. The calling of the Constituent Assembly for the present does not seem possible.... As a result of the discussion of the subject of the Constituent Assembly, the government of Kolchak, while agreeing in principle to the call of the Constituent Assembly, will bind itself to call it 'after the establishment of order in Russia.'"

The Treacherous Conduct of Bourgeois Officers in the Red Army

It has become evident that the victories won by various bands of White Guards on the northern front during the spring were facilitated mostly by treachery on the part of former Czarist officers serving with the Red Army. So, for instance, the City of Pskov was captured by the Whites through the treachery of "The Red" Commandant Titz, who succeeded in disorganizing the troops by lying promises of food.

Soviet Russia

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About Russia

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OUR readers will remember, in the newspaper accounts of last week, the interesting statement that troops landed on the Western shores of the Caspian Sea, in the rear of the "advancing" army of Denikin, were partly responsible for his "again" retreating. The retreat of counter-revolutionary generals is in itself so desirable a consummation, that one is sometimes tempted to forget the tremendous implications contained in the causes assigned for such retreats. To land troops on the shores of the Caspian Sea requires a covering of the transports by means of naval vessels, and the naval vessels in this case must have been torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers. They were brought from the Baltic Sea across the whole expanse of European Russia, by waterways deepened and improved by engineers working for the Soviet Government. In December, 1918, when the city of Kazan was taken by the Soviet troops from the counter-revolutionary forces, the assault on the city had been considerably strengthened by small naval craft brought from the Baltic Sea for the purpose, as will be seen from the following extract (found in No. 1 of the "Weekly Bulletin" of our Information Bureau, now no longer published) from an official report on the improvement of ways and communications in Soviet Russia:

Dredging and deepening operations were carried out on the River Svir, at the point of its emergence from Lake Ladoga.

The channel of the River Svir was considerably deepened, thus greatly facilitating the means of communication over this waterway, the importance of which, both for the military

and the merchant fleet, will be evident when we consider the fact that the River Svir connects the Baltic Sea, through the Neva and the Tikhvin Canal System, with the Volga.

The carrying out of these dredging operations on the Svir permitted the sending from the Baltic to the Volga, immediately after their completion, of a naval flotilla consisting of the mine-layers "Grozny," "Ryeshitelny," and "Bystry" (Dangerous, Resolute, Speedy), 7 squadron-mine-layers, 4 simple mine-layers, 4 submarines and 3 supply-ships, which distinguished themselves by the splendid rôle they played in the taking of the city of Kazan by the Soviet troops.

If Soviet vessels of war got as far as Kazan, there was no difficulty in getting them to the Caspian Sea, by simply steaming down the Volga. And that they are there is confirmed also by the seizure of counter-revolutionary documents on a steamer bearing a messenger for Kolchak, which was reported in last week's "Soviet Russia." We can only regret that the engineering talents of the Soviet Government, and much of its labor force, are at present being diverted to military ends; but our regret is tempered by the consideration that the military condition is very promising and that after the Soviet Government has defeated all its enemies, it will be able to display to the world greater prowess in peaceful organization than is possible among them.

* * *

A ROTOGRAVURE photograph in the Picture Section of the New York Times of Sunday, July 27th, depicts a barge laden with whippet tanks "for General Denikin," while in the background is seen the impressive hulk of the French cruiser "Ernest Renan," dazzling white, like a guardian spirit to protect this shipment of instruments of murder against the workers and peasants of southern Russia. To the honor of a great French scholar be it said that Ernest Renan was never consulted as to the use of his name for this warship, constructed many years after his death; and besides, Renan had much of the spirit still in him of the French Revolution: we doubt whether a more unfortunate name could be borne by a man-of-war engaged in such an enterprise. French sailors in the Black Sea Fleet are truly more direct heirs of the spirit of the French Revolution than the French officials who are responsible for the intervention in Russia.

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IN connection with the necessity, so frequently and often so eloquently urged, of maintaining order in Siberia, and, particularly, along the Siberian railroad, so that traffic may be kept up along the latter, the reader should bear in mind the following facts:

The maintaining of order in any country should mean the assertion of the will of the majority against rebellious groups. Foreign troops are never necessary for this purpose. If the "disturbers" in Siberia were really "small bands of disorderly and rebellious elements," the Kolchak authorities, or any other well-armed body, could hold them down without

difficulty. The fact is, no American or other troops would be needed for the maintaining of order in Siberia if these troops were not themselves the provocative element producing such disorder. The "bands" who attack the Siberian railroad are the organized population of Siberia, and they attack because the troops are there. If German or Japanese or any other troops had seized the Pennsylvania Railroad during the recent war and had attempted to "maintain order and keep up traffic" along that road, organized "bands" would have swept down upon the road repeatedly and disturbed "conditions." This is the truth about Siberia in a nutshell. Except that, owing to the thinness of the population, it can easily become a migratory population, feeding off the products of one region after the other, and readily eluding the pursuing, well-armed beetles of the invader, and of the counter-revolutionary admirals acting in collusion with him. If order is really to be restored in Siberia, the foreign troops should be removed, not kept there.

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CONCERNING the actual operation of the railroad, we have just received evidence concerning which we shall inform our readers as soon as we can give it in greater detail. But let us ask the reader to imagine, for the present, a railroad that has to maintain order by destroying villages lying along its tracks, or that has to launch gas-bombs against towns four kilometers off the line (as was done by an armored train preceding a passenger train approaching Vengerka, in Central Siberia, in April of this year), in order to assure a peaceful reception on the part of the population. This is the "order" for which the invader's troops are being used in Siberia.

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A despatch recently appearing in two important newspapers in this country would hardly seem to support the notion that the Siberian population is much in sympathy with the kind of "order" that it is desired by the Allies to establish.

It runs as follows:

CZECHS GUARD RAILS AGAINST GREAT ODDS

Transportation Better in Siberia, Despite Bolshevik Activities—Many Trains Are Shot At

(Cable to the New York Globe and Chicago Daily News.)

Irkutsk, Siberia, July 11th (Via Peking, China, July 23rd).—Thus far the Bolsheviks have not succeeded in stopping communication across Siberia. Around Krasnoyarsk lies a forest wilderness known as the "danger zone." To ride through this district is interesting, as the trains are shot at and frequently wrecked. In a half-day's travel west of Taishet we saw six wrecked trains in a ditch. The Bolsheviks hidden in the woods had shot one of a train crew

as he ran from his wrecked engine. Two men were executed in the Krasnoyarsk railway yards as our train was passing. At BerikulsKayt Czechs had fought the Bolsheviks two hours before our arrival, and the station building was a smoking ruin. Three Czechs and one Russian were killed. The Bolsheviks carried away their dead and injured. Nearly all the railway buildings at the small stations in the danger zone have been burned. At the Taishet station we saw two dead men hanging from telegraph poles. The Czechs are sternly efficient railway guardians. Siberian transportation is infinitely better than it was last winter.

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WE are told that the United States Ambassador to Japan, Mr. Morris, has gone to Omsk personally to investigate the position of the so-called Omsk Government and to confer with Admiral Kolchak. Unfortunately, however, it so happens that the distinguished investigator finds it impossible to find Mr. Kolchak, for the simple reason that the forces of the Soviet Government are keeping Kolchak and his staff away from his so-called seat of government. The fall of Ekaterinburg, the stronghold of Kolchak forces, has not only deprived him of huge stores of war material, but also cut off his right flank from Omsk, threatening the extermination of his forces.

Only a few days ago the American public was treated to a new portion of impudent lies about Kolchak's "impending victory." The so-called "Russian Information Bureau," financed by the fantastic American "Embassy" of a non-existing "Russian Government," was the author of the statement that the forces of Soviet Russia have been "caught between the pincers" formed on one hand by Kolchak and on the other hand by Denikin. It was quite an irony of fate that the fall of Ekaterinburg was announced in the American press on the very same day when the above mentioned fiction saw the light. Shortly thereafter we were informed that Denikin's armies in Southern Russia had to make "a second retreat." The Soviet forces had landed in the Northern Caucasus in the rear of Denikin's base, threatening his right flank simultaneously with a concerted attack against him from the West. It is interesting to note that while the above mentioned dispatch speaks of his "second retreat," there has been no mention in the American press of his first retreat, in this latest phase of his campaign. There is no doubt but that such a first retreat really has taken place, as it is not the habit of news agencies to lie in favor of the Soviet forces. All told, the "pinching of the Soviet armies" between the "pincers" formed by Kolchak on the one hand and Denikin on the other hand appears to be a performance in which the "pincers" have entirely broken under the strain.

Events on the northern front also give evidence of a complete breakdown in the military campaign against Soviet Russia. The important city of Onega,

southwest of Archangel is in the hands of the Soviet troops. The reports are that this was due to the fact that Russian battalions fighting with the British on the Archangel front went over to the Bolsheviks. Whether that was the real reason, or whether the Onega victory was won just because of military superiority on the part of Soviet forces, makes little difference. In both cases it is evident that the campaign against Soviet Russia on the Archangel front is as futile as the efforts of Kolchak and Denikin.

Of still greater importance is the fact that the expected attack against Petrograd by the White Guards of the Junker General Mannerheim of Finland has not materialized. The reasons for this failure may be manifold, but one and a quite important one, is that the vast majority of the people in Finland rose in protest against the intended use of Finland as a catspaw for anti-Soviet imperialists.

The military adventure of the Finnish White Guards against Soviet Russia could not maintain itself for a moment were it not for the support they were getting from various Allied governments, mainly the British. Instigated by the British, the Finnish White Guards made various attacks against Russian border villages. The Soviet Government sent a note to the Finnish Government demanding an explanation of those unprovoked hostilities. (This note will be published in one of our next issues). It received in reply an impudent answer, signed by the Acting Foreign Minister Ehrnroth, in which this worthy person undertook vilely to denounce the Soviet Government and to declare that the Finnish Government would do just as it pleased and would take such steps against Soviet Russia as it might see fit. It is interesting to note that this statement by Mr. Ehrnroth evoked a storm of protests all over Finland, not only on the part of Socialists, but also among bourgeois parties. The public wanted to know just what right the Acting Foreign Minister had on his own responsibility to issue a statement which amounted to a declaration of war against Soviet Russia. The end of the story was that Mr. Ehrnroth was compelled to resign his post and that the Finnish Government found it necessary to issue a pronouncement stating that it did not intend to open hostilities against Soviet Russia.

The explanation of this situation is that the Finnish White Guard Government, although supported by the British fleet and by the bayonets of Allied

detachments in Finland, is none too secure in its possession of power. The labor movement of Finland begins to reassert itself and the Finnish Communist Party earnestly and efficiently works for the overthrow of the bloody Mannerheim Government. All over Finland the workers are filled with a spirit of bitter hatred against the Mannerheim autocracy. Under these circumstances an attack against Russia, which would engage on the Eastern frontier the regular White Guards, who are the mainstay of Mannerheim's rule, would at once provoke a rebellion within Finland. It is also reported that some Finnish White Guard detachments which have been operating with the Estonians west of Petrograd have suffered a decisive defeat. It is therefore, indeed, no wonder that even the adventurous Mannerheim autocracy finds it necessary to stop, look, and listen.

* * *

RELIABLE reports coming from Germany as well as from Scandinavian countries all corroborate previous reports stating that trade is being resumed between Germany and Russia. A dispatch in the New York Evening Globe of July 25th, states in detail just how various German corporations and industrial establishments are securing a profitable market in Russia.

Once more we find our predictions coming true. Constantly we have been calling the attention of the American industrial and commercial circles to the fact that by maintaining the absurd blockade against Russia, American business circles only harm themselves and give away to German capitalists one of the greatest commercial opportunities. And the loss is by no means only temporary. Every farseeing business man understands that those who are at this time establishing themselves in the Russian market are getting an advantage over their competitors not only at this particular moment but for the future as well. Whatever standards of merchandise will be established now of course will remain for a long time to come. If American harvesting machinery were forthcoming in Russia at this moment it would mean that the Russian peasant would get accustomed to American machinery and tools in general.

It is not yet too late to correct the situation. For several months Soviet Russia has been inviting American trade relations. She still is willing to open her doors to American exporters.

Kolchak's Own Troops Against Him

Moscow, June 11th.—(Russian Telegraph Agency.)

"Izvestya" publishes the following resolution, which was passed at a general meeting of deserters from the Kolchak front:

"We deserters from Kolchak's army, now that we

have listened to reports concerning the present situation and the struggle of the world proletariat, swear that we shall all as one man fight for the Soviet power until all the enemies of the working class have been wiped off the surface of the earth."

The Military Situation in Russia

The following excellent analysis of the military situation in European Russia and Siberia is from the "Springfield Republican," July 20th. The writer's estimate of the insecurity of Denikin's military position has been amply confirmed by the announcement of the British War office that "owing to a further landing from the Caspian Sea of strong Bolshevik reinforcements in the rear of General Denikin's troops, the Denikin forces have been obliged to make another retirement." ("N. Y. Times," July 22.) A delayed despatch from the Times correspondent with the Denikin forces reveals an insurrection in the rear of Denikin's army by the Daghestan mountaineers on the shore of the Caspian, supported by Soviet forces equipped with naval guns.

"While the political settlement halts, military activity again claims precedence, and would be of much interest if we could get the full story. Only through a meager wireless bulletin from Moscow did we get the sensational news of the capture Monday of Ekaterinburg by the Soviet armies. It is sensational, because this city is on the Siberian side of the Ural mountains, and far in the rear of the line from which the Kolchak army set out last March for the invasion of Soviet Russia. It is nearly 400 miles in the rear of the most westerly point attained by the invading army, and so rapid a retreat, averaging 10 miles a day for more than a month, must have been something like a rout....

Kolchak's Defeat

"It will be seen, therefore, that the recoil has taken the Kolchak army not merely farther back than its starting point of last March, when the Moscow campaign began, but farther back than the front had been at any time since the allies began their intervention. Under these conditions the Russian bureau in New York is rather straining metaphor in describing the Soviet armies as caught between the Kolchak and Denikin forces in a pair of pincers. Pincers so flexible do not constitute a pair. To what extent Denikin's victory offsets Kolchak's defeat it is difficult at present to say, but the reverse sustained in the Urals is evidently severe. There is, to be sure, no apparent menace to Omsk, which is 500 miles still further to the east, yet the reappearance of the Soviet armies on the Asiatic side of the mountains is rather ominous, because it is admitted that Siberia is seething with unrest, and that the conscript troops are not proving specially trustworthy.

Soviet Strategy Superior

"How did this disaster come about? All the evidence thus far brought to light is in line with the theory offered in an earlier review, that the campaign was a political gamble rather than a sane and well-planned military operation. The correspondent of the London Times at the Kolchak headquarters, who did much to create the impression that the

Soviets would soon be overthrown, now speaks of the campaign as a "premature offensive, unsupported by reserves sufficiently trained to compensate the vast numerical superiority of the reds." But in brains as well as in numbers the superiority lay with the revolutionary armies. The superiority of their strategy is conceded and the Times correspondent says: "In tactics the Bolsheviks displayed even greater skill and initiative. Small bodies of highly trained communist horsemen acted with the closest co-operation to rush the flanks and harry the rear. By this simple means our weakened infantry units were hurried and the whole front affected." With numbers and science both on the side of the Soviets, Admiral Kolchak is not likely soon to have to carry out his promises to hold an election when he gets to Moscow. At present his forces are something like a thousand miles from that city.

Czarist Propaganda

"It should be said, however, that on June 20th, the Times correspondent was expecting great things from the newly appointed commander-in-chief, Lieut.-Gen. Michael Diterichs: "Given a free hand, it is the universal opinion that he will assure victory." Of special interest is the remark that "The past few months have been devoted by him to a work of piety and justice—namely, the elucidation of the truth regarding the fate of the Romanoffs." Much of this elucidation has been of a dubious sort, and its motive is suggested by the remark that "It is bound to amend, if not radically to change, all the popular notions regarding the Romanoffs, both in their lives and in their death." Just now, however, the Russians seem emphatic in their hostility to a reaction containing Czarist elements.

Peasants Against Kolchak

"To some extent both the defeat of Kolchak and the recent victories of Denikin may be ascribed to the operation of the Soviet armies on interior lines, yet in both cases larger forces have been at work. Kolchak's raid was in part a test of the theory that the peasants were turning against the Soviets; the answer is conclusive so far as Kolchak is concerned—his land policy is not accepted. The peasants have been represented as much pleased with his promise that the agrarian status quo should hold till a Constituent Assembly should pass new laws, but this is a flagrant misrepresentation; his edict issued in the spring merely provides that whoever had sowed should have the crop; the land itself must immediately revert to its pre-revolutionary owners, the question of land reforms being left to the decision of the Constituent Assembly which he was to call when the Soviets had been overthrown. The magnitude of his reverse shows that in European Russia he found himself in hostile territory, and on the agrarian issue the revolution has considerable strength on the Siberian side of the Urals.

Allies and Germans Unite Against Soviets

"Political reason may also be found for the recent victories of Gen. Denikin, or at any rate for their magnitude. This movement may in fact be taken as a backward flow of the tidal wave which in the spring took the Bolsheviks to the Black Sea. In the later part of the war, it will be remembered, the Germans penetrated this region and gave support to the Ukrainian hetman Skoropadski, whose agrarian program was much like Kolchak's. A little further east, beyond the Crimea, an army composed mainly of cossacks and representing the reaction which began with Gen. Korniloff's rebellion was fighting the Bolsheviks. One was pro-German, the other pro-allies, but so far as the revolution was concerned, their position was the same, and when the French, to whom this sphere of influence had fallen by an arrangement presumably not entered in the minutes of the peace conference, sent an expedition into the Black Sea last fall after the opening of the Dardanelles they came to an arrangement with Skoropadski, the effect of which was a consolidation of the pro-German and pro-entente reactionaries. Another effect, not allowed for, was a popular revolution which swept south Russia and the Ukraine. The culmination was the mutiny in the French fleet in the Black Sea, which hoisted the red flag and flatly refused to carry on a war which Parliament had not sanctioned. The allies had to evacuate Odessa and the Soviet forces occupied the Crimea, while Denikin's armies were driven back upon their capital at Ekaterinodar in the Kuban territory, north of the Caucasus.

Pogroms in South Russia

"From its velocity and magnitude this tidal wave of Bolshevism, much misunderstood at the time, was plainly more political than military, and the same may be said of the present reverse movement. A powerful popular movement swept everything before it, but was unable as in Great Russia to establish a strong central government. Three things which specially hindered this were: (1) the exacerbated nationalist spirit of the Ukraine, which was fighting on all fronts for independence and would not subordinate itself to Moscow; (2) the appearance in the Ukraine and South Russia of an antisemitism leading to pogroms worse than those of Poland and making impossible an understanding with the Lenin-Trotsky government; (3) the political instability of the Cossacks who occupy the eastern part of South Russia and most of Cis-Caucasia.

Soviet Russia Orderly

"In these regions we may now see conditions rather closely resembling the popular conception of Bolshevik rule. Soviet Russia is now quite unquestionably the most orderly part of the Russian empire, and Hungary seems to be trying to set up a model government on new lines. But in the Ukraine and South Russia the social revolution of last spring seems to have produced conditions, temporarily at

least, not far removed from anarchy. Bands of brigands roam the country, killing and robbing; rival military chiefs who owe allegiance to no government get a little brief authority. Of these the first was Petlura, who has lately been stirring up the Ukraine against the Poles. In South Russia the chief leader lately has been one Grigorieff, notorious for his massacre of Jews. These movements have been called Bolshevik, but they are really of a different type and lack the strong political control which the Bolsheviks have exercised in Russia.

Denikin's Gains Insecure

"The tidal wave, in fact, has 'frazzled out' in tumultuous foam and this has given Denikin a chance for sensational victories which surprised no one more than the men taking part. A few British tanks contributed to the victory, but there was little organized resistance. The main body advancing on Tsaritzin was moving through the territory of the Don Cossacks, and the disaffection of the landless Cossacks, which had contributed to defeat in the spring, may not have been very deep, at all events it had resulted in no strong organized support for the Soviets. It can be seen, therefore, that although Denikin's army is small, the weakening of the small Russian forces opposed would enable it to make rapid progress over the sparsely populated steppes. Except for a narrow belt along rivers, all these parts, like the Arctic zone, show in statistical maps in the color reserved for minimum population.

"Thus while the forcible expulsion of Kolchak from European Russia proves conclusively that the Russian people are supporting the revolution, the sweeping gains of Denikin on the steppes show only that in the regions south of Great Russia the revolution is in an effervescent stage, which makes it helpless against a sharp military attack. There is no evidence of conversion to reaction, and even the outbreak of hostility to the Jews seems to be directed against usury, not against Bolshevism, and gives no basis for co-operation with the old régime. We must conclude, therefore, that the territorial gains of Denikin are as insecure as the gains of the Bolsheviks in this region last spring, and that of the Soviets should be able to dispose temporarily of Kolchak, Gen. Denikin would probably need aid from the allies to hold what he has won. But the dispatch of military aid is no light matter in view of the viki in this region last spring, and if the Soviets which is shown in Entente countries. In Italy the other day for the second time, a British ship carrying arms for Kolchak was held up by the dock workers and was not allowed to proceed till the arms had been unloaded.

Petrograd Holds Out

"Of the Petrograd front it is sufficient to say that Petrograd still holds out and that the claims of the Soviets to recent small yet important successes have not been contradicted. They are important because they raise doubts as to whether it is feasible to take the city with the forces at hand. We may assume

that the allies can capture Petrograd whenever they choose, but they hesitate to appear openly in the matter. Ostensibly the armies still in North Russia are there only as an incident of the war with the central powers, and the professed purpose is to extricate them as soon as possible. While they stay where they are they may indirectly contribute, like the British navy, to an attack by subsidiary forces upon Petrograd, but the use of French and British forces for that purpose (American forces are out of the question) would be another matter."

JAPANESE TERROR IN SIBERIA

The following statement, published in the "Ekho," April 15th, (Vladivostok) by the Japanese authorities at Blagovestchensk in an attempt to justify their terroristic measures, reveals the treatment meted out to Siberian villagers in their spontaneous uprisings against the invaders:

"The object the Japanese troops had in coming to the Amur district, was to restore order and exterminate Bolshevism, which had plunged the Russian population into the greatest distress. To accomplish the task thus undertaken, the Japanese first used humane measures to turn the population from Bolshevism, which had already taken a strong grip on them; then repressive and severe measures were used to stamp out Bolshevism. The Japanese Command regrets and abhors this course, but will nevertheless continue its present methods....

"Since last Autumn, Japanese and Cossack detachments have been used in Ivanovka to suppress revolts, always trying humane measures as far as the existing civil war would allow. But no result was obtained, for when the troops left the village, the Bolsheviks (for the most part local inhabitants), would reappear and restart their criminal activities.

"The villagers refused to disclose who the culprits were, and therefore the Japanese and Cossack troops failed to capture them. Despite all warnings that the harbouring of Bolsheviks would be punished, the villagers continued to protect them as hitherto. In consequence of this the Japanese Command had no alternative but to use drastic measures against the villagers, who deserved to be thus treated. Accordingly the village of Ivanovka was razed to the ground as a punitive measure; the Japanese Command has already notified the inhabitants of the Amur district of this fact."

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The reader will recall that the destruction of these villages and the massacre of their inhabitants by the Japanese troops were fully treated in No. 2 of "Soviet Russia," in Mr. Max M. Zippin's article, "In the Name of Democracy." A few copies of this number of "Soviet Russia" are still on hand, and will be forwarded to any address at ten cents each.

Official Murder by British Officers

We are enabled this week to present a new version, containing the names of British officers responsible for the crime of the murder of Soviet officers who had been captured by British forces at Baku. We published an earlier version of the message referred to in No. 6 of "Soviet Russia."

Chicherin sent a wireless to the British Foreign Office on April 21st, in which he repudiated the allegation that the British went to Baku to defend the town against the Soviet Republic. The British entry into Baku merely helped the Turks in their attacks. When they began to bombard the town, the British fled, carrying with them the two Baku Commissaries of the Soviet Republic. The fate of these Commissaires could not be ascertained. The British kept it secret even during the negotiations last autumn on the question of the mutual exchange of prisoners. Various rumors of their murder were spread about; but the well-known Socialist-Revolutionary Chaikin, a member of the Baku Socialist Committee, has published a detailed communiqué, based on reliable facts. This communiqué proves that after the hasty retreat of the British from Baku, an English officer, Reginald T. Jones, together with Russian Trans-Caucasian counter-revolutionaries, agreed to murder the Commissaires secretly. An official communiqué issued at the time said that the Commissaires were sent to India. The train, however, stopped at a lonely place in the desert, where the escort provided by the British Military authorities and the Russian counter-revolutionaries was ordered to shoot the prisoners, 26 in number, and bury them. The British Authorities tried to keep the crime secret. General Thomson asked Chaikin for the facts on which he based his statement. Chaikin, however, demanded a guarantee for the safety of the witnesses, and at the same time an inquiry into the crime by a mixed impartial commission. General Thomson refused.

The British Government is thus officially convicted of vile, cowardly and treacherous murder of defenceless prisoners, whose only crime was their loyalty to the Workmen's and Peasants' Government, which the British so loudly condemned for the so-called "Red Terror" (measures taken in self-defence). Yet, despite exaggerations, the British Government cannot accuse the Workmen's and Peasants' Government of any crime equal to this in baseness and treachery. In view of the British War Minister's denunciation of the Bolsheviks as "murderers," this disclosure shows who are the real murderers. Before the working masses of the whole world, the Russian Soviet Government protests against this foul deed committed by the British Authorities, and appeals in particular to the workers of Great Britain to realize their duty to defend the honor and welfare of the masses.

In Semionov's Paradise

By Joseph Eisenberger

THERE is a deep disappointment sweeping just now through the circles of the Siberian Moderate Socialists and Co-operative Societies which took an active part in fighting the Soviet Government of Siberia early in 1918, and which now openly declare that they are sorry that all their labors and their struggle brought about not freedom and peace, but reaction and prolongation of civil war and robbery, on the part of a small military coterie.

Strangely enough, the Allies, who recently seemed so eager to restore a "strong and free" Russia, appear to lay considerable stress on the continuance of the Kolchak rule as the most promising solution of the Siberian enigma. But when one listens to the ever increasing reports of the unsuppressed misrule of apparently irresponsible Cossack atamans like Semionov, Kalmykov and Ganov, causing country-wide uprisings of resentment, one must confess that the position of the anti-Bolshevik Government is anything but strong.

It may not be generally known that Semionov sternly opposed the assumption of supreme rulership by Kolchak, having gone as far even as to inhibit all traffic from Trans-Baikalia to the territory under the Kolchak control, in consequence of which Semionov was outlawed and held for high treason. Though this matter is believed to have been settled satisfactorily through "high" Japanese interference, Semionov having avowed his recognition of Admiral Kolchak, the former is still adhering to his wanton policy of entire disregard of the Kolchak administration, thereby considerably underwriting the Pan-Russian dictator.

Here are just a few facts which show the monstrous state of affairs prevailing in Siberia. When the Government instructed the management of the Chita branch of the State Bank, Semionov was not slow to send a force of picked officers and soldiers to the managers requesting funds for Semionov's troops. The manager of course, refused. Then the officers demanded the keys of the strong rooms. This he also refused to comply with, declaring that he was a faithful servant of the government, and that he considered this request an illegal one: in short, as robbery. The officers insisted and threatened to take the keys by force. Thereupon he called the country commissioner, the public prosecutors, and the county controllers and explained to them the case. He said Semionov's officers had threatened to break into the strong rooms by force, and as he had been unable to put up any effective resistance, he had been obliged to hand over the funds to the County Commissioner, and from that moment he would be in no way responsible for the safety of the funds entrusted to him.

The Commissioner took the keys. Then the officers applied to the latter and threatened him in the

same way as they had threatened the bank manager. The Commissioner then declared that unfortunately he had also no armed force to resist violence and under such conditions he was obliged to submit to Semionov's threats. A protocol was signed, recording the entire transaction, and the officers at last got the keys and took 1,250,000 rubles.

Another act of the same kind was committed by Semionov at the station of Manchuria, where he took possession of a few million rubles at the Russian Customs, which should have been transferred to the Pan-Russian Government at Omsk. Ataman Semionov is freely indulging in great business transactions, buying up carloads of commodities at Vladivostok, and granting them the safe conduct of the Cossacks "up country," where he is disposing of the goods at forcibly inflated prices, owing to a keen demand many times exceeding the supply.

Semionov, under the pretext of the high Cause of Democracy and the Constituent Assembly, is breaking up the peace of the country with the help of a crowd of reactionary officers. The Omsk government, under the same flag, silently approved of, and secretly admitted, the murder of nine innocent members of the Constituent Assembly, who had been freed by the December (1918) rioters, but who had voluntarily returned to jail and were expelled therefrom in a frosty winter night by a number of Cossacks who undertook to slay them.

Finally, Semionov, in his orders to the troops of the Eastern Siberian corps (January 15, 1919), declared that he (without the consent and without even the knowledge of the Pan-Russian Government) had exempted the gold mines of the ex-Czar's domain in the Nortschinks District and also the silver and lead mines in the Terentui District (Trans-Baikalia) from the authority of the Ministry of Trade and Industry and placed them in the hands of the local military authorities.

This caused great surprise among the population of Trans-Baikalia as well as in the Far East, for these gold and silver mines are the real treasury of Russia and Siberia. One could not understand the real reason of such interference from Semionov, unless he had special interest in them. The population of that country feared that the many concession hunters (especially Japanese), might now gain something from Semionov.

Owing to all this, and, last but not least, to the complete stifling of all the labor unions of Siberia which had to disperse by peremptory decree of the Omsk government, the moderate Socialists and Co-operative Societies, who had once helped to defeat the Bolsheviks in Siberia, are now agitating for the establishment of "One United Social Democratic front" (including the Bolsheviks) to fight the reactionary forces which strive to restore the old régime.

The latest news from Siberia and Russia state serious cases of mutiny among the anti-Bolsheviki troops. No doubt the real feeling of the country is already telling unmistakably on the situation. Ufa, Perm and Ekaterinburg have been recaptured by the Bolsheviki, despite the presence of picked forces stationed at Ekaterinburg since April of this

year for the purpose of carrying Petrograd.

Viewing these undeniable facts, the Allies' policy in Siberia had better become that of a good winner than that of a bad loser. Hushing up the real facts means only pigeonholing a matter which cannot be avoided to come off, but may entail the necessity of having to confess when it will be too late.

Italy Opposed to the Kolchak Adventure

SIGNS are not wanting of Italian disapproval of Allied intrigue with the dark forces of Russia. The masses of the Italian people, never sympathetic with the war upon the workers' government in Russia, have recently taken a decided and vigorous stand against Entente intervention. Two months ago, Italian shipworkers put an end to active participation by Italy in the Kolchak adventure by refusing to load ships with munitions for Siberia. Italian labor leaders, too, took the lead in proposing an inter-Allied 24-hour strike against intervention. The French and British labor leaders have accepted the Italian proposal and have fixed the strike for July 21st.

Meanwhile, the other classes of Italy have also been showing their disapproval of the Russian policy pursued by the "Big Three." A Giolitti organ a few weeks ago printed an article strongly attacking the intrigues with the Kolchak-Tzarist crowd. Several of the conservative and Catholic newspapers have also pointed out the risks the Allies are taking in supporting the Omsk dictatorship.

"L'Europe Nouvelle," an anti-Bolshevik periodical published in France, in its issue of June 14th, carries an article by a well-informed Italian, Astolfio, discussing the reasons for the disapproval, south of the Alps, of the Entente's Russian policy. There is no subject, says the writer, less understood in Western Europe than Russian affairs. Upon the true state

of things, which nobody in the Allied countries knows, has been superimposed an entirely fictitious conception created specially for the Western nations. This veil of falsehood is so firm at the present time, that it would indeed be a rash spirit who would try to re-establish the truth by building it up from real facts. Just as soon as the Allied chancelleries pick out a marionette politician or adventurer in Siberia "with whom they can treat," they immediately set on foot a huge newspaper propaganda extolling all his acts, real or fictitious.

"This method, although it has already fallen down several times, has now again been put in use. Italy publishes in a docile spirit all the 'telegrams,' and 'letters' said to come from Russia, but in whose composition can be seen a Western hand. The difference between the Italian press and that of the other countries is simply that the former is not directly interested in the creation of a fictitious picture of conditions in Russia and does not actively collaborate in this scheme. It is satisfied merely to transmit to its readers the handiwork of Paris, London and New York. Because of this relative disinterestedness, which is due to the inability of Italian finance to attain a foothold in the economics of Russia, the discussion of Russian problems proceeds with less passion in Italy than in the other countries. The partisans of intervention, first under the standard of Denikin, and then of Kolchak, were less enthusiastic there than elsewhere. They play their game out of professional duty, without really wishing to sweep public opinion into an attitude favorable to the last heirs of Russian czarism. The Socialist press alone is very active, and very vigorous, in fighting any opening of relations with Kolchak or any of his ilk. In this respect its quarrel is less with the Italian government than with the Entente in general. It well understands that the Italian government is merely following the Russian policy of the Entente, originating no policy of its own. At the present time one can say that the Italian press is as a whole either neutral or hostile to negotiations with Kolchak.

"In striking support of this opinion is an article which I shall cite, published by the "Corriere d'Italia" (June 5), headed, 'Mistakes of the Entente in Russia.' The "Corriere d'Italia" is a Catholic and conservative organ. Its hostility to Socialists in general and to the Bolshevik Government in particular no one need doubt. The article contains an

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interview with M. Gregory Schneider, a deputy to the Constituent Assembly of Russia. M. Schneider discusses recent events in Russia and shows how the Western chancelleries have backed up everything that was czarist and fought everything that was democratic, even if the democratic elements were out and out anti-Bolshevist. They facilitated the journeys of the czarist elements abroad, to Paris, while they prevented the democratic elements from leaving Russia. M. Schneider then spoke of the meeting at Jassy.* On that occasion, he said, 'the fatal impression was given that the Entente seeks no support of the reactionary forces of Russia, against the masses, even if the latter are anti-Bolshevist. He emphasized the favoritism shown to General Krasnof, Ataman of the Don Cossacks, to General Demisov, who, in a proclamation addressed to his men, forbade them to take prisoners from among the workmen, ordering them to be hanged or shot, leaving their bodies exposed for three days in the streets. These facts and other similar ones aroused protests from all democratic Russia, but they did not prevent the Entente from continuing to support the reactionaries and from restoring, wherever possible, the officials of the Czar. Continuing his discussion, M. Schneider, who is a leading figure in democratic Russia, poked fun at the theoretical desires of the Allies not to meddle in Russian affairs.

"Up to the present the Entente, at least in so far as it was represented by the French command, always came to the aid of a régime at the moment it was ready to collapse."

"It would have been so with Skoropadsky's government, as well as with the various régimes in the Ukraine. For this reason the desire of the Allies to recognize Kolchak makes M. Schneider optimistic. He sees in this recognition a symptom of the approaching fall of Kolchak. Besides, it must be added, the masses are against Kolchak, and 'in Russia nothing can be done without the masses or against the masses.'

"The official organ of the Vatican, 'L'Osservatore Romano,' devoted a long article (June 5), to the Russian problem, under the topic of 'The Seriousness of Events in Russia.' This article talks of the complexity of the problem and of the mistakes which have been committed. It is not astonishing, then, says the writer, that every now and then certain diplomats with facile minds discover stability in some marionette, by chance raised to the fore out of the Russian chaos. 'L'Osservatore Romano' considers the Kolchak adventure a glorious one, but now quite dead, and it fears that the check upon the pro-Kolchak policy of the Entente may lead to the recognition of the Bolshevik government. For this reason it emphasizes on the one hand the strength of the Entente, and on the other, the strength of the Bolshevik régime in Russia. The struggle is between these two.

"Without allowing ourselves to be guided either by passion or by special interest, we all

agree that the feeling in the Entente countries themselves leans to one or to the other of these two conceptions. Therefore the future will show either a continuation or a negation of the present policy.'

"The check upon the pro-Kolchak policy should not, according to 'L'Osservatore Romano,' lead to the recognition of the Bolshevik government, for that might well mean the end of the existing order.

"L'Avanti,' organ of the Italian Socialist Party, has started a strong campaign against the Russian policy of the Entente. Its issue of the 4th of June, publishes an article headed 'Let Us Save Russia,' in which it protests against the possibility of the recognition of Kolchak, and issues a call to the international proletariat to prevent this recognition. On June 5th, in an article entitled 'How Allied Diplomacy Has Deceived the World,' it analyzes the conditions the Allies were imposing on Kolchak before recognizing him.

"This in brief is the trend of Italian opinion on the Kolchak adventure. The rest of the press is not interested in the Russian problem."

JAPANESE GENDARMES IN RUSSIA

(Russian Telegraph Agency)

Moscow, June 16th.—The following is reported from Samara:

A telegram from Vladivostok to the White Guard newspaper "Mir," appearing at Cheliabinsk, says that the Japanese Minister of War, Tonaki, has considered it necessary to post Japanese gendarmes along the Siberian railroad. Before the first of April, there were only twenty gendarme officers and ninety gendarme privates in Siberia. The Japanese chief of the gendarmerie reported to a newspaper man that at least one thousand gendarmes should be sent to the Siberian railroad, and that such were necessary also in Korea, where the uprising had taken place, and which is demanding its independence, as well as in Japan itself.



INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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* A meeting of Balkan and Russian reactionaries to discuss means for crushing revolutions.

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A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth About Russia

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
AN EYE-WITNESS ON SOVIET RUSSIA, By E. Sylvia Pankhurst	1	THE KOLCHAK "DEMOCRACY"	13
THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA, By M. Philips Price	3	THE BLOCKADE AND AMERICAN EXPORTS TO RUSSIA	15
ALLIED INTRIGUES AGAINST RUSSIA, A Soviet Note	5	CAN THE BLOCKADE ENDURE	15
RUSSIANS IN SWITZERLAND AND SWISS IN RUSSIA, By Arthur Leuba	10	AGAINST INTERVENTION	16
RUSSIAN TRADE WOULD REVIVE WORLD INDUSTRY	11	THE ARRESTS AT VLADIVOSTOK, By Max M. Zippin	17
EDITORIALS	12	RUSSIA AND FINLAND, Three Notes from Chicherin	20
		NOTES AND NEWS FROM RUSSIA	21

An Eye-Witness on Soviet Russia

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

The following article by the distinguished editor of "The Worker's Dreadnaught," London, is taken without change from the June 28th issue of that paper. Miss Pankhurst takes all this material from the reports of a man who left Moscow on May 20th. We have not seen the earlier instalments of the series, of which this is the third instalment.

AS our comrade from Moscow was dealing with cost and standard of living in present-day Russia, we were led naturally from the discussion of food to rent and housing. "In housing," he said, "we had the first example of the socializing of existing things." All the houses in Soviet Russia now belong to the community; private property in housing has disappeared. Rent, as we know it here, a fee for the use of the house, has disappeared; the rent paid by Russian Soviet tenants is calculated only to cover repairs and the local rates.

In the case of houses of moderate size occupied by a single family and suited to its needs, the occupiers, whether they are owners or tenants, are left in possession. In large house blocks, which are most common in Russia, accommodation is rationed on the principle that before any one has two rooms every one must be able to have one. The great houses that once belonged to the aristocrats are in many cases used now for public offices, art schools, clubs, and so on.

Housing affairs are organized by distinct committees, each house block having its own house committee.

SCHOOLS

WE questioned our comrade on certain allegations that there is disorder in the Soviet

schools and that the children are unmanageable. He laughed at the idea. "No, no," he said, "there is no disorder, though there was a little trouble with some of the teachers at first." When the Revolution broke out, counter-revolutionaries offered the teachers full wages to remain away from school; many accepted the offer and remained away till the counter-revolutionaries, finding that the revolution did not collapse, as they had hoped, grew tired of paying and the truant teachers returned. Some of the teachers disliked the new educational methods which had been introduced in their absence, and some were still hostile to communism, therefore they gave as much trouble as they could and created all sorts of difficulties. But gradually their hostility disappeared, their active or passive resistance became at first a dull, unwilling obedience, giving way little by little to a real interest, which is being quickened by the great educational opportunities opening out to them.

THE THEATRE

SOVIET RUSSIA is working hard to popularize the theatre and a system of committees called the Proletkult has been formed to deal with this matter. Proletkult is a composite word, denoting, of course, proletarian culture—there is now a prolific manufacture in Russia of new composite words to serve new needs. The Proletkult organizes in all districts, schools where workers are educated in music, dancing, and the mimic arts. When these students are sufficiently trained they play in company with the old actors. There is a demand for theatrical artistes which it is difficult to supply and no actors are unemployed.

The price of theatre tickets is low and the tickets are offered for sale first through the factories, workshops, offices, wherever work is carried on. Only if any tickets are left after the work centres have been supplied are the tickets put up for general sale. Only then have the hostile bourgeoisie who refuse to work an opportunity to buy theatre tickets. As a rule the workers have bought up all the theatre tickets and only a few cinema tickets remain; indeed it is evident that presently it will only be possible to attend places of amusement if one is willing to work.

The theatres are becoming more and more popular: the cinemas less so. The general view in Russia is that the cinema should not be used for drama but for scientific purposes: for revealing the growth of plants, the depths of the sea, and so on.

The Soviets regard the theatre as a valuable means of social and artistic education: hence its popularity.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND PROPAGANDA

THE phonograph is much used for propaganda. There is a widespread desire to hear Lenin speak; to hear Trotzky, Angelica Balabanoff, Zinoviev, Alexandra Kollontai.

Russia is an enormous country; the only way for the mass of people to hear these speakers is by the phonograph, and request for the records of their speeches comes in a growing stream from all over Russia. The records are set going in barracks, parks, and open spaces. Our visitor recently heard a speech by Kollontai in one of the squares of Moscow.

THE CHURCH

AND what about religion? Our comrade told us that no one fights religion in Russia now, but the Church is losing its hold upon the people. Always the servant of re-action, it tried to control men and women by childish terrors and superstitions, from which the people, filled with a zest for genuine knowledge, are now emancipating themselves. The priests sedulously taught that the images of saints on show in the churches consisted of the incorruptible mortal bodies of holy persons and were possessed of superhuman power. The Church tried to use the popular awe of those saintly bodies against the Revolution. Therefore, the Soviets of many districts arranged for a public investigation of this question.

The people of the neighborhood flocked to the ceremony, delegates were sent from the surrounding villages to bring back reports, cinema operators were in attendance to take records of the scene so that no one might remain in ignorance of the truth.

Then, in order that no profane hands might touch the sacred bodies, the priests themselves were called upon to unfasten the coverings. The saintly bodies turned out to be mere rag dollies, their clothes being stuffed with all sorts of odds and ends, including ladies' stockings!

"Is this the origin of the stories of the looting of

churches, the murder of priests, and violation of nuns?" we asked our comrade. "Probably, in most cases," he answered, "though it is true that early in the revolution two bishops were killed by the mob, one of them at Kiev."

We asked whether all the clergy were hostile to the Soviets; our comrade replied that many of the minor clergy had made common cause with the Soviets and were working for them, not as priests, but in other capacities. The Soviets might have established a Church and priesthood under their own auspices, and many of the priests would have liked that; but the Soviets consider religion a private affair and refuse to set up any State Church.

We questioned our comrade respecting an alleged massacre of Anarchists which was said to have taken place early in the Soviet régime. He explained that the anarchist groups at that period had become strangely swollen and it was discovered that both robbers and thieves of the ordinary criminal type, and bourgeois counter-revolutionaries, were finding it convenient to enroll themselves in the Anarchist ranks. The Anarchists had been given arms because they fought with the Communists against Kerensky. Because of those arms the robbers and counter-revolutionaries were now joining the Anarchists. These anti-social forces began to organize daylight robberies, raiding houses, distributing the clothes, bedding and furniture to the people and keeping the money and valuables for themselves. The public had just waked up to being indignant that the Soviets allowed this to happen, when at 12 o'clock one night, the Soviets suddenly posted troops throughout the city, and by 4 A. M. all the Anarchists had been arrested. The Anarchists were divided into three sections: the genuine Anarchists, the counter-revolutionaries, who turned out to be ex-officials of the Czarist régime and their sons; and lastly the thieves. The two latter sections were, of course, disarmed, and the trouble ceased. The genuine Anarchists were glad to be rid of their unpleasant companions. They are at present supporting the Soviet Government.

(To be Continued)

ARRIVAL OF FREIGHTS FROM UKRAINE

From February 5th to 12th, there were forwarded from the Ukraine to Moscow 24 carloads of coal. The following freights arrived and were distributed: Sodium Carbonate, dried, 1,000 poods; Sodium Carbonate, 2,642 poods; Caustic Soda, dried, 857 poods; Sodium Bicarbonate, 800 poods; nuts, jelly, dried fruits, canned goods—43 carloads.

Arrived, but not distributed, the following cargoes: 395 poods of pitch; 4 thousand poods of chalk-powder; 1,500 poods of sheep-skins; 298 poods of wool and 529 poods of iron.

The Truth About Soviet Russia

By M. Philips Price

(Second Instalment)

Allied Intervention

The months that immediately followed the signing of the Brest-Litovsk peace were used by the Soviet government of Russia for realizing two objectives. The first was the building up of a Red proletarian army, which would be a menace in the East to Prussian militarism. The second was the reconstruction of the economic life of the country upon socialist principles, which would be an example to the proletariat of Central Europe and break their loyalty to their own Imperialist warlords. If the Allied governments even at this period of the revolution had chosen to examine the facts, they would have seen that with clean hands they had nothing to fear of working with Bolshevik Russia. But the hands of the Allies were not clean. London and Paris had become, since the early months of 1918, a centre of all the royalist emigrants from Russia. Sinister forces on the Stock Exchanges dreamed of seeing in power the same servants of Czarism to whom they had lent money in the past and who were expected to remain their contented slaves in the future. Instead of responding to the invitation of Bolshevik Russia to send instructors to drill the red army and reorganize the railways and open concessions, in payment for the Czar's war loans, the Allied governments became responsible for one of the most disgraceful acts of modern history. In May, 1918, there was formed in most of the chief towns of Great Russia, under the directions of General Alexieff, a secret society of officers and members of the bourgeoisie, whose aim it was to organize counter-revolutionary guards and overthrow the Soviet Republic at the given moment. Letters discovered by the Soviet authorities at this time prove that close relations existed between General Alexieff and the French military mission. The plot of the officers' secret society was discovered, but the majority of persons implicated escaped, and in June took up their activities in the towns of East European Russia. Plans were then worked out by General Alexieff and the French Military Mission to seize the towns on the Volga and cut off the food from Central Russia and draw the country into the war again by establishing the East front on a line running from Archangel to the mouth of the Don. The Czecho-Slovak volunteer forces which had been on the southwest front before the Brest-Litovsk peace were taken under the protection of the French Military Mission. The Czecho-Slovak commanders asked for leave to go to the West European front and the Soviet Government gave this permission. The Czecho-Slovak troops were therefore sent by slow stages across Russia to Vladivostok, where they were to embark for France. About the middle of June the Soviet authorities became aware of the fact

that during the previous weeks the sum of eleven million rubles had been paid by the French Consul in Moscow to the Czecho-Slovak National Council and eighty thousand pounds by the British consul. Becoming suspicious of the objects for which this large sum of money was paid, the Soviet authorities asked for an explanation and meanwhile delayed the transport of the Czecho-Slovak troops. The latter, having been duly prepared by propaganda to believe that the Bolsheviks were laying a trap for them to hand them over to the Germans, lost their heads and seized the railway stations of those towns in East Russia where they happened to be at the moment. These towns were all on the line drawn up in the plans laid by General Alexieff's secret society of officers and the French Military Mission. As soon as the frightened Czecho-Slovaks had made their impulsive coup, they found themselves surrounded by these officers' guards, led by Frenchmen, and were forced to follow them in the war which the latter immediately declared against the Soviet government of Russia. Thus the way to a reconciliation was blocked by the carefully prepared plans of the counter-revolutionaries, who made the Czecho-Slovaks their tools. Thus the revolt became an accomplished fact, and Central Russia, cut off from Ukraine corn by the Germans, was now deprived of its last corn stores on the Volga. The famine in that part of Russia where the Soviet government still existed, increased as a result of the Czecho-Slovak rebellion, and it was confidently hoped by the leaders of the counter-revolution that the masses would rise in revolt against the Bolsheviks. These people, however, forgot that, when the Russian masses would rise, it would be not against the Bolshevik government but against the foreign invaders.

But that was not all. The evidence given before the revolutionary tribunal of the republic in November, 1918, proved that in August of that year the French and British diplomatic representatives in Moscow, M. Grenard and Mr. Lockhart, received in their rooms an officer of the Lettish Soviet regiment and paid him two million rubles for the purpose of securing the support of the Lettish soldiery for the overthrow of the Soviet government. Further, a letter from M. René Marchand, correspondent of the "Figaro" in Russia, a strong anti-Bolshevik, to President Poincaré, was discovered by the Soviet authorities. In this letter, M. Marchand describes a meeting at the American Consulate, at which he and the French and British diplomatic representatives were present, and at which certain agents of the consulates discussed plans for blowing up bridges over the Volkhov river. The effect of this would have been to reduce Petrograd to complete starvation. As an honest man, M. Marchand protested to

the French President against the behavior of Allied officials in Russia. Some of these plans actually did mature and food trains destined for Petrograd and Moscow were blown up at Voronezh by these agents.

Now in the face of the above it is not to be wondered at that the Soviet authority replied to the "White Terror" of the Allied agents by the Red Terror. Up till May of 1918, the Soviet government had only executed murderers or persons caught pillaging. The application of the death penalty for political offences was only reintroduced when the Czarist officers and the Russian bourgeoisie, and as we see above, the official representatives of the Allies in Russia, commenced a systematic terrorist campaign against the Soviet government.

The appalling position of Soviet Russia, bound by the German tyrant at Brest-Litovsk on the one hand, and treacherously attacked by the Allied intervention on the other, roused the Russian workers and peasants to feats of heroism which have only been equalled by the French people in their revolutionary war against the European coalition headed by Austria. "Russian people, rise against foreign tyranny! We must dare and dare again and dare always," came from the lips of hundreds who had never heard the name of Danton. With the energy of despair, the nucleus of the red army was mobilized, clad in cotton shirts and wooden shoes. Regiments of Petrograd workmen and Kronstadt sailors who knew they were fighting for their all, marched eastwards and hurled themselves upon the enemy with the cries, "Long live the Russian Revolution! Workers of all countries unite!" The agents of the foreign tyrants wavered and fell back before the terrific onslaughts of these revolution-inspired men. Kazan fell, then Simbirsk, Sizran and Samara. By the autumn, "Mother Volga," that artery in which courses the life-blood of Russia, was cleared of the tyrants and their hirelings. But it was too late to bring up food for the starving towns, for the ice had begun to set in.

After the German revolution, the Allied governments had the field in Russia all to themselves. Their strategy during the winter of 1918-19 aimed at cutting off industrial Russia from all its sources of food and raw materials, in order to ruin, through blockade, the Russian Revolution. Money and ammunition was sent to royalist Generals who were mobilizing Czarist officers on the Don, North Caucasus and in Siberia. General Krasnov, former editor of the official **War Office Gazette**, under the Czar, made no secret of his Monarchist leanings. Having pumped the Kaiser's treasury till Kaiserdom fell, he now appealed to his other class allies, the British and French governments, from whom he received supplies of money and ammunition. General Denikin in the North Caucasus and Admiral Kolchak in Siberia more clearly covered their royalist principles by calling themselves "constitutional democrats" and by attaching to themselves a number of intellectuals who called themselves "socialists," but

who are not known in Russia to anyone outside the counter-revolutionary camp. Such was the cynicism of these tactics, that the right socialist revolutionary party of Russia, hitherto bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks, decided at the beginning of 1919 to support the latter in their fight against the foreign invaders. The occupation of the Don by Krasnov had for months cut off all coal supplies from the Moscow and Petrograd industrial area. The occupation of the Urals by Kolchak had cut off iron and copper. The occupation of the North Caucasus and the Caspian littoral by the Denikin counter-revolutionaries had cut off oil from the railways of Central Russia. But the Allied governments are not troubled by any of the misery that this causes the Russian people. If the industries close and the railways cease running and there is no heating in the houses of the Petrograd workmen, so much the better for the "cause of justice." The British and French capitalist press can all the better accuse the socialist system of Soviet Russia for being responsible for the misery which the Allied governments alone have created.

Anarchy Let Loose

Gradually the iron ring around Central Russia began to break. Revolutionary Russia had allies in all the territories hitherto occupied by the counter-revolution. These allies were found among the working classes of the towns and the poorer peasantry. No greater service has in reality been rendered to Revolutionary Russia than by the behavior of the Allied governments and their agents in the territories they have occupied. On the Don, in Siberia and Archangel the whole of the social programme of the Bolshevik government has been reversed. The feudal landlords, who had taken refuge in England and France, as soon as they heard that the Allied troops had taken the territory where their land was situated, returned, and with the aid of foreign bayonettes reduced the poorer population to the condition of poverty they were in under the Czar's tyranny. Free sale and speculation in land was allowed again. Labor organizations were either broken up or else reduced to committees which had purely nominal power. Everywhere where the Union Jack or the Tricolor flew along with the old flag of Czarist Russia, there was a restoration of the enslavement of the Russian people. But this only aroused the Russian workers and peasants to a hatred of the Allies hitherto unknown. A deputation of peasants recently coming from the Volga provinces said: "The Allies have taught us a lesson and we shall never again oppose the Soviet Republic." Gradually in all the outlying parts of Russia, in the Baltic provinces, the Ukraine, the Don and the Cossack territories the oppressed workers began to come together to decide upon a common action against foreign tyranny. In Courland, Lithuania and White Russia the native workers and peasants formed their own Soviet governments, which took power as soon as the old German army left. The landlords and rich

people fled with the Germans and in Berlin, Paris and London started a propaganda for Allied military support to reinvade these territories. The touching sympathy between the propertied classes of England and France, and their erstwhile foes, the propertied classes of Germany, was never so clearly seen as now. It is a fact that during February and March of this year the German General Staff in East Prussia was in touch with the British naval authorities in the Baltic and that Prussian junkers' volunteer corps have received the protection of the British fleet to carry on operations against the Bolsheviks.

Further south, in the Ukraine, the local Bolsheviks had been organizing during the autumn of last year an Ukrainian Red Army. As long as the Germans were there the soldiers of this army hid in the forest, dug in their rifles and artillery and contented themselves with propaganda. But by Christmas, 1918, large numbers of the German troops came over to the Bolshevik side and the rest anarchically demobilized and went home. Then the Red flood was indeed let loose. The 10,000 army of Ukrainian Bolsheviks came out of their hiding and marched south with the cry, "War on the mansions, peace to the cottages." They were met everywhere with the wildest enthusiasm. Young men fled to join the red army. Old men brought their blessings. The landlords' domains became once more the property of the peasants; the sugar factories came again under

the control of workers. Everywhere along the West and South borders of Muscovite Russia there has come into being a chain of socialist republics. They sprung up everywhere like mushrooms, as soon as the artificial force of the foreign bayonettes had been dispelled like an unhealthy miasma before the pure wind of heaven. There has been no invasion of these provinces by the red army, no Bolshevik Imperialism spreading west and south in imitation of Czarist traditions. The advance of the red army has been brought about by the triumphant social revolution within these territories, which took place as soon as the German tyranny had been removed. The red armies that have been formed in these border regions of Russia are all from the local population. It is not true that Chinese mercenaries are used by the Bolsheviks. Lies of this type are spread by counter-revolutionists in order to stir up race feeling and thereby hinder the creation of a united proletarian front. Moreover the local socialist governments in the Baltic provinces, Ukraine and the Don are in practice quite independent of Moscow and have only gone into federation with the Bolshevik government there, because of the common interests and social ideals which inspire both. The Soviet Government of Central Russia does not seek to impose its authority on any people in the world. It only seeks allies, which exist in all lands among the working-class, and is ready at all times to work with them.

Allied Intrigues Against Russia

(A Soviet Note to Italy)

The following note is a full statement of the intrigues conducted on Soviet Russian territory, by Entente agents and representatives, as well as of the Czecho-Slovak operations in Siberia. The Russian Soviet Government in this note protests against these machinations on the part of the Entente representatives and requests Italy to refrain from any participation in counter-revolutionary acts.

Up to the moment when the Italian Government actually broke with Russia, the Russian Soviet Government had been doing everything in its power to establish amicable relations with Italy.

There can be no opposition of interests between Russia and Italy. Nothing divides the Russian people from the Italian and, since the aggressive imperialistic policy of Czarism has ceased to menace the peace of the East and to instigate troubles in Slavic countries neighboring on Italy, nothing should trouble the harmony between the two countries, and the Italian Government should refrain from any hostile action towards peaceful and democratic Russia, which is desirous of the friendship of all peoples.

Nevertheless, the contrary, alas! has happened. The Soviet government has always treated the Italian representatives in Russia with the greatest

consideration and courtesy and has done all in its power to aid them when Italian prisoners who had escaped from Austria arrived in Moscow destitute of all that is necessary to exist. When the menace of Allied warships had forced the Soviet authorities in Archangel to introduce the state of siege in that city and a detachment of Italian soldiers had been arrested and brought by force to Moscow where the military authorities interned them in barracks, the Soviet government, after an inquiry necessitated by the abnormal and perilous situation in which Russia was situated, nevertheless freed all the Italian soldiers in question. When the Italian representatives desired to leave Russia—although the Soviet government would have preferred to have them remain in Russia—they were treated with all possible respect and regard on the part of the Soviet government, and all Italian subjects desiring to leave with them could do so without hindrance.

During the period when the Soviet government was in constant relations with the Italian military attaché, General Romei, and the consul general in Moscow, Mr. Maioni, the representatives of the Soviet government made constant efforts to make them see the ardent desire of Soviet Russia to live in peace with Italy. That was the time when the Entente representatives were striving to embroil Russia, ruined and bleeding from a thousand wounds, in a new war against Germany, which in view of Russia's situation at the time, with the enormous power of imperialist Germany not far from Moscow, would have meant certain ruin for Russia, an invasion by the imperialist German army and all the incalculable calamities involved in a foreign occupation and resulting from the oppression practiced by a German army upon her territory. It was impossible for Russia at such a moment to commit veritable suicide in this manner; the result would have been truly fatal for the unhappy Russian people. The representatives of the Soviet Government gave the representatives of Italy to understand that Soviet Russia had the best intentions towards Italy, that it requested nothing else but to live in peace with her as well as with other countries; and that moreover, when the Russian people would have recovered, the national organism would be reconstructed and filled with a new strength; then perhaps, if the circumstances should permit, the Russian people, with arms in their hands, would throw off the fetters which had been imposed upon them by the victorious German imperialism. The Soviet representatives even said that if the German army should invade the heart of Russia and put the Russian people before the prospect of subjection, the Russian Soviet Government would then address itself to all the powers of the Entente asking that they come to its aid and propose to them a co-ordinated action against the German invader. But in the situation in which Russia found herself at the time, as long as this condition did not materialize, and as long as Germany should leave at peace all the extent of Russia which Germany did not occupy, the only possible policy for the Russian Soviet Government was that of peace, of peace at any price. How many times during these conversations with General Romei and with Mr. Maioni did the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs try to make them understand that the Russian people in the terrible crisis through which it was passing could offer to the powers of the Entente no real assistance, and that to Russia itself incalculable harm would be involved in every imprudent action toward Germany. Internal reconstruction, creation of the national organs which were lacking in all spheres of Russian life, such was the task of the Russian Government at that moment, and peace, peace at any price, was the first condition of its existence.

Unfortunately, the representatives of Italy returned always to the same unreasonable demands, asking of Russia, which was unable to take up arms at that moment, to re-enter the field against Ger-

many, then at the zenith of her military strength. The Red Army at that time was yet in an embryonic state; defenceless Russia could offer but a semblance of resistance to the terrific German force. In spite of that the Italian representatives demanded of the Soviet Government an impossibility, by asking defenceless Russia to reopen the war against the imperialist colossus, a victorious Germany.

Soviet Russia has done no wrong to the Italian people; Russia only refrained from beginning a new war that was beyond her power. This notwithstanding, the Italian Government has sent its armies against the Russian Soviet Republic. Italian contingents took part in the invasion of the northern provinces of Russia without any pretext and without a declaration of war; other Italian detachments appeared in the remote Siberian provinces of Russia which Russia was unable to defend against this danger. Now that the delegates of the Socialist-Revolutionary party, who had always been the adversaries of the Russian Soviet Government, faced by the barbarous and limitless reaction that is rampant in Siberia, thanks to the support of the Allies, have finally come to Moscow to seek a reconciliation with the Soviet Government against the terrible menace of the bloody counter-revolution—these delegates have declared, and the secretary of the ex-Constituent Assembly, Sviatitzky, has published their statement in the "Izvestia" of February 6th, that the revolt of the peasants in the Marlinsk District of the province of Tomsk had been drowned in blood by Italian detachments stationed in these regions in order to keep the people under the yoke. Italian soldiers appeared in Siberia and in northern Russia in the rôle of judges of the Russian people. That is what we protest against with all our might and that is the state of affairs which we demand should stop.

Soviet Russia demands but one thing: that she be permitted to live in peace. She does not menace anybody, she has always sought the friendship of all peoples. The invasion of her territory by the Allied armies was provoked by no act on her part. Since then the Soviet Government has repeated many times its peace proposals to the representatives of the Entente through the neutral representatives in Moscow. The proposition to enter into peace parleys was addressed on November 3rd to the Italian Government at the same time as to the other Entente governments. On November 8th, the 5th Congress of the Soviets declared solemnly before the whole world that it had addressed to the Entente powers a proposition to enter into negotiations to put an end to the armed conflict with those powers. The same proposition was addressed on December 23rd, by the Russian representative at Stockholm, Litvinoff, to the representatives of the Entente countries resident in Sweden. Lastly, on February 4th, in the note sent out by wireless to the Entente governments, the Russian Soviet Government declared itself ready to make serious sacri-

fices with regard to its financial obligations, and also to furnish guarantees in the form of quantities of raw materials, as well as mining, forest and other concessions and also some concessions in the sphere of territorial annexations. While these lines are being written, the Russian Soviet Government is still awaiting an answer from the Entente governments. We repeat once more that peace and friendship with all the peoples is the aim which Soviet Russia seeks to attain even at the price of serious sacrifices.

The pretext which was advanced by the Entente powers at the time when they entered upon the road of a hostile policy towards Soviet Russia was the armed struggle beginning at that time between the Soviet authorities and the Czecho-Slovak troops of Western Siberia. In reality the Soviet Government has displayed the greatest patience towards the Czecho-Slovaks and has taken recourse to rigorous measures only after the actions of the latter have made it impossible for the former to avoid using such measures. At the beginning of 1918, the Soviet Government consented to the departure of the Czecho-Slovaks, with their weapons, by the Vladivostok route. In the midst of a fully disarmed Russia, the Czecho-Slovak contingents, well organized, imbued with martial spirit, having at their disposal sufficient war materials and receiving considerable support from the Entente powers became soon a most serious menace to the internal safety of the Russian Soviet Republic. Animated by sentiments that were little favorable to the new régime in Russia, the Czech contingents manifested their sentiments more and more violently, taking possession by force of the rolling stock on the Russian railroads, which they lacked on account of the general disorganization of transportation, and seizing food stocks and provisions in the villages through which they were passing, and whose population was suffering from famine. Collisions took place between the Czecho-Slovaks and the local authorities, chiefly the railroad authorities. Soon their attitude with regard to the Soviet Government became decidedly hostile and seriously menacing. Where they met compatriots who were unwilling to follow their road, they committed the worst acts of violence against the latter. They also seized many camps inhabited by Czechs in various towns of interior Russia, such as Kirsanoff, where a certain number of Czechs were massacred by the Czecho-Slovak contingents. They were commanded by counter-revolutionary Czarist officers and, as the documents seized later on the Czecho-Slovak spies who fell into our hands have proved in an irrefutable manner, French agents systematically prepared, with the aid of gold distributed by them among the Czecho-Slovaks, the revolt which, in their opinion, was to deal a mortal blow to the people's revolution in Russia. The danger became so highly menacing that the towns of Western Siberia, especially after the disembarkment of the Japanese in the middle of April, which marked the beginning of the interventionist policy on the

part of the Entente, demanded in a loud voice that the Czech contingents be directed by another road. The Soviet Government indicated to England and France that a journey by the way of Archangel and Murmansk would be much more desirable in the interest of the Czechs themselves. As Trotsky indicated in a lecture delivered by him in the middle of June, and published in the "Slovo Naroda" on June 18th, the situation after the occupation of Vladivostok by the Japanese became such that the departure by way of Archangel and Murmansk was the only possible way out for the Czecho-Slovaks. Unfortunately, England and France dragged on the negotiations in this matter which had been begun by Russia. As irrefutable proofs have later demonstrated, the Entente agents, at that time chiefly French agents, were systematically preparing the Czecho-Slovak revolt, while on the other hand they were arranging the counter-revolutionary movement of the Kuban and Terek Cossacks and organizing the elements for the future counter-revolutionary government of the North of Russia and of certain parts of Siberia. Certain documents which fell into our hands later, contain precise data in regard to the activities of those French agents, supplied with very considerable sums of money, who scattered gold without stint.

When the proposition had been made to England and France to hasten the return of the Czecho-Slovaks by the northern maritime route, the English and the French Governments adopted in this connection a dilatory policy and dragged the matter on and on, week after week. In the meantime the Czecho-Slovaks occupied all railroad lines from Penza to Omsk, showing by their attitude their evidently hostile intentions with regard to the Russian Soviet Government. It was then that the latter, finding the situation irksome, took measures to free itself from the situation, and demanded from the Czecho-Slovaks that they give up the greater part of their arms, leaving them a certain quantity of rifles assigned for every echelon. The Czecho-Slovaks now responded with a mutiny; they raised the banner of revolt, seizing at once the towns in which they were, which at that time were completely denuded of armed forces. The Czecho-Slovaks made themselves at once masters of a very extensive region and of railroad lines that represent a vital necessity for communication between Russia and Siberia, and for supplying the former with food, and began immediately, wherever they became masters, to overthrow the Soviet authorities and to replace them by the old bourgeois and capitalist authorities. The Omsk newspaper "Delo Sibiri" of June 29th and the Kourgansk magazine "Svobodnaia Mysl" published a declaration of the chief of the French mission to the Czecho-Slovak insurgents, M. Alphonse Guinet, in which in the name of the French embassy he officially thanks the Czecho-Slovaks for their acts directed against the Russian Soviet Republic. He said that the French representative had maintained for some time con-

tinuous relations with the Soviet authorities, but that from this moment on they had changed their attitude and would support the Czecho-Slovaks in their military activity. On June 4th, the representatives of the Entente in Moscow, and among them Mr. Maioni, declared in the name of Italy to the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs that their governments regarded the Czecho-Slovaks as an allied army under the protection of the Entente powers, and that they would view their disarmament as an act of hostility against those governments. On June 12th, the Soviet Government answered to this declaration that the disarmament of the Czecho-Slovaks could in no case be considered as a hostile act against the Entente powers, because Russia as a neutral power could not suffer on her territory armed forces not belonging to the armies of the Soviet Republic, and that the direct reason which made it absolutely necessary to disarm the Czechs was their counter-revolutionary insurrection, menacing with serious danger the safety of Soviet Russia. As the Soviet Government has explained in a note in question, the Czecho-Slovak insurrection started on May 26th at Tcheliabinsk, where they seized the railroad and stores of arms, overthrowing the Soviet authorities, and replacing them by counter-revolutionary authorities, which they afterwards repeated in Omsk, Novo-Nikolayevsk, later operating in intimate contact with the White Guards and with the former officers of the Czarist army. The Entente powers maintained their attitude of protection accorded to the counter-revolutionary Czech insurgents, asserting that the German Government had compelled Soviet Russia to adopt measures against them, whereas the German Government, on the contrary, began to pay attention to the actions of the Czechs only after their insurrection and after the Allies by their diplomatic action had transformed this question into a great political question of an international order.

Soon the whole region of the Czecho-Slovak occupation, which comprised an ever greater part of Siberia, became the field of a veritable orgy of the counter-revolution, of shooting and mass executions of workmen and peasants suspected of sympathies for the revolution, of summary massacres and court martials sentencing to death by wholesale. Tens of thousands of workmen and peasants filled the prisons of that region. A most brutal and bloody counter-revolution, under the protection of the armed forces of the Entente, soon embraced that immense region where the Czecho-Slovaks had prepared the ground for it, as well as in the North of Russia, where the English battleships had paved the way, menacing moreover the very existence of the Russian Soviet Republic and the popular revolution of the workers and peasants of Russia.

The activities of the Allied representatives became ever more systematic in inciting everywhere, where it was possible for them, riots, revolts, troubles, and in creating conspiracies, which they were able to do by generous distributions of money, thus

paying for the most horrible crimes. Mr. René Marchand, correspondent of the "Figaro," a person known to the president of the French Republic, Mr. Poincaré, in a letter dated August 22nd (September 4th), which fell into the hands of Soviet authorities during a house search, tells the following:

"A semi-official gathering which I had occasion to attend recently, revealed to me in a most unexpected fashion, so far as I am concerned, a secret operation of a most dangerous nature. I allude to a private gathering held at the former Consulate General of the United States on August 23 and 24, if I am not mistaken. The former Consul-General of the United States, Mr. Poole, and our Consul-General were present there. Allied agents whose names I don't recall but whom I did not know personally attended the meeting.

"Undoubtedly, I hasten to state it, neither the American nor the French Consuls-General have ever themselves made the slightest allusion to any hidden work of destruction; but incidentally I have been made aware of such a practice through the conversations of agents present among them.

"I have thus learned that an English agent was preparing the destruction of the railroad bridge which passes over the river Volkhoff, before the station of Zvanka. Now it is necessary only to glance at the map in order to see that the destruction of this bridge would be equivalent to the complete starving of Petrograd, which city would have found itself in fact cut off from any communication with the East, whence comes exclusively the grain of which it has already barely enough to live on. The author of the scheme himself recognized the full seriousness of the consequences of such an action and declares that he does not know yet whether he could put his project into execution.

"A French agent added to this proposition that he had already attempted to blow up the bridge of Tcherepovetz, which would have had the same consequence so far as the food supply of Petrograd is concerned as the destruction of the Zvanka bridge, Tcherepovetz being also on the only line which keeps Petrograd in communication with the Eastern regions. Besides, there was the question of derailing the trains on different lines. One agent explained also that he was assured of co-operation among railroad men which was valuable but would prevent the use of certain instruments of destruction, as the railroad men who had been won over would consent only to operate against trains with war materials."

During the months of June, July and August, everywhere in Russia, the agents of the Entente were fomenting insurrection. The Yaroslav riot took place after the visit of French officers. When the Commander-in-Chief Mouravieff revolted against the Soviet power, a proof was furnished to the government that he had received sums of money from England. All the mutinies that followed in various

parts of Russia were plotted by invisible hands from a hidden centre, and General Alexeieff, a professed partisan of England, whose subsidies furnish him with the means of existence, was named as the supreme chief of all the insurgents.

All this period of conspiracies fomented by agents of the Entente culminated in a huge conspiracy prepared by the English representative Lockhart, who attempted to corrupt the Lettish guards* of the Kremlin in order to seize Lenin and Trotzky, who, in his opinion, would have to be immediately shot, and to replace the Soviet Government by a military dictatorship in close contact with the Orthodox Church and with all the blackest forces of a most terrible reaction. The unshaken devotion of the valiant Lettish revolutionists saved the Russian people from the calamity of losing Lenin and Trotzky, against whom this kidnapping game was directed and revealed to the world the crimes which the English representative was secretly preparing.

The months of June, July and August, 1918, constituted the most difficult period through which Soviet Russia has passed. The enemies hiding behind the corners attempted to stab from behind with a poisoned dagger the Russian Soviet Republic. All the forces of reaction working in the dark were set in motion, supported by a secret activity and the inexhaustible gold of the Entente. This was the moment when that which is called the red terror was developed in Soviet Russia. It was nothing but a case of elementary self-defence against the innumerable enemies who were assailing her from without and within. All the counter-revolutionary forces, former officers, capitalists, village usurers, did all in their power to join in overthrowing the revolutionary government of Russia in a union with the immense forces of the Entente and supported by the latter. Never indeed has the red terror attained the fabulous proportions that were assigned to it by the calumny which is rampant in the foreign press, never did any mass executions of former officers take place. In Petrograd, after the ex-officers were made to register, some of them who were dangerous were interned. In Moscow, the registered officers were released. The only mass execution, that of 500 persons in Petrograd, took place after the assassination of Ouritzky and the attempt on the life of Lenin, when the Petrograd proletarians were expecting every moment an uprising of the counter-revolutionary forces supported by the Entente. In Moscow, executions en masse have never taken place and all the death sentences passed in Moscow by the Extraordinary Commission during the entire past year barely exceed a total of one hundred. All the fantastic stories of mass shootings circulated by the international counter-revolutionary press belong to the domain of fable, and there is no

comparison between the number of these executions and the innumerable atrocities perpetrated by the bloody executioners of the counter-revolution in the regions of Allied occupation or by the army of Denikin in the South.

All the activity of the Entente against Soviet Russia, the invasion in the north, in the east, in the south and latterly in the west, had as its result the cutting off of the food supplies from Central Russia, that is from the Russian Soviet Republic where a workers' and peasants' revolution is maintaining itself. That is what is being called the economic encircling; it is the lack of food which is one of the means of the counter-revolution by which it tries to force the Russian popular revolution to capitulate. Never has famine in Russia attained the fabulous proportions which were assigned to it by the campaign of calumnies which was systematically worked up during the past few months. Our situation as regards the food supply is difficult and painful, and it is only with the greatest efforts that we succeed in maintaining some food allowances to the people. But notwithstanding the privations that we have to undergo, we have thus far been victorious in this painful trial. The valiant Red Army, whose condition is becoming better from day to day, whose discipline is a most exemplary one, and for which numerous courses for instructors are preparing, with an unusual rapidity, increasing numbers of revolutionary officers coming from the ranks of the workers and the peasants, has by its heroic actions reconquered for Soviet Russia certain fertile regions which had always supplied with food the Centre and the North of European Russia, which are so poor in food stuffs. Our military force is developing successfully to greater proportions, while it is defending us against enemies who are still being supported by the Allied contingents and by abundant war supplies furnished by them.

But still now as before our constant desire is peace with all peoples. In order to be able to enjoy its benefits we are now as ever ready to make serious sacrifices, which are mentioned in our note of February 4th, addressed to the powers of the Entente. We propose real advantages to the commerce and industry of the Western countries; we declare to the latter that their real interests will be served by the conditions which we propose. We believe that they ought for their own interest consent to this and re-establish normal relations with us, so ardently desired by us. We hope that Italy, finally, which would seem to have no cause for hostility to Soviet Russia, will terminate its policy directed against us and will use her influence in the international deliberations of the Powers in order to aid us in the re-establishment of normal and peaceful relations with all the peoples and their governments, which is the object of our desires. What we wish is peace and we hope that the Entente Powers will at last accede to our desire.

February 14th, 1919.

* At present the Lettish soldiers have returned to Lettonia and no longer constitute the guard at the Kremlin.

Russians in Switzerland and Swiss in Russia

By Arthur Leuba

Among the inhabitants of Geneva at present there are numerous adversaries of the Soviet republic of Russia. This is quite understandable and quite human, for before the revolution of 1917, the rich Russian families supported at Geneva a large number of young men who had come to the city of Jean Jacques Rousseau to pursue their studies there, and, in some cases, to have a good time there, while far away on Russian soil the serfs attached to the land were scraping it to make it "yield" its tithe, and in the great industrial cities the worker was amassing extensive dividends for capital.

At Monte Carlo, on the beautiful shores of the Riviera, the Russian lords, big and little, lived magnificently on the income of the labor of thousands of Russian peasants and workers, remaining at home. At Geneva and on the Riviera the rich student or the Russian lord had his bank account, and drew from it liberally, which allowed him to taste of all the refinements and all the orgies of civilization, without giving a care to the source of this money which made it possible for him to pursue costly studies or engage in voluptuous excesses.

The muzhik lived wretchedly; so did the Russian worker; at Geneva and on the Riviera, the representatives of the rich Russian families cared little about this. But Lenin came to power, the land was nationalized, handed over to those who work it with their own labors; exploitation of the muzhik was at an end, the consignments of money from Russia were at an end, no more deposits were being made in the banks, and almost at a flash the beneficiaries of the old régime of exploitation became acquainted with poverty. It is among their ranks that you will find today the majority of the opponents of the Russian Revolution. The other opponents of the revolution are Swiss citizens who lived in Russia during the years of the Czarist régime. Hard working, enterprising, they amassed savings in that country, often at the price of great exertion, which were carried away by the revolution. Switzerland owes entire support to these fellow-countrymen of ours, whose resentment is due to the unhappy turn which has taken place in their affairs. But do these people remember that while they were saving money, let us say, under the reign of Nicholas II, the mines of Siberia were full of hosts of revolutionaries? While they were in Russia did they see the unspeakable misery of the Russian people? And, during the war, did they not witness monstrous hecatombs of Russian subjects sent to the slaughter by the Czarist government? Have they given thought to the millions of dead whom the war has torn out of the ranks of the people? Have they heard the cries of terror, the laments, the immense sorrow expressed by the Russian victims of the war? By the side of these sufferings,

and these horrors inflicted by the war upon the Russian people, how negligible must we consider, after all, the losses of money, of social station, or of prospects, which have been suffered by the Swiss in Russia? Losses, to be sure, which the solicitude of our country should in every way lighten by aiding to the best of its ability the Swiss victims of the Russian revolution.

While individuals may be hostile to the Russian revolution, it is certain that the peoples, all of them, have an increasingly warm sympathy with this revolution, a sympathy that is growing from day to day, for the peoples, all the wretched and suffering masses of the earth, behold in the Russian Revolution taken as a whole, the pledge of their emancipation, the coming of a new era of justice, of truth, and of fraternity.

We may be opposed to the Terror and to its violence, we may say what we like of the methods employed by the Soviet Government—but it remains nevertheless true that the maximalist revolution of November 1917 is the fairest chapter in the Russian Revolution, because it dragged Russia out of the international war at a time when the other countries of Europe were still involved in this sanguinary folly, because the government of Lenin immediately made a tremendous effort to attain peace and a reconciliation of nations.

The Russian Revolution is simply a tremendous action with numerous diversions. It must be accepted as a whole, just as you accept the French revolution, together with its Terror, its September massacres, its drownings at Nantes, its Robespierre—by you Swiss democrats who maintain with such vehemence that you are opponents of the Russian Soviet Republic!

You often call yourselves the intellectual offspring of the French revolution, and it is true that we are all indebted to it, just as our children will be indebted to the immense effort which is being put forth in our days in Russia, in order to lead humanity back to the road of justice and of truth.

The Civil War makes blood flow in Russia! Alas! It is because the wicked forces of oppression, of ignorance and of stupidity and of double-dealing are not yet destroyed. But the blood which flows while the Communist Republic of Russia is being organized, constitutes but a poor little brook, when compared with the rivers of blood shed all over Europe by the "great war of liberation" which you have greeted with your repeated approval, oh, Swiss democrats, furious scorers of the Russian revolution!

The international proletariat expects much from the present experience of Russia. All the men who have been cursing the war since the great disillusion-

sionment of Versailles are directing their glance to Russia, for it is their conviction that it is from Russia that the great wave of national conciliation will come. It is a new world which is being prepared in Russia in the midst of sorrow. As yet, we can discern but indistinctly the outlines of this new social organization of humanity. But the peoples are following with their eyes this incomparable effort, this Russian Revolution, which they accept as a whole and to which they attach their ardent hopes.

The Russian Soviet Republic will be a glorious page in history, because it was the first to attempt to stop the murderous collisions of nations, because in the midst of war it hailed peace, because it laid down the sword, and addressed to all the peoples who were still destroying each other its moral appeal for world fraternity. And the peoples have ever since felt their solidarity with the Russian Revolution, taken as a whole.

(From "La Feuille," Geneva, July 1, 1919.)

RUSSIAN TRADE WOULD REVIVE WORLD INDUSTRY

A remarkably clear-sighted review of the Russian situation in its intimate relations to international trade and world reconstruction appeared in the Springfield Republican, July 27, from which we take the following extracts:

"To find the clew to a sound Russian policy it is necessary to go back to the basic fact of the dire economic plight of Europe..... At the present moment the Allies cannot afford to make even a little war upon Russia. A little war in all probability means a long and wasting war. It means continued division of the world into sealed compartments between which trade is impossible. It means cutting off half the continent of Europe from commerce, and the continued idleness of unnumbered millions of workers. It means the sealing of frontiers to that neighborly exchange which would most quickly revive trade and involve the least delay and expense for transport.....

Soviet Russia Seeks Peace

"But is it possible to enter into relations with Lenin? President Masaryk thinks so, and his opinion is worth much. President Wilson thought so, or he would not have proposed the Prinkipos conference. Lloyd George must have thought so, when he suggested that the Soviets send delegates to Paris. Finally, the French foreign office and the anti-Bolshevist Russian parties quite certainly thought so, or they would not have made such frantic efforts to wreck all proposals of this sort....

"There can no longer be doubt that ever since Litvinov's overtures last November the Lenin government has been unsuccessfully seeking peace and has gone a long way toward meeting the conditions imposed by the allies. That this is the case has rather conclusively been proved by the suppression

of the Moscow side of the correspondence and by the concerted mendacity of the imperialists in declaring that the war must go on because the Bolsheviks would not make peace. This is still the general belief; if the public knew that ever since the ending of the great war last November the Soviets had been seeking peace, it would at the present time have a powerful effect.

Russian Trade Would Revive Europe

"Europe is in desperate straits; it cannot afford to waste another penny on a superfluous war. Its prime need is to stop fighting and set to work. For work there must be industries and for industries there must be a flow of commerce. For a flow of commerce there must be a removal of obstacles, and the worst of obstacles are blockade and embargo.

"No single thing would give Europe such a life as the immediate opening of trade with Russia, and this means Soviet Russia....

Recognition Can Wait

"Let recognition wait. It may settle itself. If it is possible to wage indefinitely a war which is not a war, it cannot be beyond the resources of diplomacy to devise a peace which will open Russia to world trade without the humiliation of recognizing Lenin. If the Russian people under peace conditions want him, recognition will come in time; if not, another administration may be formed against which the same objections would not lie. Yet the dominance of Lenin may be of better service to the Allies than they suspect, because he is a shrewd and cautious statesman, who wants peace and would probably try to keep it if it were once established.....

Plain Business Sense Demands Peace and Trade With Russia

"Simply as a matter of plain business sense, with Europe tottering on the brink of a financial and social catastrophe which would not leave this country unaffected, it would seem a sound policy to make peace with Lenin on the terms which have been proposed, accepted and mysteriously withdrawn, and to lose not a day in lifting every blockade that is throttling the continent. For Russia's vast bulk stops trade in all directions. Commerce needs its railways and navigable rivers; it is the sink into which trade flows from all directions and it blocks the way from east to west across the continent. The Russian people need unlimited quantities of simple manufactured articles, fabrics, clothing, boots, tools, farm machinery, railway equipment; they can soon supply great stores of raw materials in exchange. What a lift the opening of such trade would give on both sides of the frontier needs no argument. Certain financial interests may be closely bound up with Kolchak, but if Kolchak is a forlorn hope the balance of interest even in the world of high finance should incline towards the resumption of trade relations with Russia."

Soviet Russia

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About Russia

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THE All-Russian Government" has found it necessary to remove itself from Omsk to Irkutsk. The daily newspapers herald this important news in inconspicuous items concealed somewhere in a corner of the back pages. At least one paper we saw on the same day printed on its front page, under a big headline, the weighty information that the Zemstvo Council in some little village in central Siberia several weeks ago sent a letter to Kolchak pledging him their "full support."

The victory of the Soviets which resulted in the retirement of Kolchak from Perm to Yekaterinburg, from Yekaterinburg to Cheliabinsk, from Cheliabinsk to Omsk and, now, from Omsk to Irkutsk, all told representing a retreat over a distance of more than 3,000 miles,—almost as far as from New York to San Francisco—and delivered into the hands of the Soviets an area as great as the total area of the United States,—all this having happened within a period of less than two months, is of course the biggest military victory of all history. It is all the greater when we consider the fact that the forces opposing the Soviet army were supported by every Entente nation and that the Soviets had to organize their offensive hampered by the Allied blockade which deprived them of the barest necessities of life. This victory marks a new, complete failure of the Allied Russian policy. It clearly deserved more attention than the inconspicuous notices referred to in the above lines.

However, irrespective of the scant publicity given to the momentous event, its inherent importance is

asserting, and will in the near future still more assert itself in the policies of the Allies. It is becoming obvious even to statesmen most reluctant to make peace with Russia, that there is no possibility whatsoever to overcome the hold of the Soviet rule on the Russian people. The victory over Kolchak was won not only because of military superiority on the part of the Soviet forces, but principally because the people in the districts controlled by Kolchak rose in revolt against him. Whole divisions of his armies went over to the Soviets. This is additional proof of the fact that there is no rational reason whatsoever for backing the pretences of Russian counter-revolutionists. And thus we find in various capitals of the world the conviction becoming prevalent that Russia has "to work out her own salvation." This must cause the impossible blockade against Russia to be lifted. Soviet Russia will have to be permitted to establish economic relations with other countries.

* * *

GRUESOME tales from Southern Russia report mass massacres of Jews in various towns. It is stated that these massacres have been committed by bands under the leadership of General Gregorieff. The burlesque Russian Information Bureau, managed by Mr. A. J. Sack, has issued a statement claiming that General Gregorieff really is a Bolshevik, and that the crimes committed by him and his bands thus form new evidence of Bolshevik atrocities. Mr. Sack's reason for stating that Gregorieff is a Bolshevik is that this man several months ago was Commander of a Soviet Army detachment.

Mr. Sack, however, forgets to state that Gregorieff was one of those treacherous Czarist officers who entered the service of the Soviets with the deliberate purpose of betrayal, that he did betray the Soviet Government, and that he always has been acting as a tool of British imperialists in Russia. Mr. Sack also forgets to state that Gregorieff, together with other similar adventurers, has been supplied with arms and ammunitions by such imperialists. Irrespective of the efforts of Mr. Sack, the outstanding fact is that the massacres in Southern Russia, committed by Gregorieff, must be squarely placed to the "credit" of Russian counter-revolutionary and Allied intrigues in Russia. This policy of supporting any adventurer who takes it upon himself to oppose the Soviets, is responsible for ninety-five per cent of all the bloodshed and horrors of the struggles in Russia.

* * *

AN illuminating instance of the deliberate unfairness on the part of certain public bodies engaged in a campaign of defamation of Soviet Russia is a poster, widely distributed in the state of Massachusetts by an organization which claims as its aim the teaching of American ideals to foreigners. Having stated that the United States form of Gov-

ernment is a pure democracy, in as much as every citizen takes part in the determination of public affairs, the poster attempts to prove that the Soviet Government of Russia is an autocracy. In support of this allegation the poster reproduces a part of the famous speech made by Nicolai Lenin in April, 1918, and published in the United States under the name of "The Soviets at Work."

In that speech Lenin, pleading for more efficiency in industrial activity, maintains that strict discipline and a conscious submission by the workers of a factory to directions given by technical managers is an essential necessity.

It will be remembered that a standing accusation of the capitalist press against conditions in Russia is that the Soviet leaders do not realize the importance of discipline in factories. Inasmuch as the above mentioned statement of Nicolai Lenin is a plea for such discipline and such efficiency, the use of that statement to prove the existence of political autocracy in Russia is nothing short of a deliberate falsehood and once more proves how utterly weak is the case of the opponents of the Soviet.

* * *

PEOPLE frequently resolve to do things that are beyond their powers. Particularly difficult to carry out is the desire to tell the truth always. It requires a knowledge of the truth. The motto of the New York Tribune, conspicuously printed on the first page of that paper, is: "First to Last—the Truth: News, Editorials, Advertisements." In view of the praiseworthy nature of this ambition, it is unfortunate that no one has informed the Tribune that the articles and stories from the pen of Maxim Gorky, which the Tribune has been printing at rapid intervals within the last few weeks, and in which Gorky expresses hostility to the Soviet Government of Russia—were written long ago, some of them over a year ago, before Gorky became a complete convert to the Soviet Government's philosophy and to the methods of the Bolshevik Section of the Socialist Party of Russia. For the information of the Tribune we add that Gorky is now a prominent administrative official in the Department of Education at Moscow, and that after the supply of its anti-Soviet material gives out, the Tribune can obtain, in this country, and without unusual difficulty, a rather large collection of excellent short stories from Gorky's pen, written at a much later date than the Tribune's material, and breathing from first to last a passionate love of the achievements of the great proletarian revolution in Russia.

COTTON FOR RUSSIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

A wireless telegram from Moscow reports that 350,000 acres of cotton have been planted in Turkestan this year.—Le Populaire, July 15th.

The Kolchak "Democracy"

The agents of the so-called "All-Russian" government in Paris have been at pains to create the impression that they are working for the establishment of a democratic form of government in Russia. It was lately announced that the framing of an election law for the Constitutional Convention planned by the coalition of Kolchak forces was entrusted to the well known radical journalist Bielorussov. To those unfamiliar with the recent shifting of political sentiment in Russia, this news item conveyed the impression that this selection vouched for the truly democratic intentions of Admiral Kolchak. A perusal of recent Siberian newspapers, however, shows that a great deal of water has run under the bridge since the days when Mr. Bielorussov stood for radicalism.

Alexei Stanislavovich Bielevski (Bielorussov), was identified with the "Party of the Will of the People," as far back as 1879, and spent five years as an exile in Northern Russia and Siberia. Toward the end of the 80's he became an advocate of a union between the revolutionists and the non-revolutionary liberals. For many years, however, this idea found a response only among the revolutionists, the liberals being unwilling to jeopardize their safety by allying themselves with revolutionists. It was not until the organization of the "Union for Liberation" in 1902 that the younger generation of liberals, mostly former revolutionists, picked up courage to defy the government of the Czar.

In 1905 the "Union for Liberation" reorganized as the Constitutional Democratic party, popularly known as the "Cadets." Bielorussov became identified with the left wing of that party, as the editor of its daily newspaper in Moscow. That was the time when the late Professor Kokoshkin, speaking for the Moscow Constitutional Democrats, demanded of Count Witte the calling of a Constitutional Convention which should decide upon the form of government for Russia. Since those days the Cadet Party has moved very far to the right. After the establishment of the Soviet Government, the Cadet Party has become the gathering place of the conservatives of all shades of opinion. Its spokesman is the daily "Otyechestvyenniya Vyedomosti" which was, until lately, published at Ekaterinburg, and Bielorussov was its political editor.

The present policy of the Cadet Party was defined at its conference held last May, at Omsk. The following resolutions, among others, were adopted:

"The Conference deems it necessary to impress upon the public consciousness a sharp and clear line of demarkation between the exigencies of the exceptional period of transition, calling for stern military and semi-military measures, and the institutions and normal methods of government after Russia will have been reunited and pacified. The precise limits and jurisdiction of the military and semi-military institutions of the exceptional period mentioned

above, as well as the forms and procedure of their activity, should be defined by law.

"For the present the conference insists on provisional exceptional governmental measures, which must be essentially adapted to the utterly exceptional political conditions. The Supreme Ruler shall have the power of appointing and dismissing his cabinet. Believing that for the present the creation of any new institution in our governmental system, either of a legislative or of an advisory character, or in the nature of a committee of legislative experts, would be inexpedient, the Conference recommends the appointment by an ukase of the Supreme Ruler, of a Special Council to the Supreme Ruler with a view to establishing closer relations between the government and the public." ("Nashe Dyelo," of Irkutsk, May 29, 1919.)

Thus the Cadet Party has openly come out in favor of a military dictatorship, as a "provisional measure."

The Conference recommended that the "Supreme Ruler" (Kolchak) should have the authority of appointing and dismissing his cabinet ministers, unrestrained by any quasi-representative body, precisely as did the Czar. The Conference has likewise gone back on the time-honored demand for Home Rule, which had been an integral part of Russian Liberalism for half a century. The resolutions to this effect read as follows:

"In sections liberated from the rule of the Bolsheviks the government cannot be organized on the principles obtaining in normal times, nor is it practicable to restore to power the transitional revolutionary organs of self-government. As regards local self-government, until new elections take place, the zemstvo (county) and municipal administrations must be appointed by the Central Government from among public-spirited citizens. The Government should be invested by law with the power to dissolve the city dumas and zemstvo assemblies and to order new city and zemstvo elections."

Another fundamental principle of traditional Russian Liberalism, the separation of church and state, has also gone by the board. The resolution on this subject reads as follows:

"Taking into account that Orthodoxy is one of the basic creative forces of Russian national culture, the conference deems it mandatory upon the Russian Government to show careful solicitude for the Greek Catholic Church, which has ever been the true guardian of the historical existence and the spiritual countenance of Russia. At the same time, in harmony with the principles of religious liberty and church autonomy, the conference recognizes the duty of the government to safeguard the legal status of all denominations tolerated by the law within its territory."

The reason for this change of front is quite obvious. The Cadets are seeking the support of the Greek Catholic Church in their fight upon the Soviet Government.

The controlling forces in the "All-Russian" government of Omsk are decidedly opposed to a constitutional convention, elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Says the "Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryeniye" (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, in an editorial of June 14th: "They (the 'state-nationalistic' elements) have launched an attack upon the very foundations of democracy,—the universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot. The 'revaluation of values' and the onslaught upon the ideas of democracy were inaugurated by the same Bielorussos who is at present the chairman of the 'Committee on Elections to a Representative Assembly of a Constituent Character.'.... Bielorussos is the best qualified person for this part. As a non-partisan he could the more freely lead the fight against the 'antiquated ideology of the Russian intelligentsia' i.e., the fundamental principles of democratic Russia.

"This revision of the ideology has brought results. At last all those who think in terms of 'state and nation' have openly assumed an outspokenly hostile attitude to the principles of democracy. Lately all discussion of the desirability or undesirability of a constitutional convention has markedly subsided. The government did not concern itself with the preparation of elections. The resolution of the Cadet Conference to the effect that no representative institutions were wanted, settled the whole business. Now that the question of a representative assembly of a constituent character has again come up, a commission which is to control the elections to it has been appointed, with Bielorussos as chief.

"This is not hard to explain. The foreigners talk of the need of a constitutional convention and of the free development of the Russian people. The 'State Thinkers' reply that this is precisely their own point of view. They, too, are in favor of democracy. This declaration is necessary, because parliamentary and democratic ideas prevail in the family of leading nations."

Further analyzing the declarations of Chairman Bielorussos, the editorial shows the aim of his commission to be to create a representative assembly which is to be dominated by the "nationalistic" elements:

"The proposed 'national' character of the representative assembly can be insured in advance only by a proper system of elections with restrictions of the electoral franchise.... Chairman Bielorussos, in a statement given by him to the reporter for the Russian Telegraph Agency, has deliberately omitted the direct and secret ballot from the popular democratic formula."

It is the opinion of the editorial writer that the electoral scheme of the Bielorussos commission would preclude the influence of even "such moderate Socialists as Avksentyev, Argoonov, and Kerensky," who—be it remembered—controlled the majority of the Constitutional Convention elected in November, 1917.

The Blockade and American Exports to Russia

The latest issue of the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States contains very significant figures bearing upon the effect of the blockade of Russia on the American export trade. The exports from the United States to Russia in Europe for the eleven months ending May 31st, 1917, 1918, 1919 respectively, compared as follows:

Year	Value
1917.....	\$397,568,911
1918.....	116,705,346
1919.....	7,150,994

Although Siberia was not included in the blockade, nevertheless the blockade of European Russia and the operations of Kolchak and his allies and

associates have had the same effect upon exports from the United States to Russia in Asia as that disclosed by the preceding figures. The exports from the United States to Russia in Asia for the eleven months ending May 31st, 1917, 1918, 1919 respectively, compare as follows:

Year	Value
1917.....	\$126,744,179
1918.....	34,718,541
1919.....	30,217,166

Inquiry into the exports of the principal articles of merchandise shows which American industries have been most affected by the blockade of Russia. The figures are presented in the following table:

Principal Exports from the United States to Russia, for the Eleven Months Ending May 31, 1917, 1918, 1919, Respectively.

ARTICLES	QUANTITY			VALUE		
Russia in Europe:	1917	1918	1919	1917	1918	1919
Agricultural implements				\$ 642,189	\$3,386,216	\$.....
Automobiles, passenger	742	492	6	926,313	1,136,400	6,605
Cotton, (bales)	45,979	15,000	300	4,134,155	1,872,078	52,705
Cordage, (binder twine) lbs.....	3,765,747	7,976,824		462,087	1,055,556	
Locomotives	69	157		1,741,340	4,481,289	
Steel rails, (tons).....	67,219	31,028		3,402,878	1,407,220	
Metal working machinery.....				12,318,918	1,918,405	7,797
Typewriters				474,592	69,940	
Wire, barbed, (lbs.).....	78,702,748	21,593,503		2,853,236	1,067,599	
Other wire, (lbs.).....	10,314,540	1,790,962		517,908	103,820	
Sole leather, (lbs.).....	11,034,187	4,551,122		4,689,122	2,427,294	
Upper leather, (sq. ft.).....	5,559,042	2,490,959		1,922,566	1,219,906	
Russia in Asia:						
Automobiles, commercial	515		16	1,662,144		22,000
Automobiles, passenger	987	5	41	1,246,285	8,425	39,679
Cotton, (bales)	98,163			8,224,347		
Binder twine, (lbs.).....	13,252,724	100,000	1,599,854	1,557,381	12,750	354,002
Metal working machinery.....				2,523,785	111,263	70,636
Railway cars			30	2,118,071		152,567
Steel rails, (tons).....	40,620	16,263	9,589	1,858,435	742,000	577,235
Wire, (lbs.)	13,852,696	992,532	15	557,471	57,106	4

Can The Blockade Endure?

From the "Weekly Review of World Reconstruction," Springfield Republican, July 20th.

The present drift, increased by Kolchak's defeat, is toward warring upon the Soviet countries, both Russia and Hungary, by means of an intensified and indefinitely protracted blockade. This seems to have been the topic of the week at Paris, and it will soon become an urgent problem because of the return of peace conditions. The blockade of Germany is being lifted, and the price of food there fell 50 per cent almost in a day. In blockaded Russia, the prices of food are fantastic. In Petrograd butter is 20 rubles a pound; bread 50 rubles; potatoes 20; meat, 90 to 100. Second-hand boots cost 1,500 to 2,000 rubles, an old suit of clothes is worth 3,000 to 4,000. Russia has been in great part cut off from

the world for five years, because during the war its huge armies had first claim on its defective communications; for more than a year the blockade has been complete, and it has produced just such misery as in central Europe.

Neutrals Oppose Russian Blockade

Now the question is whether this misery, affecting virtually the whole of the population of European Russia, at least 120,000,000 people, is to be deliberately protracted by the allies in a state of peace. It is an awkward problem. It involves, for example, some arrangement with neutrals, and it will be remembered that Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden all refused emphatically to lend their aid to a renewed blockade of Germany in case Germany had refused to sign the treaty. They feel

quite as strongly about the blockade of Russia, and the Nansen proposal for the impartial feeding of the Russian people was a purely humanitarian project which reflects the feeling of neutrals quite accurately. It is suggested from Paris that drastic economic penalties might be necessary to force the neutral states to assent to a peace-time blockade.

Americans Against Blockade

It is said also that the American peace delegation is almost as conspicuously at variance with some other groups upon this question as upon Shantung or the extradition of William II. The American view is that the blockade of Russia was an incident of the war with Germany and should end with the negotiation of peace. If it was not an incident of the war with Germany, what was it? The powers have never declared war on Russia or on the revolution. They have never recognized the Soviets, but neither have they recognized any existing Russian government—the Kerensky government, the foreign agencies of which survive in a ghostly fashion, is as dead as the czar, and the Constituent Assembly, which the allies professedly intervened to help, is now pro-Soviet.

War by Starvation

Wherever the blame may lie, the allies have so managed their Russian diplomacy as to align the great majority of the Russian people, if not on the side of Lenin, at any rate on the side against Kolchak. This fact is no longer denied, its very serious implications are sometimes missed. It means just this—that by abandoning as hopeless the effort to put a small minority in power by force of arms and resorting instead to the continuance and intensification of the blockade the allies would be inflicting in time of peace upon a population greater than that of the United States worse horrors than those of war. Now that the truth is coming out in regard to the starvation of central Europe it may be doubted whether public opinion in Entente countries will be favorable to such a policy. War is ruthless, and while battles rage millions of people may be starved without their cry of distress reaching the world. In peace everything is different, and the voice of humanity will soon be as clamant in France, England and the United States as it already is in neutral countries.

Against Intervention

"The Manchester Guardian" prints the following letter from one of its readers in its issue of June 23d:

To the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian":

Sir,—Your correspondent at Reval states in the article you published on Tuesday, that he had himself seen a radiogram from Moscow in which Lenin's Government accepted Dr. Nansen's offer with gratitude. This is a new fact of the highest importance,

and it surely demands investigation in Parliament. The Allied and Associated Governments stated in the despatch of May 26, published last week, that the proposal for a conference at Prinkipo "and a later offer to relieve the distress among the suffering millions of Russia broke down through the refusal of the Soviet Government to accept the fundamental condition of suspending hostilities while negotiations on the work of relief were proceeding." This statement is the chief defence given for the policy of intervening in Russian affairs by supplying munitions to Admiral Kolchak, to which the British nation is now apparently committed.

Why have all our dealings with the Bolshevik Government been wrapped in secrecy? Why have none of the relevant documents been published? I was in Paris at the time of the Prinkipo invitation, and the impression given by M. Pichon in his Sunday talk with journalists was that the holding of the conference depended on the assent of the other Russian parties and not merely on the assent of the Bolsheviks. M. Pichon concluded, before the Bolsheviks answered, that the prompt refusal of the other parties had settled the fate of the conference. It is therefore reasonable to ask for the exact terms in which Admiral Kolchak himself as well as the Bolshevik Government answered the proposal. At the time it was believed in important circles in Paris that the Bolshevik reply provided a hopeful opportunity for negotiating, and I never understood why the negotiations dropped.

The next incident of importance in the history of our dealings with Russia was the arrival of Mr. Churchill, who flew over to Paris in Mr. Lloyd George's absence to recommend military intervention. His recommendation was rejected.

The visit of Mr. Bullitt and Mr. Steffens and their return to Paris with a document giving the views of Lenin's Government on possible terms of peace was alluded to in the House of Commons, but the authorities have not revealed the facts. At that time, as I have good reason for knowing, Lenin's Government was certainly ready to suspend hostilities as part of a general armistice.

Then came the Nansen proposal. What precisely was the answer of the Bolsheviks? It has seemed to me unfortunate that critics of the policy of intervention in Russia have appeared to confine themselves to the question of sending or keeping troops there. We can make war on the Bolsheviks without sending a single soldier. All the methods learnt in the war with Germany can be employed by the simple plan of sending gas and tanks and munitions to Denikin and Kolchak and by withholding food. We have to answer for the men, women, and children whose lives we are taking by these means just as much as we have to answer for the lives taken by our soldiers and sailors. Many of us feel so indignant about the monstrous wrong done to our own soldiers in forcing them to fight in Russia that we overlook the immense part we are playing in

undermining the life and industry of the Russian people by these other means. There is a famous passage in one of Fox's speeches in which he denounced the callousness of Ministers who did not realize that war needs complete justification if it is not to be mere savagery. We ought to show on our kinemas what it means to make war by modern methods, and what starvation and the paralysis of industrial life really look like. Then we should insist on some proof that it is necessary. What proof have we had in this case? Mr. Churchill and M. Pichon, the two chief instigators of this policy, think it is enough to tell us that Bolshevism is a pestilence. The Five who signed the letter last week say that the Bolsheviks will not agree to suspend hostilities. When we declared war on Germany we were given full papers which satisfied the vast majority of us

that war could not be avoided. We are now making war on Russia, a war which may open a chapter not less momentous to the world than the chapter which opened in August, 1914, and the House of Commons is apparently content with mere declarations from Ministers. What hostilities have the Bolsheviks refused to suspend? Under what conditions? The Socialist and working class parties in France and Italy recognize that the decision to continue the war against the Russian Revolution is a matter of the very gravest importance. Our House of Commons treats it as if it were a mere matter for departmental decision.

Yours, &c.,

J. L. HAMMOND,

Zennor, Cornwall, June 20.

The Arrests at Vladivostok

By Max M. Zippin

In No. 5 of "Soviet Russia," there appeared a reprint from "L'Humanité," of Paris, by A. Pierre, dealing with the arrests of a number of Mensheviks, Socialists-Revolutionists of the Right, and Cadets, of Vladivostok, who, though outspoken opponents of the Soviets, could not persuade themselves to acknowledge the supreme democracy of Supreme Ruler Kolchak.

The facts, it is told in the article, are based on a story brought to Paris by a reliable witness, who has been on the spot, himself a victim of the reactionary policy of Kolchak. The facts are accurate, save that the story is not given in its entirety, but the impression one gathers from the article is far from correct, since one is left to suppose that the Allied representatives on the spot have had nothing to do with these arrests, and even saved those arrested.

It is for the purpose of dispelling this particular impression that the full story of the arrests, as well as of the preceding and ensuing events, based on detailed accounts in the "Echo" of Vladivostok, the "Ussuriyski Kray" of Nicholsk, and the "Novosti Zhizni" of Harbin, is here given.

There were two outstanding wholesale arrests made in Vladivostok, one in the night between the 1st and the 2nd of March, and the other on the night of March 26th, but there were numerous less sensational arrests, by ones and twos, not alone in Vladivostok, but in the whole region, all for the evident purpose of rooting out Bolshevism, although none of the arrested were ever connected with the Bolshevik movement. On the contrary, every one of them was fighting the Bolshevik tooth and nail and had built his career, that is, had secured his standing with the "Government" or with the Allies, because of this opposition to the Bolsheviks. Arrests were made at Balgovieshtchensk, Nicholsk, Gundatti,

Zeuay, Svobodni and at many other places, totaling many hundreds.

The arrests of March 2nd were executed on the order of General Ivanof-Rinoff, Commander of the troops of the All-Russian Government in Eastern Siberia, counter-signed by Lieutenant Colonel Butenko, commander of the Vladivostok fortress, in spectacular raids made on the private homes of the arrested.

The following were caught in the raids: Members of the Board of the Vladivostok City Government: Skvirski, Klassing, and Kozminski; an ex-member of the same body, Semeshko; City Alderman Khodorov, and Bogdanov. Kozminski was promptly sent off, under a heavy guard, to Nicholsk-Ussuriyski, where he was placed in a military prison, while the rest were put on a special train, likewise heavily guarded, and sent off to Pogranitchnaya, where they were to be kept in prison until further orders. On March 26th, they too, were all removed to Nicholsk and placed there in military prison.

Aside from those named, two others were ordered arrested, Agariov, ex-Mayor of the City of Vladivostok, and Medviediev, President of the Zemstvo Government. The latter was on an inspection tour and returned March 26th, at 7 P. M., to the office of the Zemstvo, whereupon he was promptly placed under arrest. As to Agariov, he too was away from the city at the time, and was arrested on March 9th, on his way back. There is nothing to show officially the disposition of Agariov, but a man recently returned from the Far East has stated that he was present at the funeral of this ex-Mayor. Agariov was killed in the usual Kolchak way "while trying to escape."

As to Agariov. In all his activities in Vladivostok, as political and labor leader, he fought the Bolsheviks viciously; his opposition to the late President

of the Vladivostok Soviet, Sukhanoff, was almost savage, and it was he who was in a way responsible for the cowardly murder of Sukhanoff, who was shot by the guards in the streets of Vladivostok "while trying to escape." There must be something, after all, in what is known as Fate.

The Kolchak defenders of democracy made a little blunder in the arrests of March 2nd. They had an order to arrest Bogdanoff and they did arrest a man by that name. But the man arrested turned out to be an employee of the City Hall, a rather retiring little man, never active in politics, while the order called for the arrest of "the well-known Russian novelist A. Bogdanoff," according to the "Echo," "who came only recently, from the Center of Russia. A Bogdanoff has made himself popular with the workers and has continued in Vladivostok his ancient battle against Bolshevism, begun at Petrograd." The mistake was corrected on the next day, and the plain "Bogdanoff" was discharged from prison, and the well known novelist and fighter of Bolshevism, A. Bogdanoff, locked up instead.

The arrests of March 26th took place in the People's House of Vladivostok, at the time when the Central Bureau of the Trade Unions was holding its regular meeting. The building was surrounded, and all the labor delegates were taken, under heavy guard, to the "counter-razviedka" where they were registered. Then eleven of them, all popular leaders of various labor organizations, were detained and put into the Vladivostok regional prison, "listed to the account of Captain Zhavrida, head of the office of military control of the Vladivostok fortress," which means in plain language that no formal charge was to be made against the men, and that no account of the disposition of their cases, or, for that matter, of the men themselves, was to be given. Nothing, indeed, is known of what became of the men, and perhaps they, too, were shot "while trying to escape." The names of the eleven labor leaders, "listed to the account of Zhavrida," are: Bodarin, Denisenko, Yanshin, Trifanov, Kasenov, Zapurin, Milkov, Naumov, Tretyakov, Vonisk and Angorski.

The second arrest, that of the labor leaders, made on March 26th, passed almost unnoticed, save for short news items in the press, in accordance with a special law promulgated for the purpose, mention of which will be made later. The series of arrests and atrocities during the month of March awed the population into such submission and docility, that the only thing the workers dared to do was to announce the fact to all the workers' organizations in Siberia, in a communication of a "strictly informing character," as related by the press. The first wholesale arrest, that of the political leaders, on March 2nd, resulted in a number of protest meetings, and in an interpellation in the Vladivostok Duma. All the protest meetings were naturally dispersed, while the meeting of the Vladivostok Duma ended in a great "democratic" victory for Kolchak. By an overwhelming majority (since only a few of the Socialists and Cadet Duma members were left at large), the

first question on the order of the day,—an interpellation on the arrests, was stricken off, the Chairman explaining that the question of the arrests was a purely political one, and that the Vladivostok Duma was not a political body. Besides, he said, there were fourteen other points to be discussed, and the City Duma could not trifle away its valuable time in such frivolous affairs. At that meeting of the Vladivostok Duma the great majority of the citizens, eager to learn how the "democratic self-government" would cope with the problem, arranged a general meeting, and they did indeed get a thorough lesson in real democracy.

One finds very little information concerning the arrests in the Siberian press, after March 15th, except a laconic remark, becoming almost universal in the press of that country namely, the words: "in connection with late events," and the following order of General Ivanof-Rinoff, published March 14th, will explain the reason why:

"In the periodical press there have recently begun to appear articles and notices dealing with arrests of various persons, whose execution was either carried out or contemplated. Moreover, these articles and notices are frequently supplied by the writers with reasons of their own as to these arrests, in the majority of cases unfounded on any facts and improbable, as well as to contemplated measures to assure order in the city.

"Since such announcements, unfounded and not coming from official sources, may only disturb public opinion, and evoke untruthful interpretations of the activities of the government organs, I herewith forbid the carrying, in all the periodical publications, of any information not coming from official sources:

"1. On arrests, executed or contemplated, and

"2. On measures undertaken by the authorities for the purpose of preserving order in the region.

"Those guilty of not complying with this order will be punished by imprisonment for not more than three months and by a fine of not more than 3,000 rubles.

"Foundation: article 9, paragraphs a and b, of the law of July 15, 1918, and the order of the Supreme Representative (Vierkhovni Upolnomotcheni) of the Supreme Ruler for the Far East, of January 30, 1919.

"Commander of the troops of the Priamur Military district.

"Major General Ivanov-Rinov."

As to the part of the Allied representatives and forces have taken in the arrests of March 2nd, the following is here quoted from the "Echo" of March 4th.

"Evidently the authorities have anticipated disturbances as a result of these arrests, which can be plainly comprehended from the following facts:

"1. Saturday, March 1st, at 8 P. M. a platoon of mid-shipsmen, fully armed and equipped, passed hurriedly along Svetlyanskaya Street in the direction of the railroad station; in another fifteen minutes another platoon, likewise fully armed and equipped, passed in the same direction at a running pace.

"2. On the same night, 50 Canadian soldiers were ambushed at Markilovski alley where they have remained over Sunday.

"3. On the same night and on the whole day Sunday on Luzovaya Street, near Semonoff market, and the section populated mostly by workingmen, big detachments of Canadian troops were stationed. The soldiers were sitting or else lying on the sidewalks and in the gutters in large groups, all heavily armed.

"4. On Sunday and on Monday over many streets Canadian mounted patrols were riding back and forth.

"5. Parts of Japanese and Czecho-Slovak patrols were doing duty in the outskirts of the city and at the port, while at the railroad station mixed Japanese-American detachments were stationed.

"A conference of the Allied representatives, in connection with these events, took place last night. All the endeavors of the editors of the "Echo" to get an official statement, or an official explanation, have resulted in nothing.

"Tonight, on Lugovaya Street, Canadian troops were patrolling, although in smaller numbers than in the preceding days. At and in the railway station mixed patrols of Russian officers, Japanese, Czech and Canadian troops, were doing duty."

Which reminds one of the speeches delivered by a representative of the English Government in the House of Commons a few months ago. In that speech of his, the English Government representative tried to explain away the continuance of intervention in Russia by the fact that it would be an ungentlemanly act for the Allies to abandon their former Russian friends and supporters to the viciousness of the murderous Bolsheviks. Every one of the arrested political leaders of Vladivostok was as zealous and enthusiastic a pro-Ally as could be found, and it was because of these people that the Allies were able to get a certain element of the Russians in the Soviets in favor of the All-Russian Government, to be swallowed up in turn by that great "savior" Kolchak. Abandoning them to the Mongol-Buryat-Japanese democrats is, to our mind, surely more ungentlemanly than abandoning them to the Bolsheviks. They would certainly have two thousand chances to one to live and be free, even if we were to believe all the tales of Bolshevik atrocities coming from all the counter-revolutionary sources and their agencies here.

One more thing should be mentioned here in connection with this sickening affair. All these arrests were executed on the order of Major General Ivanov-Rinov, a man whose monarchistic tendencies and convictions are not even camouflaged by any feeble socialistic utterings, as is the case with the Tchaykovskis, Vologodskis, Bourtzevs, and their like. It appears that this General himself got the orders to which he signed his name, from some "higher-ups" and that he finally became tired of being used as a tool for these purposes. In April, this general published an order forbidding what he called arbitrary arrests, and ordering at the same time the arrest of a number of speculators, whom he considered more responsible for the prevailing restlessness among the masses than the pre-Allied anti-Bolshevik Socialists.

The results of this "revolutionary" action of a left-over general of Czar Nicholas are told in the following Associated Press dispatch, that appeared in the American dailies.

Omsk, May 14 (Delayed)—Following the recall of General Ivanoff-Rinoff, commander of the troops of the All-Russian Government in Eastern Siberia, General Horvath was given full command of the forces there, in addition to holding the position of civil governor. This step was taken so that the Government might have a secure grasp on affairs in the East.

General Ivanoff-Rinoff is charged with having interfered with business and having checked the activity of the Cossack hetmans in establishing military control.

It was learned from a high Government source that the selection of General Horvath for the command in the East was decided upon in the interest of better relations with the United States.

It was learned from the same source that General Semennoff has been tendered a definite commission in the Siberian army under the All-Russian Government.

Which recalls to one's mind the published quotations, from the anti-Bolshevik "Narodnaya Gazeta" in No. 7 of "Soviet Russia," of an identical order given out by Gaida, who had to leave a Captaincy with the Czecho-Slovaks to take up a Generalcy with Kolchak. Gaida, too, evidently got tired of the arbitrary arrests, punishments, floggings, shootings, etc., and came out with a warning. We may, indeed, expect a "delayed" Associated Press dispatch some of these days, telling us about the recall of "General" Gaida and of his replacement by "General" Semionoff "in the interest of better relations with the United States."

Russia and Finland

Three Notes from People's Commissary Chicherin.

I.

Translation of radiogram sent by the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs on May 9, 1919.

TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
HELSINGFORS

The Commissariat of Foreign Affairs has received numerous reports of unheard atrocities committed by the Russian and Finnish White Guard bands which have invaded the territory of Russia from Finland and which, according to reliable information, include also detachments of Finnish regular troops. The official authorities of Olonetz county report that during the temporary occupation of the city of Olonetz by the above mentioned bands, residents were executed on the slightest suspicion, on the basis of the most absurd information, and no mercy was given to either old men or children. In the Olonetz hospital were executed 27 soldiers of the Red Army and sick non-combatant peasants, those of them who were weak, were carried on stretchers to the place of execution. On Easter, during a sudden attack on the border volosts, about 200 people were shot. Among the killed there are whole families, including the women and the children. To the crime of invading foreign territory was added the even more abhorrent crime,—the murder of absolutely innocent peaceful citizens. Not satisfied with the brutal punishments inflicted on the workers of their own country, the bourgeois Finnish Government is thus trying to extend its brutalities to the workers and peasants of a neighboring people, whose government has repeatedly declared its peaceful intentions toward the people of Finland and its unalterable desire to maintain an unbroken friendship with them.

Protesting most emphatically against the crossing of the Russian frontier by the regular Finnish troops and by the White Guard bands, acting with the consent of the Finnish Government, the Soviet Government demands an immediate cessation of these actions, which, we are sure, will be regarded by the Finnish workers and peasants with less indignation than that of the Russian people and of the toiling masses of the whole world.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, CHICHERIN.

II.

The counter-revolutionary government of Finland, which is actually waging war on Soviet Russia, adds insult to injury by accusing the Russian Soviet power of having undertaken hostile operations, while as a matter of fact, that state is limiting its

activities to a simple defence of the republic against the attacks of Finland. The former foreign minister, Ehrnroth, is absolutely untiring in his repeated mendacious accusations and unfounded "protests." The People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, in connection with a note of this type, dated May 19th, sent on May 20th the following radio-telegram, which casts the proper illumination on the White Finland's bandit policy toward Soviet Russia:

"Helsingfors, Foreign Ministry.

"The Soviet Government lodges the most emphatic protest against the action of Finnish troops, who, absolutely without cause, have invaded and continued making attacks within the territory of the Soviet Republic, and who answer objections against this procedure by defending their attack with mendacious accusations.

"The Finnish Government's attempt to accuse wrongfully the Russian Soviet Government of hostile intentions, or of activities of aggressive nature, in order to support their baseless claims, can only be considered as a calumny, the object of which is to defend the attack on the Soviet Republic.

"The Finnish Government cannot be in any state of uncertainty as to the fact that the Russian Soviet Government has constantly refrained from any aggressive measures toward Finland, and that this Government is even now limiting itself to the most necessary acts of self-defence.

"Already on May 17th, the Finnish Puumala batteries, absolutely without provocation, began to bombard Russian territory lying on the other side of the Finnish Gulf, attempting to concentrate their fire on the Russian forts at Krasnaya Gorka. On May 18th, the batteries of Ino and Puumala, again without any rhyme or reason, began to bombard our vessels. Attempts have simultaneously been made during the recent period to land troops on the Russian side. Finnish troops took part in these attempts at landing. When the Russian batteries at Krasnaya Gorka opened fire in order to silence the Finnish batteries, which were bombarding the former as well as our vessels, this action was simply a necessary act of self-defence. Similarly, the Russian vessels, which, acting in accordance with their indubitable right, set forth from the roadstead of Kronstadt, were simply acting under the obligation of defending the Russian coast from attacks. On the other hand, the invasion of the Olenetsk Government, in which regular Finnish troops took part, was followed in the last few days by a landing on the Eastern shore of Ladoga, and the participation of Finnish volunteers was explained in the answer of the Finnish Government to the Diet as having occurred with the approval of the Government.

"The Russian Soviet Government knows too well that the present Finnish Government's hostile attitude toward the Soviet Republic is simply a weapon in the hands of the Entente powers and that these powers are attempting to exploit Finland in an attack on Soviet Russia.

"The above claims, the mendacity of which is of course clear to the Finnish Government, are doubtless a link in the plan of attack that has been prepared by the Entente powers. But these statements will not have the desired result, since the Russian Soviet Government is taking all possible methods to defend the republic, simultaneously continuing its policy of avoiding all aggressive measures with regard to Finland.

"Once more repeating its energetic protest, the Soviet Government expresses its conviction that the workers of Finland will not long continue to permit themselves to be exploited as a blind tool of the imperialistic policies of the Entente, but will put a definite end to the warlike measures of the present Finnish Government.

"(Signed) People's Commissary for
Foreign Affairs,
"CHICHERIN."

III.

Translation of radiogram of People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs sent on May, 9, 1919.

To the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Helsingfors

Russian war-prisoners who had at one time escaped from Germany to Denmark and were interned there, and who, having been later sent home from there through Finland, arrived at Petrograd, report that on their arrival at Helsingfors they were imprisoned in the fortress, where they were not even allowed to leave their cells for a fresh-air walk, and their daily food consisted of about 250 grams of poor biscuits and unusually bad cabbage. At the same time an attempt was made to convince the war-prisoners that the Finnish authorities were willing to send them home, but were prevented from doing this by the alleged refusal of the Soviet Government to accept them. According to the information brought by the returned war-prisoners, about

390 war-prisoners are still held at the Sveaborg fortress. Calling the attention of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs to this information, the Russian Soviet Government declares, in the first place, its emphatic protest against the violence which the Finnish Government has inflicted upon innocent Russian war-prisoners passing on their way through Finland, and against their brutal treatment. There can be no justification for this violence and brutality. The war-prisoners, victims of the world war, worn out by prolonged captivity and by years of torture and returning home on the basis of an agreement between Denmark and Russia, could not be the object of any suspicion for Finland.

The Danish Government and the Danish Red Cross came to an agreement with the Russian Soviet Government with regard to the return of these war-prisoners, and if the Finnish Government did not want to allow them a free passage, it should have declared so beforehand, but it had opened to them the doors of Finland and drew them into a trap in order later to jail them and torture them. The method of getting our citizens into a trap which had already been applied to our couriers, must be recognized as dishonorable, and we formally demand that an end be put to this practice. The Soviet Government considers it necessary to state that all the calumnies of the imperialists against this government, that are disseminated among the war-prisoners, will fail of their purpose. The Russian war-prisoners returning to their country will, on getting acquainted with the activity of the Soviet Government and with its treatment of them, renounce with indignation the calumny that the Russian Workers' and Peasants' rule could be an obstacle to the return from captivity of their fellow citizens, of whom the vast majority are workers and peasants.

Protesting against the violence which the Finnish Government is inflicting on the Russian war-prisoners returning through Finland, the Russian Socialist Soviet Government demands the immediate unconditional release of the 380 men who are still held in the Sveaborg fortress and that they be allowed, unconditionally, to return to their country.

PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, CHICHERIN.

News From Russia

KOLCHAK'S TERROR IN UFA

(The Russian Telegraph Agency)

In all those places in which Kolchak restores order, he executes all Communists and all those who are merely suspected of having any sympathy with them. His "White" mock courts are being overworked with tremendous energy whenever there is any opportunity to pronounce death sentences in the

putting down of Bolshevik uprisings in Siberia. But all their efforts seem insufficient in the eyes of the noble restorer of Czarism in Russia. Kolchak succeeded in taking Ufa, but he did not hold it long, as it was almost immediately retaken by Soviet troops. At Ufa, the blood-thirsty White Guardists went perhaps even further than in any other place. In a "subterranean" workers' proclamation, which is reported by the Moscow "Izvestiya," we read among other things:

"Kolchak was daily expected. Now he has come with decorations and epaulettes (all orders and officers' epaulettes have been abolished in Soviet Russia), as well as the knout. How many people were shot yesterday in the abattoir? And how many were cut down by the officers with their swords at five o'clock this morning? See for yourself by inspecting the bloody mounds lying back of the market place. Look carefully; are there only Bolsheviks on these heaps? Are there not many plain citizens there, simple and illiterate workers, and innocent city dwellers?"

But worse still, and more cruel is the following news item: "Yesterday, Second-Lieutenant Gankevitch shot down, in Morozov's house, two school girls for the simple reason that they were employed as copyists in the trade-union building."

The officers drink champagne, and while in a drunken condition beat up the mobilized soldiers. Thus, for example, ensigns beat up the men mobilized in the Sixth Company. The proclamation closes with the following words: "This is enough! Down with the Czarist hangman, Kolchak! Long Live the United World Soviet Republic!"

This is the kind of "liberty" that Kolchak would have introduced all over Russia, if he had succeeded in carrying off the victory over the Bolsheviks. The "democratic" Entente powers supported him; his "ambassadors" now "represent" Russia in so-called "civilized countries," even in the Scandinavian countries.

UPRISING IN YENISSEISK

Moscow, June 16th, (Russian Telegraph Agency.)

It is reported from Samara that the Soviet troops, after having taken the City of Yenisseisk and transformed it into an impregnable fortress, surrounded it with a great series of redoubts made of bricks. The White troops were forced to surround the city from four sides. Even when his troops had on in the streets of the city.

According to communications to the periodical "Zarya," the uprising of the Bolsheviks in Yenisseisk was put down, and the Soviet power overthrown. The usual mock courts were then installed, which displayed merciless brutality and pronounced great numbers of death sentences.

EXECUTION OF HOSTAGES

It is useful always to be able to communicate statements from the very mouths of tyrants, describing their activities. We are this week enabled to print an official communication, reported in "Nashe Dyelo," of Irkutsk, Siberia, in the May 22nd issue of that paper. Those who support the Kolchak reaction will be interested in the admissions of cruelty made by Kolchak's own officers.

By order of the Chief of the Krasnoyarsk garrison, "Free Siberia" publishes the following communica-

tion: "On May 10th, 1919, the following were shot from the number of hostages held in the provincial prison: Peterson, Olgerd; Menchuk (Rokombol); Kenshin, Ivan; Weiman, Theodore; Jaffe, Simeon; Bograd, Jacob; Schultz, Ernest; Perenson, Adolf; and Stanislaw, Jan,—in retaliation for the following fact reported by the Czech command: On the third of May, Corporal Vondrasek of the 8th company of the 10th Czecho-Slovak regiment was brutally killed and mutilated near the Kozogor Bridge after heroic defense. The Czechs are our brothers in arms; such brutality towards a wounded hero is not permissible. They were shot not for his death, but for the brutality and suffering, which he underwent."

SOVIET AGITATION IN SIBERIA

Moscow, June 16th.—(Russian Telegraph Agency)

The counter-revolutionary paper "Zarya," which appears at Omsk, reports that a very intensive Bolshevik agitation is going on in Tomsk. The railway workers' journal is openly agitating in a Bolshevik direction and the White Guardist gendarmes attempted repeatedly to confiscate the paper, whereupon the workers threatened to strike. Lenin's pamphlets are being secretly circulated in the city. In the city of Barnaul, the military authorities have undertaken searches of houses in various union buildings and other workers' organizations. A number of persons have been arrested as suspected of Bolshevism.

THE WHITE TERROR IN THE DON REGION

(The Russian Telegraph Agency)

The Moscow newspaper "Pravda," reports that in the cities of Novo-Cherkask and Rostov, the White Terror increased during the early part of May, as the Red Army was approaching the city. During the nights, drunken officers, together with women nurses, penetrated into the jails, from which they dragged out imprisoned Communists, who were immediately shot. In these cities they introduced a twelve-hour working day, and lowered the daily wage by six rubles. In the rear of the Cossack front there were frequent explosions of trains loaded with ammunition.

THE SMALL SHOP IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The official daily paper of the Supreme Council of National Economy, "Economiticheskaya Zhizn," in its issue of February 19, 1919, discusses editorially the possibilities of small shops of artisans, known in Russia under the name of "kustari."

The writer calls attention to the fact that according to statistical investigations the number of artisans engaged in various manufacturing industries has been estimated at from ten to twelve

millions, and the value of the products of their shops at two billions of rubles. He is, therefore, of opinion that this form of industry has as yet not outlived its usefulness in Russia, and he believes it to be the duty of the Government to offer it all necessary assistance in the form of expert technical advice and financial aid.

He warns, however, against undue optimism. "The artisan is primarily a small proprietor, and it is not an easy problem to approach him closely." Nevertheless, the writer believes that this "colossal power of physical labor which is at present vegetating in a state of inertia must be utilized." This problem has been given a great deal of thought by the Soviet Government.

THE SIBERIAN RED ARMY

London, July 7th.—According to a Soviet message, the Red troops of insurgents amount to about 15,000 men in the Irkutsk district and 12,000 in the Tomsk district. It is announced that a Soviet Republic is about to be formed at Krasnoyarsk.

ENGLISH COLONEL AGITATING FOR KOLCHAK

Moscow, June 16th.—(Russian Telegraph Agency.)

The White Guard paper "Sibirski Strelki," reports that the English Colonel G. Ward undertook a journey with the approval of Kolchak along the Siberian railway, in order to influence the railroad workers by "his words." The paper adds the following remarks:

"His words are simple enough, but the Russians should think them over. For there is not a country in which the people are better off than in England, there being no Bolsheviks there (1). And no Republic either." Therefore, the newspaper thinks, the Russians must pay very serious heed to this English "political wisdom." Kolchak publicists are therefore making no secret of the fact that their masters are striving to restore monarchy in Russia.

KOLCHAK ATAMAN GRIGORYEFF AND HIS ATROCITIES

Moscow, June 11th.—(Russian Telegraph Agency.)

The former ataman Grigoryeff, who was aided in his treason against the Soviet power by various types of bandits, looking for easy loot, organized all over in the cities and towns of Ukraine, which he was so fortunate as to capture at first, such amusements as Jewish pogroms, mass shootings, plunderings, etc.

Particularly instructive as to the nature of the progress of the Grigoryeff bandits, which are already entirely crushed, are the following notes from Kharkov. Those delegates from the cities of Nikolayeff and Kherson to the trades-union Congress of

Ukraine, who fell into the hands of Grigoryeff, were shot in May.

In Crimea, in the City of Dalny Keknyshi, the White guardists murdered three hundred persons, among whom were a number of women. The Red Army, by its counter-attack, later cleared this city of the band of Grigoryeff.

It is reported from Kieff, that in the City of Yelissavetgrad, before its recapture by Soviet troops, Grigoryeff had over thirty Soviet members and a number of Communists shot. In addition, Grigoryeff's band plundered this city and destroyed the "Home" of the Communists, the meeting place of the Young People's Communist League, the branches of the Jewish Communist union, etc. But they liberated all counter-revolutionaries from the jails.

A Letter From Stockholm

A CORRESPONDENT in Stockholm writes us that a Russian railwayman, recently arrived in Sweden, reports the conditions of railways and industries in Soviet Russia as good and improving. "We get confirmation of this on all sides," observes our correspondent. The workmen are loyal to the revolution and are hard workers. Trains are running on schedule and armed guards are no longer seen on the streets of Moscow or Petrograd.

"It is known in Stockholm that an immense commerce is going on between Russia and Germany, running into hundreds of millions of dollars, in war materials, chemicals and the chief necessities of Soviet Russia. Negotiations are proceeding between Russia and Germany for further trade relations. It is believed in Sweden that when these facts become generally known, the demand of American manufacturers for their legitimate share in the Russian market, together with the demand of American working-

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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men for the employment and wages which would result from this trade, will inevitably result in the raising of the blockade. It is rumored that an association of Swedish manufacturers is making up a ship-load of goods for Petrograd. This may be dispatched before the blockade is lifted, and if intercepted, will provide a case to test the validity of the blockade in international law."

An amusing incident of the blockade is related by our correspondent. An American newspaperman going to Russia was authorized by one of the great American public libraries to purchase a large quantity of historical and documentary literature in Moscow. These books, intended for American historians and students, were consigned to Stockholm in care of the American Legation. The boat was captured by the Finns and the news was immediately telegraphed to Stockholm that a great mass of "Bolshevist propaganda" had been intercepted, addressed to the American Legation.

READING MATTER ON SOVIET RUSSIA

Pamphlets

Published by the Nation, 20 Vesey St., New York.
The Russian Constitution.
Decrees of the Russian Government.
Reprints of Articles on Russia.
Russian Land Law, price 10 cents each."

Published by Rand School, 7 East 15th St., N. Y.
A. R. Williams, The Bolsheviks and the Soviets,
10 cents.
Lenin, N., The Soviets at Work, 25 cents.

Published by the Socialist Publication Society,
243 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
One Year of Revolution, 15 cents.
Price, M. P., The Soviet, the Terror, and Intervention, 10 cents.

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Trotzky, Leon, From October to Brest-Litovsk, 35 cents.
Lenin, N., The State and Revolution, 50 cents.
Educational Decrees and Other Educational Documents of the Soviet Government, 15 cents.

Published by the New Republic, 421 W. 21st Street,
New York
Ransome, An Open Letter to America.

Published by the Dial, 152 West 13th St., New York.
A Voice Out of Russia, 10 cents.

Published by the People's Institute, 1256 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.
Trotzky, Leon, What Is a Peace Program? 5 cents.
Lenin, N., Lessons of the Revolution, 10 cents.

Published by The Melting Pot, 809 Pontiac Building,
St. Louis, Mo.
Voices from Russia, 25 cents.

Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Williams, A. R. The Bolsheviks and the Red Funeral at Vladivostok, 10 cents.

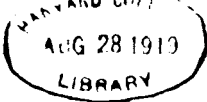
Books

E. A. Ross, Russia in Upheaval.
Bryant, Louise, Six Red Months in Russia.
Beatty, Bessie, The Red Heart of Russia.
Reed, John, Ten Days That Shook the World.
Lenin and Trotzky, The Proletarian Revolution in Russia (published by the Revolutionary Age, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.), paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.50.
Ransome, "Six Weeks in Russia, in 1919," published by Huebsch, N. Y., \$1.50.

Articles

"The Liberator," November, December, 1918; January to July, 1919.
"The Survey," February 1, 1919.
"The Public," January 25, 1919.
"The Intercollegiate Socialist," February-March, 1919.
"The Class Struggle," all issues since beginning of publication in June, 1917.
"The Metropolitan Magazine," June, July, 1919.
"The Revolutionary Age," Boston; most of the issues since beginning publication in November, 1918.
"The New York Communist," No. 1-10, 1919.
"Hearst's Magazine," June, 1919.
"The New Republic," 5 numbers in July, 1919.





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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
ACTIVITY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR SOCIAL WELFARE, By Alexandra Kollontay	1	EDITORIALS	10
AN EYE-WITNESS ON SOVIET RUSSIA, By E. Sylvia Pankhurst	3	THE TRUTH ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA, By M. Philips Price	12
ATROCITIES I DID NOT SEE IN RUSSIA, By Walter Mills Hinkle	6	THE TREACHEROUS CONDUCT OF ROUMANIA IN BESSARABIA, Ultimatum by Chicherin	15
PRESS NOTES	9	NEWS NOTES FROM RUSSIA	16

The Activity of the Russian People's Commissariat for Social Welfare

By Alexandra Kollontay

THE People's Commissariat for Social Welfare, which arose from the will of the workers' and peasants' revolution, represents an entirely new departure for Russia. There is nothing in the past that is equivalent to it. Under the old régime, the needy population depended entirely on the scant alms of charity organizations. The latter represented merely the caprice of people who did not know how to kill time; the practical results of their work was therefore equivalent to zero. The November revolution has done away with this penny charity, and has put in its place the duty of the state toward all working citizens. The many-sided activity of the Commissariat for Social Welfare, and the tasks which it must meet, found their expression in the "Provisions for Social Welfare for Workers," confirmed October 31, 1918, by the Council of People's Commissaires. In accordance with these provisions, welfare work applies without exception to all workers who obtain their livelihood by their own work, without exploitation of other people's work, and when we recall that with the introduction of obligatory labor duty, and with the nationalization of capitalistic enterprises, the bourgeoisie must disappear in Soviet Russia, it is clear that in the near future the social welfare work must include all classes of the population of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

Welfare activity is applicable, according to the new decree, to all cases that have lost all means of subsistence, either through temporary incapacity for work, through general debility, mutilation, pregnancy, etc., or through permanent incapacity

for work. According to the law, one has a right to welfare attention, even in cases of loss of the means of subsistence through unemployment, where such is not the fault of the unemployed. It is far from the intentions of the organs of social welfare to take steps to prevent sickness and mutilation, but it is their intention to provide, for the whole population, every possible kind of medical aid, beginning with first aid in cases of sudden illness, up to every possible medical treatment of a special nature, such as that provided in ambulatories, sanatoriums, etc. In addition, every worker has a claim to medicaments and to special medical instruments, artificial limbs, etc. In cases of temporary loss of the ability to work, through disease or mutilation, compensations amounting to the sum earned by the unemployed are granted up to the time of complete restoration of health. Pregnant and confined women receive aids of like amount for a period of eight weeks preceding and eight weeks following confinement, if they are physical workers. Other cases receive such aid for six weeks. In cases of unemployment, the aid is granted up to the day of re-employment, at the rate of the smallest compensation in the locality in question that is permitted by its tariff. In cases of permanent lack of employment, or unemployment for more than sixty per cent. of the working time, a full allowance is paid; in other words, for one month, twenty-five times the average daily wage of the locality in which the unemployed man lives; where unemployment amounts to 45-60% of working time, three-quarters of this allowance is paid; for 30-45%, one-half; for 15-30%, one-fifth of the full allowance.

According to its functions, the Commissariat for Social Welfare is divided into the following sections:

I. Section for Children's Homes. Among the duties of this section are the care for children without guardians, such as the exposed child (foundling), orphans, illegitimates, children of beggar women and prostitutes, children who have been taken away from their parents by law (criminals, drunkards, street vendors, etc.), as well as abnormal children of three classes: (1) morally abnormal, who have committed a crime, and to whom the law of January 17, 1918, is applicable (according to this law, courts are abolished for minors and they are assigned to the care of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare); (2) Mentally abnormal children; (3) Physically abnormal children. The Section for Children's Homes establishes asylums, communes and homes for children in order in this way to replace their families. In these asylums and homes, the principle of labor and the principle of children's independence are carried out. The children's homes are connected with libraries, clubs, playgrounds, workshops, etc. After attaining a certain age, the children of these asylums and homes, as well as all other children, must attend the schools which are open to all. In the children's homes and asylums the children remain until the age of seventeen, whereupon they enter life for themselves, without relieving the state however, of the continuance of its care, in accordance with the "provisions." According to the reports, up to January 1, 1919, more than 100,000 children are under such supervision in Russia, and there are 1,500 children's homes. In the near future, a further considerable number of homes and asylums are to be opened.

II. Section for Care of Mothers and Infants. This Section has established, in large numbers, asylums and homes for the pregnant. For women in confinement, lying-in establishments have been organized, in which the mothers obtain instruction in the nourishment and care of children. After leaving such establishments, the mother, together with the new-born child, is placed in a new home which is under supervision of special physicians. In the factories and works, as well as in the country, at the time of work in the fields in summer, day nurseries are established, in which mothers can feed their own children; orphaned infants are taken care of in special institutions under medical supervision, in which the children are fed. The Section for the Care of Mothers and Infants has its own dairies, in which milk is provided for the mothers and children. In addition, they supervise the milk trade, in so far as the latter is intended for children. The Section has also established courses for the instruction of those supervising these homes, in which the students receive, in addition to general instruction, also certain specific instruction.

III. Section for the War-Maimed. The chief task of this Section is to make the maimed capable of performing such variety of work as is compatible with their individual mutilations. With this in view, the Section aims particularly to secure the greatest possible restoration of normal health in the individual in order to prepare him for work that will be in accordance with the character of his mutilation. For cripples, there is a great number of the most varied workshops in which they may apply their forces and their energy. In Moscow, there are ten vocational courses for cripples.

IV. Section for Invalids. According to data thus far received, which are as yet by no means complete, this Section is at present taking care of about 65,000 old men and women, who are living in 2,000 homes. In the near future, a thorough transformation of the homes intended for invalids is proposed; they are to be based on a model unit for 50 and 100 inmates, instead of the numbers hitherto sheltered. In these homes, the principle of labor and the principle of independence are carried out as far as possible.

V. Outside Aid. Permanent financial aid is at present granted not only to the unemployed, but also to the families of Red Army men. At a very early date, a decree will probably be issued as to the care of families of physicians and victims of the counter-revolution. The maximum annual allowance of this kind is 2,000 rubles per person. In the decree of the Council of People's Commissaires on Social Welfare, the payment of allowances to all men over fifty, all women over fifty-five is provided; yet the serious financial situation, together with the continued war needs, which are at present forced upon Russia, make it impossible to carry out this decree with absolute completeness; for this reason, the invalids, as has been already mentioned, obtain aid in the form of actual necessities, at the various homes.

VI. Temporary Aid. As a matter of principle, aid is granted to the needy soldiers of the old army, namely to 400,000 men (according to the financial report more than 1,000,000,000 rubles have been paid out this way). In addition, the Section has established workshops of all kinds, in order to secure work for the needy population. For the same purpose, government constructions are being undertaken, cheap and even free eating houses established, dwelling places and night lodgings opened. A great amount of work arises for this Section from the fact that it provides aid for fugitives from the localities that have been taken by the White Guardists.

VII. Section for Aid to the victims of the counter-revolution. This Section provides aid for the workers in the Soviet and the Party, who have suffered under the counter-revolution, also to political fugitives who are returning with the Red Army. For the purpose of aiding fugitives and vic-

tims of the counter-revolution, all sorts of agricultural communes are established, while persons of this kind may obtain, previous to their assignment to such communes, a financial aid equivalent to the minimum necessary for maintaining life.

VIII. The Section for Rations provides for the rationing of the soldiers of the old army and the families of the Red Guardists.

In addition to the above cited chief Sections, there are also less important sub-divisions, such as that for the combatting of mendicancy and of street vending.

In the second half-year of 1918, the People's

Commissariat for Social Welfare spent 600,000,000 rubles, while the proposed budget for the first half-year of 1919 was for more than 2,000,000,000 rubles. The funds of the People's Commissariat for Social Welfare consist of payments of the following classes: For aids paid to mothers and the unemployed, in the form of a uniform impost for the entire territory of Soviet Russia; for the remaining varieties of welfare work, the amount to be paid in is fixed by the local organs of the People's Commissariat, on the basis of tariffs depending on the danger-class to which each occupation is assigned by the local authorities. All these funds together constitute a single, All-Russian Fund for Social Welfare.

An Eye-Witness on Soviet Russia

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

(Continuation)

Production, Distribution and Currency

But still we had hardly begun to discuss with our comrade the machinery by which the Soviet community is kept going.

It is important, he explained, to secure a large production, in order that there may be an abundance of everything required by the people: then it will soon come to be realized that consumption can be left to take care of itself; that every one can have as much as he or she can use, and yet there will be no lack. In the communist community it will presently be realized that it is wrong to waste an hour's working time; but that it is not wrong, on the contrary it is right, to take all that one wants for use since there is plenty more for others.

The Russians already see from their own experience that production is enormously increased and simplified under communist management. Each industry then becomes a huge co-operative, more powerfully organized than any of the capitalist "trusts." Any machinery that is out of date or the worse for wear can be instantly scrapped: no private interests depend on its manufacture: no family lacking the capital to buy new machinery is compelled to go on using it. Only the best machinery need be employed. There is no need for several factories with half-used plants to be kept running: the workers from many factories can be concentrated in one establishment where that is advisable from the productive standpoint. Only well-equipped factories need be used; only useful commodities of the best quality need be produced. Neither energy, nor material, need be wasted on advertisement.

The economic Soviets, which have the care of industry, are becoming the most important bodies in the community and will gradually absorb all other departments dealing with economic life. As they pay all the workers, they have taken over the most extensive work of the Treasury.

The Supreme Council of National Economy is called for convenience the Visovnahoz, a composite word made up of the first syllables of its name in Russian.

Members of the Visovnahoz consist of delegates elected by the Soviets of provinces, by national Trade Unions and delegates from factories. Its president is appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, of which he must be a member.

The various industries are grouped under two heads:—

1. In which the industry, though carried on in various establishments, is of a sufficiently homogeneous character to be organized from one technical administrative centre, for instance, the rubber industry.

2. Industries in which there are several distinct branches with different technical problems, such as the textile industry, which deals with cotton, silk, wool, and so on.

Industries under the first head have a central council called the Glauci which is composed of representatives of the workers, technicians, chemists, engineers, and so on, and, if need be, administrative experts from outside, also delegates from the Trade Unions and Soviets.

Industries under the second head have separate councils for each branch of the industry, with delegates like those on the Glauci; and from these councils delegates are sent to a central council called the Zentri.

Local bodies formed from the same elements which compose the Glauci and Zentri are formed in the localities, and there are workshops and factory committees to deal with workshop and factory concerns, as well as for sending delegates to the larger councils.

Deputations may be sent from the Superior Economic Council to any of the intermediate commit-

tees, right down to the workshop; and deputations from the workshop or any intermediate council, may be sent to the highest or any intermediate council.

Our comrade visited the office of the Supreme Economic Council just before he left Moscow. He found that four highly qualified officials were constantly at four telephones, replying to inquiries from local councils. Rykoff, the President, had a receiver at his desk so that, if necessary, he could reply to any of the inquiries himself.

The workers' control of industry carried on through this system of councils is giving the manual workers wide opportunities to develop their organizing abilities. Our comrade told us of a young workman who is on the central council for the metal industries, who is showing remarkable talent for organization and who is, he said, one of the cleverest men he ever met. This young workman has never been to school and has had no training except that necessary to acquire a knowledge of the particular process by which he earned his living. One of the most brilliant members of the Visovnahoz itself has never been to school.

Lenin constantly urges upon the Russian people the need for efficient organization: he says that in no country is it so easy to produce a Revolution as in Russia, but in no country is it so difficult to organize its results, because the idealism of the Russians outstrips their power of organization. Our comrade told us that it is generally agreed that Lenin is not a typical Russian, but that he combines the best characteristics of the Russians and the English. Marie Spiridonova, whose idealistic qualities are admired by all, but whose impetuous illogicalities have caused much trouble to her revolutionary colleagues, is said to be exaggeratedly Russian.

Lenin urges the Russians to study the methodical ways of the British, Germans, and Americans, and to attract all foreigners from whom the Russians can learn, to live in Russia. Skilled workmen of many nationalities are glad to settle in Russia, because the Soviet Republic provides for the workers better conditions than anywhere in the world. From Stockholm especially a great influx of workers is expected as soon as the embargo is raised.

But foreigners are welcomed in Russia not only for what they can teach, but in order that they may learn and carry the knowledge they have gained to their own countries. Thus they are given facilities to study the working of all sorts of departments. When Rykoff, the President of the Supreme Economic Council, knew that our comrade was coming to England he put off important engagements to give him information.

Money and Barter

We questioned our comrade concerning the worth of the rouble, the various kinds of rouble now in circulation and the story that the roubles of the Czar are worth more in Russia than the roubles of

Kerensky. He laughed at the idea and told us that whatever may be the case abroad, in Russia all the roubles are of equal value, since the Soviet Government is printing the roubles of the Czar, and all the later kinds of rouble at top speed. The Communists are deliberately inflating the currency in order to teach the people that money is only a means of exchange, and that useful commodities and labor power are the only real wealth. At the present time Russian roubles are worth more abroad than they are in Russia.

The Communists believe that eventually money will be abolished. They say that country and country, district and district will exchange commodities on a large scale: agricultural districts will exchange their produce for the manufactures produced by industrial districts; probably there will be an annual exchange.

Between individuals barter will cease: individuals will have their need for any given commodity supplied from the communal centres for that commodity.

Already the coupon is beginning in Russia to have a greater importance than money; presently it will oust money, and later, when the community is ready for complete communism, it will itself disappear; the needs of the individual being the measure of his supply.

At present in Russia bread, sugar, milk, boots, clothing, and other things are rationed, and cannot be bought for money unless the buyer is able to present also a coupon proving him to be entitled to purchase. The scarcity produced by the war, the counter-revolution, the blockade, and the fact that the purchasing power of the workers is now enormously increased, have necessitated the rationing, and the ration coupons are playing their part in ousting money from its position of supreme importance.

The house committee has charge of the clothing coupons, and if one wants to buy clothes or shoes beyond the ordinary average, one has to prove one's need to one's house committee.

The abolition of the shopkeeping system and the various middlemen who infest the capitalist régime is a great economy. In Soviet Russia coal, for instance, goes straight from the mine to the factory where it is required, and both the mine and the factory are linked up through the Supreme Council of National Economy.

The Co-operative Societies

The co-operative societies were at first encouraged by the Soviet Government as one means of breaking down the system of private trading; but co-operation is not communism. Co-operatives are capitalist concerns though the capital is divided amongst a large number of shareholders. The reactionary bourgeoisie saw in the co-operatives a means of forming anti-Soviet strongholds and set themselves to capture them as far as possible. Both

because the co-operatives in some cases tend to be counter-revolutionary, and because their structure is not fully communistic, the Soviets no longer encourage them, and the co-operatives will gradually disappear.

In Soviet Russia is beginning simultaneously a great development in industry and in education, which will act and re-act upon each other. Communist Russia, with a population in which there are no idlers, no uneducated inefficients, no poverty-produced imbeciles and invalids, with large scale communal production, will be able to produce more economically and efficiently than other countries. Soviet Russia will be superior to all her competitors, and since the Communists believe that capitalist traders do not care a damn where they buy, so long as they can buy with profit, they think that Soviet-made goods will tend to oust all others from the market.

The counter-revolutionary seizure of the richest coal mines, and the British occupation of the oil fields of Baku, have induced the Soviets to make greater use of the peat, of which there is a great basin around Moscow. An electric generating station is being supplied from the peat, and enough heat, light and motive power will be produced for all Moscow's domestic and industrial needs.

AN ORDER TO SHOOT HOSTAGES

Proclamation of the Chief Agent for the Preservation of Law and Order in the Eniseisk and Part of Irkutsk Provinces

The Government troops are fighting bandits. The criminal elements—the dregs of society—have armed themselves for the purpose of plunder, robbery and violence. Bolshevism has given them an organization. The ugly misdeeds committed by the robbers, the wrecking of passenger trains, the assassination of government officials, of priests, the shooting of the families of peaceful citizens who have left the region of rebellion, violence and torture—all this compels us to set aside those general moral principles which are applied to an enemy at war.

The prisons are filled with the leaders of these assassins. I command the chiefs of the city garrisons within my jurisdiction: to consider the imprisoned Bolsheviks and murderers as hostages. Of each act, like the above-mentioned, they must report to me and for every crime committed in this region from 3 to 20 hostages shall be shot.

This order shall take effect by telegraph. It must be widely proclaimed. Detailed instructions follow.

(Signed) Lieutenant-General ROZANOV.

March 28th, 1919. Krasnoyarsk.

("The Echo," Vladivostok, April 25, 1919.)

OFFICIAL ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA IN SIBERIA

"The Echo," Vladivostok, April 25th, 1919.

The soldiers at the front must have literature, particularly periodicals. A daily newspaper "Vpered" is being issued in Omsk for the front and the following is a sample of the news upon which it feeds the front.

In quoting in one of its editorials parts of Prof. Ivanov's book entitled "The Church and the Revolution," the newspaper accompanies the quotations with "appropriate" remarks, which remind one of the late "Zemshchina" (an organ of the Black Hundred).

"This operation (taking off of crosses and ikons) was performed by Leiba Bronstein ("Trotsky") himself.

"Who but a descendant of the traitor Judah could think of such an insane, criminal, obscene blasphemy?"

Speaking further of Jewish massacres, the newspaper for a moment displays an unexpected modesty, but later throws off the mask:

"Of course, no one can justify such barbarous acts as the massacres perpetrated against these innocent Jews, who do not sympathize with the Bronsteins and their like, and who must suffer with the Judahs and traitors. But those who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind, and no one may dare to play with impunity with anything so holy to the Russian nation as their religion. . . . Prof. B. P. Ivanov concludes his book, entitled "The History of the Tortures of Christ's Church" with the following sentence:

"And more and more frequently does he (the Russian citizen) think that the welfare of the people is merely a magnificent curtain behind which there is hidden and operates something different—it is some religion mighty and intolerant,—a religion which is a bitter enemy of Christianity and particularly of Orthodox Christianity."

"And we ask who are these enemies of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian people?"

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND RUSSIA

(Special Telegram to Social-Demokraten, Christiania.)

Stockholm, July 24th.—Our readers will recall that the German Government has recently publicly denied that there was any danger, as expressed in the English Lower House, of a rapprochement between Soviet Russia and Germany. Nevertheless, Swedish newspapers are informed from reliable German sources that unofficial efforts are being made to secure an understanding both from the Russian and the German side, and particularly certain big industrial interests in Germany are operating in connection with the Government, or at least with the Government's knowledge, aiming very energetically at a re-opening of communications.

Atrocities I Did Not See in Russia

By Walter Mills Hinkle

The author of the following article went to Russia as an American Y. M. C. A. worker. Like a number of other Americans who were connected with the Y. M. C. A., Mr. Hinkle was much impressed with the success of the Soviet Government in bringing order out of chaos in Russia.

DEFFECTIVE vision kept me out of the war, but the instinct for heroism would not be easily downed. The search for opportunities was not difficult. The newspapers daily unfolded the awful story of the terrors of Russia, where famine, pestilence, and murder stalked through the land, where life was precarious, and danger ever imminent. Here was the place to face the Great Realities. I managed to get connected with one of the semi-official war organizations dealing with Russia, and then spent two months studying the language, eight hours a day, learning a few polite expressions, and how to ask for bread and butter—the butter part I later discovered availed me nothing.

I took the plunge after making all preparations, which included my last will and testament, fond farewells reminiscent of the doomed, and copious supplies of all things one could possibly need—had we not been told that literally nothing could be obtained in that stricken land?—ending up with a trusty .38 calibre revolver and 200 rounds of ammunition. I was prepared to sell my life dearly.

I arrived at Murmansk in the early days of May, 1918, and still recall my vivid feelings on first putting foot on Russian soil. Instinctively at every human I saw, whether he were Russian, Mongolian, Tartar, Lapp, or Pole, I wondered if he were a Bolshevik; and looked closely to see where he was keeping his weapons. Within the hour I had met a real Bolshevik: I knew it by his title—Commissioner of Immigration—but especially by the wildness of his hair. In other respects he was mild-mannered and courteous, and after examining my passport and other documents, gave them his official visé. His wife had been a Red Cross nurse, spoke English well, and told us of the Revolution. Propaganda, you see.

For ten days I lingered in this town, which in its mushroom growth resembled one of our mining towns in the West years ago, with its log houses, mud splashes for roads, and general lack of those indications of civilization one finds in up-to-date cities. I lived in the house of another member of the organization, which he rented from the local Soviet for 160 roubles a month, including water, fuel, and electric light, which is the equivalent of \$16 a month at the rate of exchange then current, of 10 roubles to the dollar. During those ten days I got used to the idea of engines whistling and tooting, to the operation of the telegraph, and even to not hearing the momentarily expected rifle shots. This last, however, I attributed to the presence of a British warship, although at this time it had not

interfered with the internal management of the town. Great numbers of recently "escaped refugees"—French, English and Italian—were present, all of whom told us of the terrible chaos of the interior, dwelling with delight on the perils through which they had just passed. It really seemed that just when sensible people were withdrawing their heads from the jaws of the Beast, ere they snapped, I and a few others were about to put our heads in. A few persons retained their reason, however. One man advised me strongly to wrap my revolver and ammunition in swaddling clothes, and stow them away in the most inaccessible corner of my baggage. Later I followed the advice, but not at first.

At length, having secured a permit to proceed to Petrograd, I began a seven day journey in a freight car partly loaded with cases of food for the British Embassy. There was one other American in the party, together with an English-speaking Russian named Muchanoff who was in charge of the car, and several non-English-speaking Russians. We had a stove in the center of the car, on which we cooked our meals; and managed to arrange the cases and some boards so as to get fairly comfortable sleeping quarters. That seven day trip was a great lark for the American delegation. As the train went on its haphazard way—fast or slow according to the grade, and with stops of indeterminate duration at the stations en route—we gazed hungrily at the landscape, curiously at the inhabitants, and practised talking Russian. Once a car jumped the track. A volunteer party was organized, tools brought from a forward car, and in an hour the car was back on the track, and we were moving forward again. At one station the engineer and conductor, feeling the need of recreation, stopped the train for an hour, and were seen airplaning in a Russian swing such as one finds all over Russia.

Petrozavodsk, the first large town we came to, gave us a surprise. Muchanoff and I started to town in a jitney bus to send a telegram. We sent it in safety, looked around a while, and then caught the bus back to the station, getting to our car without having heard a single shot, seen even one person blackjacked, or been in any personal danger. I began to get impatient. Where were those opportunities for heroism for which I had been so eager? I verily believe I was the only person in town who was carrying a revolver in his pocket. A few moments of reflection calmed me. Even though there was a Soviet in the town, the full significance of the Revolution hadn't perhaps

dawned on the place. Anyway one couldn't expect too much of a provincial town.

Finally we sighted the spires and domes of Petrograd. At last we were about to cross the threshold. The train pulled up in the depot and the passengers alighted. Muchanoff told us to remain in the car while he went out to make arrangements to have the cases of food transported to the Embassy and our personal luggage to a hotel. Accordingly we waited while the train was backed into the yards. Then, *horribile dictu*, we saw a squad of women resolutely advancing on the train, armed with brooms, pails, and other impedimenta. I had read of the Battalion of Death, and had a hazy notion of what Russian women were capable of. My mind went back to the embattled farmers armed with pitchforks. If it were natural for a farmer to use a pitchfork why should not a woman use her broom stick? In an unnatural calm I waited the attack (one doesn't like the idea of fighting women anyway), my finger caressing the trigger of my revolver; but my fears proved groundless. Ignoring us, the women started to clean and wash the cars. Something was wrong somewhere.

In a short while Muchanoff returned with three wagons, on which we quickly loaded the cases of food and our personal belongings. Distributing ourselves among the wagons, we passed out of the gates and by the guards without incident, and then began a parade down the Nevsky Prospect from the Nicholas Square to the river, which was as awe-inspiring to us as it must have been ludicrous to the spectators. As we passed out into the square the ordinary sights of any busy city disclosed themselves: newsboys yelling out their wares in unintelligible sounds, cabs lined up at the curbs, street cars clanging by, each being switched off in its proper direction, and crowds on the streets. In vain did I look for the heaps of bodies that ought to have been piled up on the street corners—all I saw were living persons. I sniffed the air in the hopeless effort to detect the stench which I had been told ten days previously made Petrograd an impossible city to live in. Actually the streets were being cleaned. Of blood I saw none. My hopes fell. Even apart from the people and the Revolution, Petrograd could not help being of interest to the foreigner, but the zest of danger was absent, and I felt I had been cheated.

I never fully got over that feeling during my stay in the City of Peter. The shops were all open, and I made many purchases in the land where nothing was. The Imperial Ballet was just finishing a most successful season where for the first time the common herd formed the great body of the audience, but I was too late to get a seat. However, I did enjoy a real Russian bath, the municipal institutions being open; and received a haircut from a man who can only be described as an artist in his line. This latter cost me two rubles—twenty cents. I used the telephone free,

principally I suppose because of the lack of metallic coins to drop in the slot; although later, yielding to the law of necessity, free telephoning was legalized by decree. Food was expensive and limited both in quantity and variety. By an effort of the will I learned to eat turnips and sour cabbage; and I found that the soggy black bread did not taste quite so bad when toasted. I can honestly say, therefore, that I did make one sacrifice and suffered from one atrocity—small portions of unappetizing food. There was another. How I had longed for a taste of vodka, the praises of which had been sung in my ears many a time. Not a drop was to be had—nor of any other liquor, save two per cent beer. Liberty had been dealt a savage blow. The government found that if the people could get drunk they could easily be diverted from the Revolution, and so with a ruthlessness almost equal to that of the Teutons they proceeded to destroy the Elixir of Life wherever they found it. I almost wept as the hotel manager told me of the wanton destruction of thousands of bottles of old and rare vintages which had been discovered in the cellars of the ex-Rich.

For three days I wandered around Petrograd till the wee sma' hours of the morning looking for trouble—in vain. There may have been sporadic murders, burglaries, hold-ups, and other manifestations of civilization, but nothing of this character came to my attention. I suppose it is like the United States: I have never witnessed one of these lawless acts, yet am daily assured by my newspaper that they occur. At any rate Petrograd had disappointed me—now for Moscow. So, having again procured a permit without which I could not have bought a ticket—such was the prevailing state of anarchy—I prepared to leave. This time I put my revolver in my trunk—hereafter I would meet danger with moral suasion.

In Moscow, the very seat and center of Atrocity, I was shocked. There, in the midst of all these disturbances, the University was calmly holding its examinations, with notices of courses for the next term posted on the bulletin board, apparently oblivious of the fact that all the professors were dead. This indeed was callous indifference. The Sunday after my arrival I attended a concert of Russian folk-music rendered by a choir of sixty peasants from various parts of Russia, one of a series of concerts that had been going on for three weeks. The hall was packed for the three and a half hours the concert lasted. In the charm and strange beauty of the music I forgot for the first time that I was on heroic venture bent, and felt stirring within me a deep feeling of love and reverence for the Russian people, which has not ceased to grow.

This self-same Sunday, I came across my first atrocity in its real sense. Through friends I made the acquaintance of a wealthy and refined family, consisting of the mother, daughter, and aunt. They occupied a large, beautiful apartment in Moscow,

in addition to a country villa which had not been taken away from them. The officials of the local Soviet, in their survey of the available rooming space in the city, determined that they were occupying more space than their needs warranted, and they would have to take in others or move to smaller quarters. The family chose the latter alternative; but a four-room apartment could not possibly contain all the beautiful furniture they had collected. In consequence, they had to distribute various pieces among friends, and live under more restricted conditions. It was a pitiable case, one of many, and my indignation was aroused at the high-handed treatment of a family which had injured no one. An apologist for the government, whom I met, said it was unfortunate of course, but since Moscow was overcrowded and the people were herded like cattle in the houses of the poorer sections of the city, some method had to be found to secure a more equitable distribution of space. Anyway, the deed was done; and it was only later when I recalled a particularly cruel eviction I had witnessed in New York City—a mother and her baby sitting on a bed in the middle of the street in the dead of winter, with furniture heaped all around her in disorder—that I realized the difficulty of passing judgment too harshly.

After a short stay in Moscow, unenlivened by any save self-created excitement, I took the train for Vologda, a large railway center which lacks all the ordinary conveniences Americans are likely to think of as constituting civilization: no sidewalks save in the center of the town, no sewer system, no pure drinking water. It was a good sample of the type of "civilization" developed by the Czarist régime in the smaller provincial towns. To make up for this lack, there was an extraordinary number of churches and monasteries—the national energy could find a fairly safe expression in this form even under the old régime. For all that, Vologda was very pleasant with its broad, sluggish, muddy river in which half the town went swimming on hot days. In this town the churches and monasteries had been left undisturbed. I had heard tales of the looting of churches, the most indignant story-tellers being those who previously had cared least for the Church, but I never saw any building that had suffered. However, the chief interest for me in Vologda was the market place, where I used to wander for hours with the keenest delight.

It was Archangel, however, where I spent the greatest amount of time: Archangel, which was under control of the Soviet before the Allies came to establish law and order. Altogether I spent four weeks in this town at intervals, leaving it shortly before intervention became a reality. As far as the outward eye could judge, life went on in its natural course: the two public baths were open, being run by the Soviet; the street cars were operated; ferries went up and down and across the river on regular schedules; "movies," theatres, and

entertainments were open; and practically all the stores were doing business—although stocks were low and in many cases seriously depleted. Non-essentials could be bought freely, but, to purchase essentials, clothing and food, cards were required, which were issued only on establishing need. In Archangel there were the usual number of churches and monasteries. I attended one service in the Cathedral in company with an English-speaking Russian who later translated the sermon for me. This was a violent denunciation of the Bolsheviks for the recent decree secularizing marriage. After calling down the wrath of Heaven on the infidels who had committed the atrocity of putting marriage on the basis it occupies in all of Western Europe and America, the priest went on to state that any one who obeyed the decree and procured a civil license, not only would be denied a religious ceremony, but in addition would be excommunicated forthwith from the Congregation. There were present only about a quarter of the old congregation, to whom was thus presented the dire alternative of disobeying the law or being ejected from Church. No action was taken during my stay in the city looking toward the closing of the church for incitement to lawlessness.

One of the atrocities which occurred during my stay in the town was the arresting of the whole town Duma for voting to pay the interest on bonds which had been condemned by the Central Executive Committee in Moscow. It was done so quietly that I learned about it first through an acquaintance whose uncle escaped arrest by being out of the city at the time. In another case I knew a family which had been forced out of its house and made to occupy a barn-like structure in the rear while the house was "commandeered for governmental purposes." Later the family was allowed to take possession of the house again. Again, an English woman I knew told me a burglar had entered her room and stolen some money and jewelry. It sounded pretty terrible then, but after a camera I had carried safely all through Russia was stolen out of my room in Baltimore, I began to get a little more perspective. Apart from these instances nothing exciting occurred: I heard no shots, saw no clubbings, and walked the streets in security. The last night of my stay in Archangel I listened to a band in one of the public parks. A second band was playing in the other park, while performances were being given in the theatres, and the four "movie" shows were running.

It was not until December, long after my return to America, that I was made aware of the horrors I had been through in Archangel. A newspaper man writing for the Philadelphia "Public Ledger" gave a long account of the horrible condition of Archangel when he reached there in July. The buildings were all crumbling from artillery and rifle fire; the town had been looted over and over again by marauding bands of Bolsheviks for months prior

to the coming of the Deliverers; starving men and women fought like maniacs over crusts of bread lying in the street which a well-bred dog would scorn. And I had left the place just a couple of weeks before he arrived! How my vanity was tickled, even at the expense of truth. I had accomplished my desire. At last I was a hero.

PRESS NOTES

THE press in many countries has been untiring in repeating its statements as to the enormous prices of foodstuffs in Soviet Russia. Without taking the pains to review many such repetitions, which have been made ever since the installation of the Soviet Government in November, 1917, we shall simply content ourselves with the most recent utterance of this kind, that appearing in the New York Times of Sunday, August 10th (a Stockholm message of August 8th). It runs as follows:

Food prices in the Russian capital (Petrograd is meant) became fantastic when the rations were reduced recently, a small lump of sugar costing from 10 to 12 roubles, and a pound of white bread selling at 120 roubles.

Now, the truth about these conditions has been frequently stated. Those who perform no useful work of any kind no doubt pay heavily for food in Russia, as only workers may obtain it at the prices fixed by the Soviet Government, while the others must get it from illegal dealers at speculation prices. We have no hope that the following authoritative statement by Emil Stang, who went to Russia with Arthur Ransome early this year, will put a stop to these half-truths about food-prices in Russia, but we give the information so that those that really want it may use it. It is taken from Stang's book, "Sovjet Rusland" ("Soviet Russia"), which appeared last month in Christiania, and which has not yet been translated into English:

(Pp. 50-51 of Stang's book.) . . . "Prices in Russia are repeatedly cited as horrible examples of what a socialist régime leads to. But the prices given in our papers are not those paid by the general population. All goods sold on ration-cards through communal or co-operative stores are sold at fixed prices, which are very reasonable. The price of bread at these places is about 4 roubles per kilogram, or one crown Norwegian money (27 cents U.S. money, about 12 cents a pound, therefore). A dinner costs 3½ roubles (35 cents) and other foodstuffs in proportion. But, by the side of

this legal trading, there is also an extensive speculative trading. It is particularly difficult to prevent the peasants from selling their products secretly. Those who rely chiefly on the illegal purchase of food, are naturally the persons in the third category, who have money hoarded away, and who cannot obtain food at the Government's prices. But other persons who can afford it also try to exceed their rations by purchasing without their ration-cards. Prices paid under these conditions are of course shameless. Bread has cost as high, by this method, as 50 roubles per kilogram, or 12 crowns Norwegian (nearly \$6)."

ON July 10th, L'Humanité, of Paris, reprinted an interview with Vassili Sukhomlin, a delegate of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionary Party to the Berne Conference. This interview had originally been printed in an issue of "La République Russe," also issued at Paris, and had led to the suppression of the entire number of "La République Russe" by the French censorship.

The Sukhomlin interview ridicules the pretences of Kolchak and Denikin to be truly democratic. We have had so much matter on this subject of late that our readers will begin to find it boring, particularly in view of the fact that the two illustrious objects of attack—Kolchak and Denikin—seem about to be eliminated from the stage of Russian History, but we cannot desist from quoting one of the paragraphs as it appears in L'Humanité:

"Kolchak, Denikin, and their friends represent agrarian and political counter-revolution. If they dare not yet pronounce the word 'monarchy,' they also cautiously avoid speaking of a 'Republic.' They are satisfied with establishing the monarchic régime in fact, with the Supreme Ruler (Verkhovny Pravitel) at its head. If they speak of a necessity of satisfying the peasants and of 'recognizing' the changes of ownership that have taken place, they do so with mental reservations, and, in any case, do not admit any violation of the sacro-sanct principle of property, even undertaking the defense of the old landed proprietors. Kolchak does this in a veiled manner, but he can fool no one. Denikin, in his latest declaration, has openly stated: 'The landholders will retain title to their lands.'"

Soviet Russia

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THE treacherous coup d'état in Hungary is in many ways illustrative of the situation in Russia and of the Russian counter-revolutionary movement. What happened in Hungary is exactly what would have happened in Russia if the Russian Workers Government had been less firmly entrenched and if the Russian workers had been as gullible as were some of the Hungarian Socialists. It is also, in some respects, a parallel to the results of Allied Russian policy in Siberia.

The Allied Governments did not want to recognize Bela Kun's Communistic régime. They indulged in extensive propaganda among the Hungarian workers, and especially among leaders of the so-called "Moderate Socialists." They did so with better results than in Russia. By promises to recognize a "Moderate Socialist" Government, and hoping that this recognition would immediately be followed by a lifting of the blockade and by a resumption of diplomatic and commercial relations with Hungary, some muddle-headed "Moderate Socialists" of Hungary were induced to effect the removal of Bela Kun and the establishment of a "respectable" government in Hungary.

No sooner had they carried out this plan, than Budapest was attacked and captured by a Roumanian army. In place of promised food relief, the Hungarian population was subjected to robbery and pillage by the Roumanian troops. Scores of workmen were executed. The infuriated Hungarian bourgeoisie and nobility has been let loose against the workers to take revenge for the humili-

ation endured during the communistic régime. We are told that the highly "civilized" students of Budapest are flogging workers whom they suspect of communistic sympathies and that general Jew pogroms are taking place all over Hungary.

All this takes place under the protection of Roumanian armies in Budapest. As a matter of course, the "Moderate Socialist" Government, which the Hungarians were induced to establish by promises given them by the Allies, has been deposed, and most of its members put into prison. The Roumanian army, which, if we are not much mistaken, was a part of the machine supposed to make the world "safe for democracy" and to "crush Teutonic militarism," finds its particular brand of "democracy" best advanced by making one scion of the rottenest Teutonic autocracy, one of the Hapsburgs, the ruler of Hungary!

Comments under these circumstances are really useless. In fact, words fail adequately to express the real character of this treacherous piece of counter-revolution. The Allied press is trying to pretend that the coup-d'état took place on the sole responsibility of Roumania, without any support or even any sanction whatsoever on the part of the Allied Governments. To persons familiar with the absolute control the big powers have over actions by their lesser associates, such assurances seem somewhat unnatural.

Experience has proved that whenever the Allies really want some of their lesser brethren to pursue a certain policy, they do not even have to employ military measures to gain their end. They control the food situation of the world. This has heretofore proved itself to be an unfailing weapon to enforce their orders among lesser governments. The picture of Roumania as all powerful and as running amuck without the consent of her highly moral tutors, the tutors standing aside without other means at their disposal than entreaties and half-hearted threats, is far from convincing.

What has happened in Hungary also is, on a larger scale and more pronouncedly, a reiteration of the coup-d'état performed last winter in Siberia against the "Moderate Socialist" Directorate which was overthrown by Kolchak. Already on that occasion there were ample opportunities to see that there is no middle road, in those parts of the world, between the rule of the workers and the dictatorship of reactionary monarchists.

If the Russian workers had been gullible enough to listen to entreaties by all kinds of imperialistic agents, to overthrow their own Soviet Government in order to establish "true democracy," their fate today, on a gigantic scale and in hundredfold more horrible forms, would be the fate which has been meted out to their less self-conscious Hungarian fellow workers.

From this point of view the incident in Hungary is of tremendous interest. It will, if anything, strengthen the Soviet Rule in Russia. It cannot

but serve as a lesson even to those shortsighted Russian "Moderate Socialists" who, so far, have been inclined to listen to the siren songs of European imperialists.

* * *

WHILE official Allied circles assume an attitude of being embarrassed by the Hungarian coup d'état and ponderously engage in press agenting their alleged demands on Roumania to desist from her errand of highway robbery, the imperialistic press of France does not conceal the boundless joy which this adventure evokes in the hearts of reactionaries. Several Paris newspapers openly state that what happened in Hungary is what ought to have happened there long ago and what ought to have been done in Russia. Statements are made that the best interests of France demand the establishment of monarchies in Eastern Europe and that democracies do not offer sufficient guarantee for French commercial interests.

All this is perfectly natural. Reactionaries, who are primarily interested in the resurrection of their special interests, cannot satisfy their aim in the presence of any popular control. The exhausted and embittered masses of Europe, wherever they are in a position to articulate their demands, prove a mighty handicap to such plans. And thus, to Western European imperialists, the making of promises of democracy is of value only in as far as it can be used as an inducement to workers in revolutionary countries to desist from aspiring to a rule by the working class.

* * *

WHILE in Western Europe the governments are at sea as to just how to face the ever increasingly intricate problems resulting from the existing social unrest, Soviet Russia appears to be the only country on European continent where the stability of the government becomes greater day by day. The last few days have witnessed a complete collapse of all counter-revolutionary plans against Soviet Russia. The Finnish White Guard invaders have been decisively beaten in the Onega district, and there have been reports of the fall of Archangel into the hands of Soviet troops. This news has not been confirmed so far, but there has been a strange silence in British War office dispatches about the situation in Archangel, a silence which in view of earlier statements easily may mean an admission of defeat. Kolchak is out of the game definitely. The collapse of his Ural front has been followed by a general uprising against him by the people of Siberia. To be sure some reactionary newspapers still are winning one victory after another for him in their columns, and as a voice from beyond the Styx the humoristic "Russian Embassy" at Washington issues a statement announcing the "impending resurrection of Russia," meaning the resurrection of the rule of Kolchak and his ilk. It is a consoling fact that more practically minded men

of business are getting sick and tired of this foolish game of the Russian counter-revolutionists and are taking active steps to resume economic relations with Russia.

* * *

A COMMUNICATION just received direct from the Soviet Government in Moscow, authorizes the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York to offer upon the American market a great quantity of raw materials now ready for immediate shipment from Russia. Our communication states: "We have here ready for shipment 432,000,000 pounds of flax, 216,000,000 pounds of hemp, and a great amount of furs, bristles, hides, platinum, and unlimited amounts of lumber."

We have just received a cable from the representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in Stockholm advising us to ship merchandise immediately. Mr. Strem, the Soviet Representative in Stockholm, states in this cable that he is authorized by the Moscow Government to guarantee payment for such merchandise in Petrograd and to issue the proper permits for importation into Russia. Mr. Strem also states that he is making arrangements for establishing credits in Stockholm for the Bureau to draw upon.

Initial orders have been received by the Bureau from Moscow for purchases amounting to \$150,000,000 for railway material and equipment; \$30,000,000 for agricultural implements and tractors; \$10,000,000 for machinery and machine tools; \$5,000,000 for hardware and metals; \$30,000,000 for boots and shoes; \$20,000,000 for textiles, dry goods, etc.; \$5,000,000 for paper, rubber, etc.; \$25,000,000 for cotton; and \$25,000,000 for foodstuffs.

URGES TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

Oscar T. Crosby, President of the Inter-allied Council on War Purchases and Finance at Paris, and Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury during the war, is quoted in an interview in the New York "World," August 3, as follows:

"What we need concerning Russia is the truth only. Sending two or a dozen men to investigate Russia is a grotesque proceeding. Thousands should go—that is, all who want to go.... Russia will work out her own destiny, and we should permit private business to be resumed. Others will trade with Russia, and we will have to, or lose our fair share."

The Truth About Soviet Russia

By M. Philips Price

(Third Instalment—Conclusion)

NOW what is the Soviet as it exists in Russia today? We have seen that, in the first days of the Revolution, it was formed out of the thousands of informal gatherings of workers and peasants throughout the land which came together to decide what next to do. The original Soviets were economic bodies, for it was natural to expect that people connected with one another by common work and common material interests should meet in times of cataclysmic social gatherings. A factory workman's immediate interests are more closely bound up with the interests of his comrades in the same factory than they are with workers in another industry. For instance, the metal workers depend for their daily bread upon the welfare of the metal industry, the railwaymen on the railways, the peasants on the agricultural industry. Ever since man first began to divide the work of civilization among his fellowmen, he has shown a tendency to congregate on the basis of guilds or special trades. All the more natural is it now, in a highly developed society, in a state of temporary flux, that metal workers, railwaymen and peasants should get together in a different district and discuss the subjects that most affect their lives. The informal economic unions, which sprang up in the first days of the Russian Revolution, became, as we have seen, the basis of the Soviet system. The most important point to observe about them is that they were industrial and had no relation to territorial divisions of society, except in so far as geographical and climatic conditions imposed a certain limit to the industrial organization. The Revolution therefore brought the Soviets into life on an economic basis and for an economic purpose, and in their first inception they were anarchic and without any common plan of action. During the first few weeks of the Russian Revolution, one Soviet knew nothing of what the other was doing. Only after the first month was it possible to talk of an organization which was gradually uniting and co-ordinating the actions of all the Soviets scattered about the country. This co-ordination became most imperative for the safety of the Revolution, because the forces of the old social order, which had been overthrown, soon began to gather strength again. Only organized Soviets could raise the necessary barrier to reaction. Only if they expanded their activities to broad political action could they possibly safeguard those local economic interests to protect which they originally were created. Only by becoming political bodies could they guarantee the new special order. Thus, in every town in Russia, the factory committees and informal workers' unions united into a Central Soviet, which at once took upon itself the task of fighting the counter-revolution and controlling whatever authority the

middle classes had set up. Soon the question was raised, whether this Central Soviet, which was already exercising a sort of control over the bourgeois government, should not take all political authority into its hands. The controversy that raged about this question marked the second stage of the Revolution, which ended in October, 1917, in the victory of the proletariat and the expansion of the power of the Soviets from that of indirect political control into that of direct political responsibility. Thus in every town in Russia after October the central committee of all the Soviets of that district became responsible for public order, for the militia, for public works and conveniences, and for the local finances. The same thing took place in the villages, where the union of peasant communes or later the committees of the poorer peasantry, which came from the former, replaced the local democratically-elected body. The latter for the most part were controlled by people who had got into power in the first days of the Revolution and had stuck to that power ever since. Finally these central urban Soviets and the unions of provincial Soviets sent their representatives to a great State Congress of the whole country. This Congress now meets every six months and elects a Central Soviet Executive, which is empowered to act with authority in the period between the Congresses. This body has now become the supreme political authority in the Soviet Republic. It controls the Red Army and Navy, the foreign policy and the economic exchange with other states. Thus, beginning with informal gatherings of workers, bound by economic interest, the Russian Soviet has developed into a great political power, which is to be reckoned with in international politics.

But that is only half the story. We have seen that the original anarchically-formed committees were the seed from which the green shoot of the centralized political Soviet grew. But it soon began to put forth another shoot—the organized economic syndicate. And it came about in this way. The workers' factory committees, that elect the local political Soviet for managing the militia, etc., soon began to send their delegates to a conference representing all the workers divided according to profession in that particular district. This movement was in complete antagonism to the old trade union movement, which sought under Czarism to divide the workers into a number of craft unions within the industries. The essential feature of this new economic Soviet or syndicate is that it is organized on the basis of industry and not on the basis of guild. Only in this way is it possible to prevent the economic power of the workers, the unity of which is so essential in the struggle against

capitalism, from being broken into jarring craft unions, all working at cross purposes. Under the new system the wood-workers and book-keepers in the metal industry must choose their representatives to look after their economic interests along with the actual metal-workers themselves.

The same process of organizing the proletariat industrially has taken place among the rural peasantry. After the October Revolution, the latter sent their delegates to a political Soviet, whose duty it was to organize the rural Red Guard and keep revolutionary order in the villages. Somewhat later they began to form purely economic unions, as the villages began to split up into rich and poor peasants and the conflict between these two classes began to develop. Western Europeans imagine that the Russian peasant is a peculiar creation, with habits and customs of his own, living apart from the rest of the world in dirt and ignorance. My experiences in the Russian villages has taught me that just the same social divisions are to be found there, in perhaps slightly different form, as exist in the more industrialized rural districts of Western Europe. The idea that it is possible to separate the peasants from the urban population of Russia and thereby mobilize an anti-Bolshevik force within the country is a fantasy. The same proletariat and land laborer, middle class corn speculator is found there as in other lands. And the urban worker in Russia who supports the Bolshevik has an ally in the village in the shape of the landless peasant, just as the urban middle class has his counterpart in the village corn speculator. It was natural, therefore, that this mobilization of the Russian village into two social camps should be accompanied by the growth of professional unions on the basis of the new social division. Side by side with the rural political Soviet there thus grew up the Union of Laboring Peasants, which took upon itself the duty of working the landlords' land on a communal basis.

Thus we see how the proletariat in town and country built up its professional alliances on an industrial basis. Once formed, they began immediately to gravitate towards a centre. For just as the political Soviets formed State Congresses for the control of foreign policy, so these economic Soviets or syndicates of metal workers, cotton operatives, accountants and laboring peasants sent delegates to State Congress of their particular branches of industry to protect the interests of each. At the present moment there is the All-Russian Union of Professional Alliances, which is the top of the pyramid towards which all the workers' syndicates converge. This is the real labor parliament, where the internal affairs of the different industries are attended to and reconciled with the public interest. Here in numerous committees and sub-committees are worked out the wage tariffs, the hours of labor and the capacity of output of each of the amalgamated syndicates.

Thus two great social institutions have sprung up in revolutionary Russia—the political Soviet and the economic Soviet. The duty of the former is to protect the Republic from internal and external counter-revolution. The duty of the latter is to build up, under the protection of the former, the new social order. Once the danger of foreign intervention is removed, it is possible that in Russia the political Soviet will reduce its functions and that the power in the land will pass to huge economic syndicates, working under the control of the Central Council of Public Economy. The latter body is something like the Central All-Russian Professional Alliance, except that it concerns itself only with production, distribution and exchange on a public basis, and has nothing to do with the internal affairs of the different industries, which belong to the syndicates. When the new social order is really guaranteed from foreign counter-revolution, the political conflicts which have been raging in Russia since the Revolution will gradually die down. The struggles between the Bolshevik theory of "Immediate World Revolution" and the Menshevik theory of "Labor Coalition with the Bourgeoisie" will give way to others. Then will arise the delicate problem of how to adjust the interests of the whole community to the claim of the different workers' industrial syndicates, so that private capitalism, conquered in the October Revolution, shall not reappear again in a more insidious form. All this, however, belongs to the future.

Russia has advanced by giant steps along the new road in spite of all the wounds inflicted on her by the war and the foreign intervention. Young and energetic, untrammelled with the century-old conventions and traditions of an older, more archaic civilization, she has a clear field in which to begin the work of reconstruction. The private exploiter no longer exists in Russia today. He, if he was unwise, fled to Paris and London to plot counter-revolution. If he was wise, he entered the service of Soviet Russia and is now receiving an ample salary according to his knowledge and skill in industry. Throughout the length and breadth of the Russian plain the struggle is still going on between those peasants whose ideals cannot go beyond the cornering of corn and holding it up for famine prices while the towns are starving, and the proletarianized laboring peasants who have learnt in the school of adversity that only by collective labor, by communistic production and distribution, can a new and a juster society be created.

THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND SO-CALLED DEMOCRACY

EVERYWHERE in Russia now the organs of the new form of society are found in the two types of Soviet. Upon these political and industrial unions only those who labor by muscle and brain can elect and be elected. In order to obtain a vote, therefore, a man or a woman must be organized in some sort of economic Soviet or

industrial syndicate, and in order to be thus organized he must do some form of productive work. This is the first essential of the Soviet system. The second essential is that the Soviet should be elected not territorially, but industrially. This is the real difference between a Soviet State and a Democratic State. A democratic state recognizes no economic divisions in the electorate. Everyone is regarded as a part of what is vaguely called "the people." How impracticable a democratic parliament is for the modern industrially-specialized form of society, the following example may show. A metal worker, let us say, lives next to a railwayman on one side and an accountant on the other. All three have special economic interests which require exact professional knowledge to understand. Each of them, if he were to draw up a programme of his demands at a given moment, would have different claims to make for the protection of his particular economic interest. In a Soviet State, each would have these interests put forward through the economic syndicate, of which he would have to be a member, and the central union of the syndicates would then consider them in relation to the whole economic production of the country. In times like the present, when the fight with the counter-revolution is still going on, the syndicates would have to consult with the political Soviet and obtain its sanction also. But the point is that the whole Soviet organization is so arranged that the economic apparatus which is able to represent the workers special interests and can reconcile them with the interest of the whole community is at hand. In a Democratic state exactly the reverse is the case, for here the workers' industrial organizations have no political power and can only advise a body which is brought into being by a scattered electorate. Thus the three types of workers that I take above are in a democratic state only able to elect representatives for one district in which their economic interest is swamped in thousands of others. Candidates are put up by party caucuses, which work on a territorial basis and these candidates cannot possibly represent all these interests at the same time. The democratic election to a parliament in fact is nothing more than a device to deceive the workers by dividing them into artificial constituencies on the basis of which they cannot possibly unite to draw up a common social and economic policy. This can only be done through the development of the industrial unions, as described above.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the Soviet, however, is that it is capable of being continually re-elected. The workers can withdraw their delegates and elect again at will. Thus the Soviets are always a reflection of the opinion of the workers at the given moment. This was most clearly seen in the case of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January, 1918, and of the Russian Constituent Assembly which met in that same month. The former, elected only a short time after the election for the Constituent Assembly, gave a large Bolshevik and

Left Socialist-revolutionary majority. The Constituent Assembly, however, was elected on a candidates' list made up in the autumn of that year, when quite different parties were in the political arena and when the important split between the left and the right wing of the socialist-revolutionary party had not yet taken place. The result of the Constituent Assembly election was a majority for the right socialist-revolutionaries, in which the left wing was hardly represented at all. For in the few weeks that elapsed between the drawing up of the candidates' list for the Constituent Assembly, and the elections for it, an entirely new political situation had arisen. The Soviet Congress reflected this change and the Constituent Assembly did not.

When the Allied governments therefore say that there must be in Russia a body which represents all the Russian people in a Constituent Assembly, before they can recognize the Russian Government, they are really saying that they want a government which will be put in power by scattering all the economic forces of the Russian workers and which will become an empty shell within a short time of its election.

I would add one final word of appeal to the working class of England and France. Do not listen to the tales of horrors which the bourgeois press of Western Europe tells about the Russian revolution. I say because I know that the starvation and misery from which the Russian people are suffering is due not to those who are building up the new socialist form of society but to those who for three years drove Russia into an exhausting war and then sent armed forces to invade her territory and cut off her food supplies and the raw materials of her industries. The Russian people appeal to all the world for peace. They long to establish the normal economic exchange between East and West Europe which alone can make good the destruction of the four years of war. Raise the blockade, they say; send us the technical advisors without which we cannot restore our industries, shattered by the war. Soviet Russia is ready to pay handsomely for the services rendered. If the workers of England and France are still content to leave private financiers to control the relations between their countries and Russia, Soviet Russia will raise no objection but will treat with their financiers and satisfy their wants in so far as they do not involve the reduction of the Russian workers and peasants to the slavery that they lived in under Czarism. If, on the other hand, the English and French workers take these matters into their own hands, they will find in Bolshevik Russia a friend and an ally. They will at all times be welcome in the territories of the Republic, which are as safe for those engaged in honest labor as is any state of Western Europe or America. An immense field will be open to them to assist their Russian comrades with the technical advice which only they can give. On the other hand they can learn many things which will be new to them in

that wonderland that lies between Europe and Asia. Let us tear out the pages of the past. Let us write a new page in the history of the future.

(End)

Treacherous Conduct of Roumania in Bessarabia

An Ultimatum by Chicherin and Rakovsky

(Russian Wireless Dispatch)

SOME time ago the newspapers briefly reported that the Soviet Government of Russia and Ukraina had sent the government of Roumania an ultimatum regarding Bessarabia, demanding an answer within forty-eight hours. This ultimatum was sent as far back as the first of May. "Soviet Russia" of July 5th contained some extracts from it. Yet this historic document has still a great interest, in as much as it throws much light on the treacherous policy of Roumania against the Soviet republics. It is especially timely in view of the Roumanian conduct in Hungary. The note is as follows:

"To the Foreign Ministry of the Kingdom of Roumania, Bucharest:

"At the time when the joint Russian-Roumanian front was still in existence, Roumania, at the end of 1917, took advantage of the situation by treacherously invading Bessarabian territory in order to destroy the achievements of the Russian revolution, to restore the hated rule of the land-owners, and to strengthen the tyranny of this class with the aid of Roumanian military and police bureaucracy. Wishing to camouflage the real nature of its policy, Roumania made representations which have not been supported by her acts. She pretended that this occupation would have a purely temporary character, and that Roumania was taking the step for purely unselfish and humanitarian purposes. The imperialistic governments of the Allied powers on their side, while secretly supporting the predatory ambitions of Roumania, officially made similar statements regarding the temporary character of the occupation of Bessarabia. In an official note, which on February 21, 1918, was delivered to the Russian Soviet Republic, the representative of the Italian diplomacy, Facciotti, on behalf of the Allied representatives attached to the Roumanian Government, said as follows: 'Regarding Bessarabia, the Roumanian intervention is only a military operation, without any political character whatsoever, undertaken in full agreement with the Allies, with the obviously humanitarian purpose of safeguarding the delivery of foodstuffs to the Russian and Roumanian troops and also to the civilian population.'

"On the 5th of March, 1918, the Roumanian Government, under pressure of the Russian Soviet

troops, signed an agreement with Russia wherein Roumania pledged herself, as was stated in the first paragraph of the agreement, to evacuate Bessarabia within two months. This agreement, however, was not kept by Roumania. Furthermore, Roumania, in the fourth paragraph of the said agreement, pledged herself not to undertake any military or other hostile acts whatsoever, and not to support hostile acts undertaken by others against the Russian Soviet Federation. In spite of this solemn pledge, the Government of Roumania has not for a moment ceased its hostile policy toward the Soviet rule. Immediately after the November revolution, this hostility took the form of a barbarous murder of the representative of the Soviets on the Roumanian front, Comrade Roschal, by the Roumanian authorities.

"Roumania has become one of the centers of the Russian counter-revolution. In Jassy, White Guard detachments have been formed, financed by the Queen of Roumania. These detachments, formed on the pattern of Colonel Drosdovsky's bands, invaded Ukrainian territory, and were later transferred to the Don territory, aided by the Germans. The Roumanian government has continuously supported in every possible way these Russian White Guards. The Roumanian government has, via the Black Sea to Novo-Cherkask, supplied the southern Russian counter-revolutionary army with arms and ammunition taken from Russian supplies seized by Roumania. The Czarist Generals, who have been outlawed by the Soviet government, such as Shtsherbatschhof, are being protected by Roumania and, together with representatives of Russian monarchistic parties, have organized plots against the Soviet rule. Roumania has brought to Bessarabia all her old methods of government and her system of plunder and exploitation, which, in Roumania itself in 1917 caused a general peasant rebellion. In order to maintain her rule in Bessarabia, a rule which is hateful not only to the workers and peasants, but to the population as a whole, regardless of nationality or religion, the Roumanian government has introduced such measures as terror, executions, arrests, floggings, confiscation of property, Jew pogroms, Roumanianization by violent methods, and the exploitation of the population by a thieving bureaucracy. According to statements in the Odessa press, more than 100 persons have been executed recently among the railroad workers alone. The Bessarabian peasants lost their patience and retaliated for such methods of violence by constant revolts, which are being crushed with merciless cruelty. Thousands of peasants have been executed, their villages have been burned or wiped off the face of the earth by artillery. According to information from similar bourgeois sources, in January, 1919, during the rebellion in northern Bessarabia, more than three thousand persons were executed. Three thousand refugees, mostly Roumanian peasants, who took refuge on Soviet territory in Ukraine, east of the Dniester, form the best proof of the insufferable

yoke of Roumania, of which the population of Bessarabia has become a victim.

"Realizing that its power is vanquished on its own territory, and fearing that the workers and peasants in Roumania itself shortly will rise in revolt, the government of the Roumanian land-owners is trying to strengthen itself at this time by a new cry. It has made its aim the overthrow of the Soviet rule in Hungary. The Roumanian troops from every side are attacking the Hungarian Red Armies, after having first made a futile offensive against the Ukrainian Red Army at Tarnopol. While the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet governments heretofore have confined themselves to protests only against the violence committed by Roumania on the workers and peasants of Bessarabia, these governments have now been able to fully realize that their protests have made not the slightest impression on the Roumanian government. Now that they, together with the Ukrainian troops, have defeated Roumanian detachments co-operating with French troops and Russian volunteers, and are threatening the Roumanian army on the Dniester and have captured important positions at Tiraspol and Rybinsk, the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet governments can no longer delay their determination to put an end to the provocative acts of violence on the part of the Roumanian government.

"We do not wish to shed the blood of our brother workers and peasants of Roumania who are forced by their masters to march against Russia. The two Soviet Governments of Russia and Ukraine address the following proposition to the Roumanian government:

"1. Immediate withdrawal of the Roumanian army, as well as of the Roumanian officials and agents who are now in Bessarabia; full liberty for the Roumanian workers and peasants and establishment of their own authority;

"2. The perpetrators of the crimes enacted against the workers and peasants and against the

whole population of Bessarabia to be tried by a People's Tribunal;

"3. Restitution of objects which constitute a portion of the military property of Russia, which have been taken by Roumania;

"4. Restitution to the inhabitants of Bessarabia of everything that has been taken away from them and confiscated.

"The Socialist Soviet Government of Russia and Ukraine will wait forty-eight hours, beginning with 22 o'clock on May 1, for a clear, concise answer as to the acceptance of their proposition, reserving for themselves, in case such answer should not be forthcoming, all liberty of action toward Roumania.

"(Signed) CHICHERIN,

"People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

"RAKOVSKI,

"President of the Council of People's Commissaires of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic."

DELAYED NEWS NOTES FROM RUSSIA

—The All-Russian Congress of Journalists, after considering a number of general and professional matters, decided to take measures to assure the independence of professional newspapers from the local authorities. The Congress simultaneously expressed its desire to secure an extended circulation of the press in the cities.

—The mobilization against Kolchak is proceeding with greater intensity day by day throughout Russia. In Bobruisk, 70% of the Communists placed themselves at the disposal of the military committee of the Communist government. A number of women have set forth as volunteers from Kaluga. The mobilization is progressing with equal success in the small villages.

—On May 8th a conference of representatives of the technical agricultural organizations was held, at which there was discussed chiefly the question of electrifying the agricultural industry of Russia.

—An order from the French command has been found at Sebastopol, according to which that city, in case there should be disorders, was to be completely destroyed by the Allied artillery, beginning with the suburbs.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
WOMEN IN SOVIET RUSSIA, <i>By Arvid Hansen</i>	1	THE FALL OF EKATERINBURG	10
MY JOURNEY THROUGH SIBERIA, <i>By Count Xaver Schaffgotsch</i>	3	THE DISSEMINATION OF LIES	11
VEERING FROM KOLCHAK TO DENIKIN	5	TWENTY LETTERS FROM TROTZKY, A Book Review, <i>By James Haining</i>	13
JAPANESE BENEVOLENCE IN SIBERIA	6	A PROCLAMATION AGAINST POGROMS	14
GENERAL DENIKIN'S PROGRAM OF LAND REFORM	7	TRANSLATION OF THE PROCLAMATION	15
EDITORIALS	8	FRENCH SOLDIERS IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA	16

Women in Soviet Russia

Parts of a Chapter in Arvid Hansen's New Book: "*Arbeidernes Rusland*"

IN CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY, a book with the title, "The Russia of the Workers," has been published, written by Arvid Hansen, a prominent Norwegian Socialist writer, who recently spent considerable time in Russia, studying conditions there. His book is a valuable contribution to the scant literature about Russia as she is today. We hope that some progressive publisher will find it possible to present it to American readers. In a chapter called "A Few Words About the Women of the Soviet Republic," Mr. Hansen writes as follows:

"It is fitting to say a few words about the rôle of the women in the Russian revolution," I said one day to Madame Kollontay. She was frightfully busy, yet graciously consented to a brief interview. It was in fact, what we journalists call a lightning interview. This is what I found out from her:

"It was the working women who in Russia as well as in France (during the revolution of 1789) started the revolution. The Russian revolution in March, 1917, really started with the 'woman's day' proclaimed for the 9th of March by the Socialist Party. The women demonstrated against the high cost of living and demanded bread. This day marked the beginning of the revolution. When the March revolution fully developed it was natural that the women should take part in it by the side of the men. Then Kerensky and Chauvinism came into power. But the women kept their heads cool. The first great demonstration or protest meeting against the military offensive, marked by a distinctly internationalistic character, was held by working class women,

on the 9th of June, under the leadership of the editorial staff of the organ of the working women's organizations. Shortly before, in May of the same year, we had a mighty strike among the women workers in the big laundries. The strike was participated in by about 4,000 women. A union was formed with six hundred members, but during the strike the union grew so that it came to comprise almost all the laundry workers in Petrograd. It was the first strike after the March revolution. It ended in a partial victory only, yet some of the laundries, after the strike, were taken over by the municipality, and this was the particular demand of the working women during the campaign.

"From the very beginning there have been women in the Soviets. In the first Central Executive Committee, after the November revolution, there was only one woman (Madame Kollontay), afterwards there were three women members, including the well-known Maria Spirodonova. Everywhere the working women lined up with the Bolsheviks. They were always in the Left Wing in the Soviets. During the period between the March and the November revolution, a special Socialist women's paper was issued in Petrograd, and remained in existence for about a year. In November, 1918, the first great women's conference representing Petrograd and the Northern Communes, was held. There were present five hundred delegates, representing more than one hundred thousand working women. The Congress placed itself fully and uncompromisingly on the platform of the workers' Soviets. In April, 1918, a

women's conference was held, representing the city and the province of Moscow, which was widely attended. The Congress in Petrograd adopted important resolutions regarding maternity and unemployment insurance. At the Moscow Congress, the food question, the cost of living, and children's welfare were the great burning questions. In Moscow likewise, the discussions resulted in important decisions.

"The Communistic working women everywhere are energetically taking part in the work which comes under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Education and cultural activities. The local food problems also aroused great interest among women. Finally, an important work is being done by women in the propaganda and sanitary work of the Red Army. There are also women soldiers in the army. From the very outset of the Soviet revolution there have been women at the front, and they have done splendid work, especially in the field of sanitary relief."

Madame Lelina (Zinovyev's wife) is the Commissaire of Social Welfare in the Northern Commune (Petrograd). Madame Lunacharsky (the wife of the Commissaire of Education) heads the administration of Children's Colonies. Everywhere in the villages and districts all over Russia, one may find thousands upon thousands of women in the service of the educational and social welfare institutions (Madame Kollontay, however, is the only woman who has been a People's Commissaire). Upper class women, i. e., women belonging to the former upper classes, are active in great numbers in the schools, children's colonies, etc. The bourgeois women's movement, however, has collapsed, together with the collapse of the rule of the bourgeoisie. "There is developing now," said Madame Kollontay, enthusiastically, "a special type of young working-class girls, who economically and otherwise are absolutely independent, and who are the fire and the torch of the ideals of Socialism. So we have, for example, our young Gratjova, a Russian Louise Zietz. She has come into the movement directly from a textile factory. Due to her inborn talent, she has developed very rapidly. Gratjova has now for more than five months been active as an agitator on the front against General Krassnov and has achieved great results. Together with a number of other working-class women, she has for some time been a member of the revolutionary tribunals. She displayed there great humanitarian mildness. We women," said Madame Kollontay, "in spite of everything, have not forgotten the beautiful ideals of humanitarianism. Placed as members of a court, we are taking the part of a defender rather than of a prosecutor. Experience has proved that we women, in these revolutionary tribunals, as long as these institutions still are necessary, are able to do a great work of humanitarianism. This, however, does not mean that they were luke-warm for the Cause.

"I am looking forward with great pleasure to the Women's Congress which is scheduled for Novem-

ber," said Madame Kollontay, at the end of her interview. "It will certainly prove a great success. There is still much slowness and apathy among the masses, in political matters at any rate. For this reason we are agitating now more than ever before. We need the co-operation of everybody in order to be able truly in spirit and in fact to realize the communistic society."

IT so happened that I obtained as my guide in Petrograd a lady by the name of Dora Yekhimovskaya, who had lived several years in Norway, and was able to place her knowledge of the Norwegian language at my disposal. She is one of the many women Party members in Russia who, full of enthusiasm and desire for action, placed herself in the service of the Soviet republic. She, it is true, is not of the political size of Madame Kollontay; she is only one of the hundreds who have had a similar career, and who now, without much ado, are doing their bit on the new ground, each one in her particular field. But just because of this, it may be of some interest to introduce this woman to her comrades abroad, who, in general, still lack confidence in woman's ability to do something. Yekhimovskaya in 1905 escaped Siberia by a hasty flight abroad. She was at that time a young girl, only seventeen years of age, and the incident naturally was a great shock to her respectable parents. In Germany, she studied under the leadership of prominent Socialists, such as Grunwald, Sombart, and others, and was much together with Liebknecht. During the war, she, as she says herself, was about to lose her faith in better times. The endless slaughter of people, the chauvinistic madness, together with the depressing needs of the great working-class slums in Berlin, just about destroyed the last vestige of Socialistic hope from her mind. Art and esthetics became her consolation during these difficult times. However, the winter was not to remain forever. The Russian revolution came, rising as a great, glowing sun, and revived her desire for action. She hurried home, into the struggle for the revolution, and like thousands of others she unassumingly joined the ranks of the workers.

Yekhimovskaya is a thorough humanitarian and a very sensitive soul. Innumerable times she has gone out of her way, appealing for the liberation of members of the bourgeoisie, who had landed in jail.

"But I won't do that any more," she says. "Having seen with my own eyes their base sabotaging and their abominable plots, I have become hard. I have no sympathy for them any more. Let them die. That which is rotten and degenerate must disappear anyhow, so that the social organism may become healthy and beautiful."

Dora Yekhimovskaya, at the time when I met her, had been for some time employed in the Commis-

sariat for Social Welfare in Petrograd. This institution, among other things, is managing the splendid children's colonies. The activities of this department however, are far from being only a matter of charity. It is a part of a new municipal system in the field of social welfare. Everything is being re-organized from the bottom, and far-reaching plans for the care of children and old people are being made and carried out.

On the day when I was ready to leave Petrograd she was able to tell me that her wish to become a supervisor of one of the children's colonies had been gratified. She was elated over the prospects

of her new work. Yekhimovskaya as a teacher and governess is accustomed to handling children and she knows exactly what she wants to do. "It is a sign of degeneration" she cried out passionately, "when people of the old school want to use the children's colonies in the first place for experiments with education by visits to museums, art galleries, etc. It is all wrong. There must be first a rational feeding and a rational physical development, with outdoor life, work, play, excursions in the woods, etc. Later on, the pencil and the paper will have their turn, together with the spiritual and intellectual work of education."

My Journey Through Siberia

A Letter to a Bourgeois

By Count Xaver Schaffgotsch

Translated, by permission, from the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*

The Siberian railroad is the backbone of the country; anyone who holds the road is the master of the country.

So much everyone knows about the Siberian railroad. People also know that Kolchak controls the road. Therefore they say: Kolchak must be master of the country. So the bourgeois in all countries may be overjoyed. He is right.

My dear bourgeois: Why don't you take a trip, equipped with a letter of introduction or a passport of the "All-Russian Government," with Admiral Kolchak's own sublime signature?—through this Siberian country, with the purpose, for instance, of learning to know the people of the country? You need not even travel far. Just a comfortable little jaunt. A few versts off the railroad to the north or to the south, whichever you prefer. Let us say only forty versts.

Oh, you will not be disappointed. You or anyone else who makes common cause with Kolchak.

You interpose: "Beaten by the Reds?"

But—you are in good standing with the high authorities. Perhaps you are providing tea or sugar for one of the many generals with their dignified gold epaulettes. Only a few wagon-loads perhaps, at a somewhat lower rate, so that he may sell it to the famished people at a higher rate.

He will send to protect you a squadron of Cossacks, or a company of "self-determined" adherents, former war-captive slaves, Italians, or Roumanians, armed with machine-guns, hand grenades, with cannon and gas bombs. This will be a better way for you to travel. And you will be able to witness a battle, no, a real slaughter, a genuine slaughter of human beings. Whether you come out

alive or not, that is another matter.

Rotten, these "bands," eh?

But then, what is the use of coming into contact with the vulgar people? Why should you not just remain sitting quietly in the train? For people like you, with your connections, there are always accommodations in the so-called express trains. Only the very best society is on the train, from the general and minister up to the speculator. You will have a good view of everything. In fact, they take this into consideration; they proceed slowly, advancing only by day. And through the most romantic districts. In fact the railroad is romantic almost all along its course. Uncannily romantic. Tomsk, Taiga, Kharinsk. Do you see the ruined remains of derailed trains that are lying to the right and left of the tracks. Do you see the hanged men dangling from their gallows? They have been hanging thus for days.

Do not ask any questions. Certainly do not ask the railroad workers, whose glances are full of hatred. They will spit out before you. We arrive at Atchinsk; we arrive at Krasnoyarsk. Be quiet and say not a word! Do not say a word without thinking it over carefully, I beg of you. You might have very unpleasant experiences. Not from the Reds. Those of them who were railroad workers will never say another word; they are mute forever.

But don't forget that the whole railroad is now under a state of siege. You see it would be altogether too unpleasant if you should be suspected of any sympathy with the hungry women and children of these "criminals," the women and children that have been left behind. Don't ask any questions. Just look.

And look with care! Take your coffee while sitting at the window! Provide yourself with a bullet proof covering, as all your travelling companions are doing, since they see the convoy troops providing themselves with the same device. For the armored train which rides ahead of us is of no avail against the mysterious bullets which come whizzing out of the little grove which is situated right near us. Look here, we are stopping; the tracks are not passable. The rails have been torn out! The Reds! Revenge! A few dozen shells are sent into the nearby villages. These homes and hiding places of the mysterious, evasive, hard-to-fight red organizations must be burned down. They cannot all be hanged! Whole villages would have to be strung up. But they also have weapons, even machine-guns and bombs. And leaders too, damn fine leaders!

Thus it was at Reyache, Naryetchinskaya, at Vengerka. Now even that will not suffice. The Red front is now advancing close up to the railroad; in the north it has approached from 100 to 12 versts from the railroad, extending along hundreds of versts, a great red domain of insurrection. Insurrection by the railroad workers, the workingmen, the peasants. The great army of great Russia's revolution. You can have various combinations here; you can have a simple derailment, or a collision arranged by the revolutionary railroad workers, or you can have a derailment combined with an attack by Red peasants and Cossacks.

Now we are in the open country, arriving at a station. Here we have regular local combats, in which the stations are often captured by the Reds and destroyed; the railroad troops, in spite of the armored trains and the artillery, are often driven back, and often deserted to the Reds. The "snap courts" along the railroad have their hands full. Formerly they shot or hanged everyone who was at all suspicious. Now everyone who gets shot or hanged is suspicious. But often they lose their patience, and have not time for these hasty trials. The troop guards of the railroads can do this much more simply and on a much larger scale, without any courts at all, for they do not understand the "criminal," and he understands them still less, for they are all foreigners. But be on your guard! Be on your guard!

These field courts operate rapidly, and without them the operations are still more rapid. But the Reds act quickly too, perhaps even more quickly. Daily the offended "All-Russian Government" dispenses justice and restores order by sending out its punitive expeditions and daily more "criminals" are executed. But they execute their judges also, by the command of their comrades.

Every Red who is executed, means that ten or one hundred of his executioners will die for him. And this judgment, pronounced by those who have been judged, is becoming more inexorable every day.

Be careful; you might yourself be judged and executed, together with all who dare oppose or judge the people.

The people, what do you mean, the people?

Kolchak holds the country. Does not that mean that he also holds the people?

Yes, but then perhaps he does not hold the country either, since, after all, he does not appear to hold the people. Perhaps you and the Russian burzhuy may be wrong after all!

Perhaps you have laughed too soon!

Ask the Russian burzhuy whether he cares to laugh now. But what is the use of telling you all this? You won't believe it anyway. You won't want to believe it. To believe it, you will have to be able to convince yourself of the truth. You will have to learn to know the people. And you might get shot dead while doing so. For that you would need courage. And courage you have not got, and you don't want to expose yourself to ridicule.

So your reasoning very simply is as follows:

The Red population does not exist.

There is no such thing as truth.

So you need not make the acquaintance of the population, or of the truth, and you need not have any courage.

But there is another set of propositions, even more simple:

The people do not need you nor your ilk.

The truth does not need you nor your ilk.

The people need only themselves and the truth.

BELATED NEWS FROM JAPANESE NEWSPAPERS

A Japanese at Moscow Communist Congress

The following note from a Japanese newspaper adds an interesting personal note to data previously received concerning the Communist Congress held at Moscow:

Tokyo Jiji (daily) prints a news item dated May 2nd, Vladivostok, to the effect, that Mr. Kenyei Tomizu, a nephew of Kozni Otani, the living Buddha of the Honganji organization, a strong Buddhist sect in Japan, has represented Japan at the Moscow Communist Congress. Tomizu went to Petrograd before the war to study the Russian language, stayed all through the revolutions and married a beautiful young Russian lady called Angelina, aged 22, who is an accomplished musician.

May 22nd, American troops fought with Bolsheviki at Sikotowa; the railroad in the vicinity of Sikotowa is under the control of the American Army. The Bolsheviki attempted to hold up the food and ammunition trains. Three Americans were hurt in the battle. It was the first battle between Bolsheviki and American troops in this locality.

Veering from Kolchak to Denikin

Now that Kolchak appears to be a worse and worse horse to bet on, the reactionary forces have already suggested, and this suggestion has found an echo in certain New York newspapers, that Kolchak should not receive recognition from the Allies, but that this recognition should instead be given to Denikin. The basis for this suggestion is stated as being the superior efficiency and performance in the counter-revolutionary field, of Denikin, as compared with Kolchak.

While we have reason to believe that those who hope that Denikin will restore monarchy in Russia—Denikin by the way states this intention quite openly, while Kolchak still has the “decency” to veil his monarchistic ambitions—will be found to be just as much in error as those who placed their hopes in Kolchak, we think it will interest American readers to learn what is the nature of the hopes which the reactionary forces in Allied countries attach to Denikin. It is now an old story, but we communicate below the following news article taken bodily from Vorwaerts, Berlin, December 6, 1918:

“The newspaper ‘Neue Nachrichten,’ which is published at Berdyansk on the Sea of Azoff, for the German troops stationed there, publishes the following appeal from the Allies, encouraging an invasion of Russia:

“We herewith bring to the attention of the inhabitants of Odessa and the vicinity that we have arrived on Russian territory, with the purpose of restoring order, as well as securing a liberation from Bolshevik usurpers, for which reason the reports issued by the provocative Bolsheviks, to the effect that the Allied armies had come to Southern Russia in order to drive out the Germans, are entirely untrue.

“The Germans, like us, did not come here as conquerors, but as defenders of the right, and therefore their aims and ours coincide at this point.

“The reports of imminent conflicts are untrue, and are circulated with the object of producing a panic.

“All the unhealthy elements in Russia—the Bolsheviks and their adherents—are declared to be outside the law. Persons sheltering Bolsheviks are to be handed over to immediate court-martial.

“We recognize only such organizations as are fighting against the Bolsheviks: the volunteer and Cossack armies, as well as the Army of the Constituent Assembly; in view of which, all organizations who are in possession of fire-arms are instructed to hand over the latter to the representatives of the international armies appointed for this purpose.”

“Signed by the following names:

For England, Sir Nevil,
 “ France, Hours,
 “ Japan, Gajani,
 “ Russia, Shilinski,
 “ Italy, Saniti,
 “ Belgium, D’Reimann,
 “ Serbia, Silitsch,
 “ Greece, Kargit,
 “ Roumania, Grinesku.

“The effects of this terrible manifesto are depicted in a telegram from Tsarskoye-Selo, which says among other things:

“Bloody conflicts are taking place in the South. Hundreds of workers have been hanged. The streets present the spectacle of many workers’ bodies hanging in the air. The city commandant at Krassnoff publishes a telegram from Denikin which orders that every tenth worker who is taken captive be hanged. In other centers mass hangings are taking place.”

RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS SUPPORT THE SOVIET POWER

Moscow, May 21. (Russian Telegraph Agency.)

It is reported from Simbirsk that the chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Kalinin, who is traveling with the educational train that goes under the name “October Revolution,” arranged no less than thirty meetings at seven different places, which were attended by over 60,000 persons. Although much literature was given out gratis, it was possible to sell 79,000 roubles’ worth. Kalinin stopped at seven rural communes, in addition to the cities, and was enthusiastically received by the peasants. At these meetings, the local speakers emphasized in their speeches the fact that Kalinin is a worker and a peasant. At the station of Russayevska, there was a meeting of railroad workers, attended by several thousand persons, who hailed Kalinin and vowed to support the Red front with all their power, as well as the hungry people behind the front. Several hundred children greeted Kalinin by singing the International.

JAPANESE STRENGTH IN SIBERIA

The “Vestnik Manchurii” published in Harbin, (Siberia), in its issue of June 21, 1919, reports “from official sources” that the Japanese Expeditionary forces in Siberia numbered 85,500 men.

Japanese Benevolence in Siberia

THE resistance of the Bolsheviks in Eastern Siberia has by far not been broken by the Japanese invasion, as appears from the following address delivered by the chief of the 3rd Japanese Division to the Convention of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks on June 5, 1919, and reproduced in part from the "Ussuriysky Kray" of Nikolsk, of June 19, 1919.

"Gentlemen:—I am fortunate to get the opportunity, through your convention, to meet you here and to bear witness face to face with you to the true aims and purposes of the Imperial Japanese troops within the confines of Russia.

"In September last, when I arrived here, I officially announced to the Russian population that the Japanese troops are friends of the Russian people, that they are unselfishly fighting against Bolshevism, for the triumph of law, order, and justice, without interfering in the internal life of the country, and without any territorial designs. **But a part of the population took this announcement with noticeable suspicion and distrust of the sincere and unselfish policy of the Japanese government.**

"It is true, all the age-long history of nations exhibits no such example of unselfish service to the ideals of truth and justice, but let this be the first good example on the part of your eastern friend Japan.

"Let the presence of Japanese troops in Eastern Siberia during the winter, and their loyal behavior toward the Russian population, testify to our sincere policy with regard to Russia.

"I shall not dilate here on the absence of territorial designs on our part, but, availing myself of the opportunity to appear before your esteemed assembly of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks,—I, as Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese troops within the territory of the Trans-Baikal region, again assure you of the unselfishness of the Imperial Japanese government's policy toward Russia and of its firm determination to save the Trans-Baikal region where occasional conflicts still occur.

"Gentlemen, you surely know that the Semionov troops,—and I include among them the volunteers from the Cossack settlements—taking upon themselves mainly the duty to maintain peace and order in the region and fighting against Bolshevism, have not particularly hindered the Japanese troops. We are aiding the Semionov troops and have undertaken to guard the railway while the forces of Ataniav (the Cossack chief) and Semionov are improving from day to day.

"Thus the Semionov forces and the Japanese have at their disposal a large and strong army to maintain order in the region, and I do not believe that the Bolsheviks have any prospects of success.

"In view of this there was no intention to undertake extensive operations during the winter season,

and the superfluous portion of the Japanese troops has returned home. Furthermore, new recruits who had received preliminary training were sent here and have replaced the veterans. Thus partial transfers of our army took place and there was no case where the Bolsheviks could have been benefited by orders of the Japanese command. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks, taking advantage of the above mentioned transfer of our army, circulated rumors that the numbers of our troops had been reduced, and then by means of false promises and threats, which are tactically impossible of execution, the Bolsheviks have incited to a rebellion which resulted, in clashes with the Semionov troops, in numerous casualties, and the blood of Russians who are dear to us was shed for a hopeless cause.

"Though a division of the people into several political parties be inevitable, there is no greater madness than the use of armed force to attain the realization of a political object, and the Bolsheviks themselves, if they knew the general situation and the strength of the army, will hardly, I believe, sacrifice their lives, acting so independently. I regret that they are going to their death in vain, being aroused by ignorance of the situation. It seems to me that if the people in the Cossack settlements and in the villages are informed how strong the Russian and Japanese troops are, these reckless rebellions will surely cease, and we shall be able to save the population from useless sacrifices. I have, therefore, always tried to find the best means to bring home this idea to the whole population.

"I reiterate once more, availing myself of the opportunity of your esteemed convention,—gentlemen, take my advice. Use all possible means and spread throughout the settlements the idea of the uselessness of a Bolshevik rebellion; then insane sacrifices will be avoided. To the extent to which your lives will be saved, to that extent you will see the good will of Japan toward Russia. The Japanese people and troops will always act in accord with moral duty. The Japanese troops now in Siberia will pray and desire to establish order in Russia and to renew the welfare and happiness of her people, avoiding useless trouble and sacrifice."

IN SIBERIA

Execution of Hostages at Krasnoyarsk.

THE "Yeunissei Bulletin" reports: On the 14th inst., in retaliation for the brutal murder of two medical attendants of the 1st Tomsk Hussar regiment the following criminals held in jail among other hostages were executed: Grygori Pekazh, Alexander Bliashko, Sergei Tamaroff, Iakov Portuykh, Dmytri Tretiakov, Mikhael Afanassieff and Kondraty Tkachenko.

"Nashe Dielo" of Irkutsk, June 22, 1919.

General Denikin's Program of Land Reform

"**STRUGGLING RUSSIA**," the organ of the Russian Information Bureau of the Embassy of the non-existing Russian Government, in its issue of July 19th, publishes a letter of General Denikin on the land question, which reads in part as follows:

"The complete solution of the agrarian question all over Russia and the adoption of a uniform Land Law for the entire vast domain of Russia, belong to the legislative organs, through the medium of which the Russian people will acquire the opportunity to state their will.

"Life, however, does not stand still. It is necessary to save the country from the pangs of hunger and to adopt immediate measures and to put them into practice at once. The Special Conference is, therefore, charged with the duty of undertaking without delay the drafting of rules and regulations for the localities under the administration of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Southern Russia.

"I deem it necessary to point out the following premises which are to be laid at the foundation of these rules and regulations:

"1. The safeguarding of the interests of the toil- ing population.

"2. The creating and the placing on a sound basis of small and medium homesteads out of the lands belonging to the State and private owners.

"3. The preservation of the right of landowners to their lands, coupled, however, with the apportionment in each district of the amount of land that is to be retained by the former owner and the order of the transfer of the remainder into the ownership of those who are land-poor. These transfers may be achieved by voluntary agreement, or by obligatory alienation for compensation. The new owners are to acquire inalienable rights to their allotments.

"5. Intensive aid to be given to tillers of the soil, through technical improvement of the lands, expert agricultural assistance, the supply of implements, seeds, dead and live inventory, etc."

This agrarian program is identical with the land reform of the late Stolypin. As a general principle, the large landowners are to be restored to the possession of their lands taken from them by the peasantry after the Revolution of November 7, 1917. At the same time a portion of their land is to be transferred by them, by voluntary agreement, to those peasants who are "land poor." In case no agreement can be reached, a portion of their land is to be taken from them, under condemnation proceedings, of course for "compensation." What that

compensation is to be remains an open question, likewise the question of who is to be considered "land poor."

The peasants to whom the land will thus be allotted are to be vested with full property rights to their allotments. It will be remembered that the Constitutional Convention declared the land to be national property. It is therefore evident that General Denikin's land program is not in accord with the policy of the Constitutional Convention whose prerogatives he is supposed to champion.

Instead of giving the land to the peasants he promises them "intensive aid through technical improvements of the lands, expert agricultural assistance, the supply of implements, seeds, . . ." This is again the old policy of the Czar's government. When the peasants cried for more land, the solution suggested by the Government experts was intensive cultivation of such land as was held by the peasantry. Those well-wishers of the peasantry would somehow overlook the fact that intensive cultivation of small areas required large investment of capital far beyond the reach of the masses of the peasantry. General Denikin's program is thus by no means new.

It is worthy of note that in 1906, before the dissolution of the first Duma, the Czar, through Count Ignatyev, offered to Professor Milyukov, as the leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party, a broader scheme of land reform than that proposed now by General Denikin. All the land held by the nobility and other large landowners was to be apportioned among the peasantry, on condition that the former owners should be compensated at the "bank valuation" of the land. It must be borne in mind that most of the land of the nobles was mortgaged to the Nobles' Bank. The Constitutional Democratic Party, which was at that time in control of the Duma, refused this offer, insisting on a "fair valuation" of the land. Now, after the peasantry has taken possession of the land without compensation, General Denikin and his supporters propose to take away all but a portion of it from the peasants, and to make them pay for that portion which they are to be allowed to retain.

This seems to be a very large job, even if General Denikin should be successful. According to latest advices, however, he has "again been forced to retreat."

MAXIM GORKY'S SON SHOT

A private telegram from Berne to "Folkets Dagblad Politiken" states that Maxim Gorky's son, according to the Riga newspaper, "Word" has been shot at Bordeaux. His name was Pyeshkov.

Soviet Russia

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

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WITH the breakdown of the power of the Russian counter-revolutionists, represented by Admiral Kolchak and his supporters, practical-minded people are finally getting disgusted with the Russian policy of the Allied powers. Slowly, but surely, the fact begins to assert itself that by aiding monarchistic pretenders in Russia nothing is achieved but a perpetuation of chaos in those parts of Russia affected by the civil war. This makes for an ever-strengthening tendency to put an end to the present impossible situation by opening channels of intercourse between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world.

Simultaneously with the realization of the military and political weakness of Admiral Kolchak's efficiency, tales depicting his supposed economic strength are being replaced in the press with admissions of his failure in economic respect as well. An interesting report on the chaotic state of affairs in Siberia is published by A. D. Braithwaite, financial expert of the Canadian Economic Commission to Siberia. The report states in part:

"At the time of writing this report there is complete disruption of trade throughout Siberia, owing very largely to the disorganization of the railway system, caused partly by military requirements for transport of troops and supplies, partly by the vast number of passenger and freight cars requisitioned as dwelling places for Russian and Allied officers and for Government officials and refugees.

"This requisitioning not only withdraws that amount of rolling stock from the active operations of the railway but fills up the sidings at all the principal stations, making it a very difficult matter to operate the road, even to the limited extent which is now being done.

"While the temporary Siberian (Kolchak) Government claims to have some gold, there is no gold standard on which to base the issues of currency. There is no constitutional government whose pledges of revenues from the various sources, such as customs, inland revenue, railways, telegraphs, postal or taxes of any kind could be accepted as a security or basis for such issues, nor could concessions of lands, forests, mines, etc., be taken with any degree of safety."

Such reports, contrasted with the undeniable fact that territory under the control of the Soviet Government is not only orderly socially, but is continuously improving economically, is a factor making for the general sobering of the public opinion on the Russian situation.

* * *

INTELLIGENT people also begin to understand that by maintaining a blockade against Russia, the western world is hurting itself just as much as it is hurting Russia and perhaps more so. The Russian Soviet Government has demonstrated the fact that they are able to withstand the hardships of a blockade, even in the face of the necessity of employing 75 per cent of their resources for purposes of defense. A dispatch sent from Berlin, August 16, to the New York Evening Globe and to the Chicago Daily News proves conclusively that it is not as easy for Europe to get along without contact with Russia. The dispatch reads in part as follows:

"The real situation is that the Russian question has lately undergone a fundamental change. For two years the world was busy proclaiming the necessity of helping Russia. How many good intentions have been expressed and how many promises have been made in vain! Help to Russia was always postponed on one pretext or another. There was indeed, apart from the humanitarian sentiment, material interest in Russia in the prospect of the economic exploitation of that country. This prospect, however, could also be postponed because, as all countries were excluded from their enjoyment, no one country was suffering by the postponement.

"But lately the Russian policy has acquired a new significance. It became clear that action in Russia could not be postponed any longer and must be considered, not from the point of view of conquering the Russian market but from the point of view of the necessity of Russia to the economic existence of Europe. The blockading of Russia must be ended, not because of ethical considerations and not from the pressure of private commercial interests,

but to save Europe—because the policy of starving Russia is indeed the policy of starving Europe. **Without Russian raw materials and food Europe cannot exist.**

"Before the armistice was signed, and still more before the blockade of Germany was raised, there was a comforting illusion that America was able to feed Europe and supply it with raw material. These illusions exist no more. It is now understood that the American supplies could satisfy only a part of the tremendous demands of hungry and exhausted Europe and that even these insufficient supplies of food and raw materials cannot be brought quickly enough to Europe because of the lack of shipping.

"With the shattering of the American illusions the European peoples are finding that they have to rely upon themselves. They are distracted at finding economic dangers confronting them. They are short of food, coal, clothing and housing. Transport facilities are disorganized and speedily approaching a breakdown. Credit has vanished and Europe has fallen back upon barter. The psychology of Europe has become similar to that of a beggar. People watch with a nicety the advent of every train-load of food.

"Probably nothing could reveal more strikingly the European misery than the fact made public by Chancellor Chamberlain in the House of Commons that England, France and Italy have sent to Austria goods amounting to nine million pounds sterling (\$45,000,000) and this is equivalent to a mortgage of all the Austrian gold reserve, foreign securities, forests, foreign trade, salt mines, of the cities, including Vienna, and public works. The people are becoming more and more hopeless of the possibility of recovery. It is difficult to give an adequate idea of the terrible anxiety with which people here are awaiting the hardships of the coming autumn and winter. They feel that this old, hungry, ruined, discouraged and over-populated Europe is doomed. And when people in their anxiety here in Germany talk of Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and other countries, they turn toward Russia as the one great remaining source of food and raw materials. Then they discover that the allied governments, blockading Russia, are pursuing a policy tantamount to blockading Europe from Russia. There is a distinct and grave peril of letting Europe fall to pieces if no economic understanding with Russia is arrived at."

* * *

THE Technical Department of the Russian Soviet Bureau has written to American colleges and other educational institutions inquiring about the opportunities available for special scientific and profes-

sional courses for Russians desiring to fit themselves to return to Russia fully equipped to take part in the great work of social and industrial reconstruction under the Soviet Government. The Bureau is in constant receipt of letters from Russians throughout the United States who desire to return to Russia at the first opportunity, and who wish, meanwhile, to fit themselves to serve Russia most usefully. With this end in view the Bureau has written to scientific and engineering institutions, agricultural colleges, medical schools, etc. An interesting incident in connection with this correspondence is related by Mr. Upton Sinclair in a recent issue of the "Appeal to Reason."

"Last week," writes Mr. Sinclair, "I was invited by a friend to have dinner with a little group of business and professional men who meet every now and then in the University Club of Los Angeles. There were a couple of well-known doctors, a couple of professors, several bankers, the attorney for the gas company, a mine-owner, and so on—a typical group of influential people. They talked back and forth across the table, and I listened, and learned some curious things about America.

"The head of some local medical school had received a curious communication, about which he sought enlightenment from his fellows. It was from L. C. A. K. Martens, commercial representative of the Russian Soviet Government in New York, who explained in great detail that his country suffered from a lack of technical and professional experts. Would the institution in Los Angeles receive Russian students, who would have education and training, at the expense of the Soviet government, so that they might return to Russia and give to the Russian people the benefit of American knowledge and skill?

"It was most curious to watch the reaction of these well-dressed American gentlemen to this communication. . . . Anyhow, all these gentlemen were instantly on the alert against that letter. One and all they agreed that it was a plot. Either it was an effort to get Bolsheviki into American educational institutions, or it was an effort at propaganda. The Bolshevik commissioner was trying to persuade American educators that he was not a murderer and ruffian, but one who sought the welfare of his people. Said the attorney for the gas company—who incidentally was chairman of the gathering: 'The fellow must know that the thing is preposterous. No American institution would permit such a thing. No American institute would give a degree to Bolsheviks.'"

Mr. Sinclair was interested in the reactions of this group of intelligent and supposedly well informed men. "Here is a group of leading American citizens," he observed, "reading several newspapers every day, and a number of magazines; professional men, men who live by their brains—probably as well informed a group as could be found in the dining-room of any club in America." Mr. Sinclair made

notes of some of the things these gentlemen did not know about Russia.

They did not know that the Soviet Government had offered to assume responsibility for the bonds of old Russia; they did not know that the Soviet Government, previous to signing the Brest-Litovsk peace, had asked if it could count on the support of the American and English governments if it continued the war against Germany; they did not know that the "nationalization of women" myth had been completely refuted; they did not know that Kolchak had overthrown the workers' councils in Siberia and set up a despotism under allied subsidy; they did not know that allied troops were making war upon the Russian Government. They did not know these things and many others; their opinions about Russia were based upon incomplete information and prejudiced by mendacious propaganda. Therefore they were led to suspect some deep plot in such a simple matter as a letter from a Soviet Representative asking an American medical school whether it would receive Russian students.

There are thousands of such well educated Americans, suffering unnecessary fears and bewilderment concerning Russia, simply because the facts have been kept from them and because falsehoods have been thrust upon them.

MOBILIZATION OF THE SOCIALIST-ZIONIST PARTY, "POALE ZION"

(From the "Izvestia" of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, May 24, 1919.)

To defend the interests of the revolution and to fight the counter-revolution, the pogrom sentiment, and anti-semitism, the Bureau of the Central All-Ukrainian Committee of the "Poale Zion" has resolved to militarize the Party and to declare a mobilization of all comrades fit for military service.

To administer the military affairs of the party and to carry out the mobilization, the Central Committee has formed a Central Military Section attached to it, and the local organizations are to form local military sections.

The local military sections shall immediately proceed with the registration of the mobilized comrades and with their military training and shall report by telegraph to the Central Military Section the number mobilized and the progress of the mobilization.

For the technical means for military training address the Executive Committee of the government, or the military commissariats.

From Klintzy, by order of the district mobilization committee of the Poale Zion Party, the second company of the members of the Party was sent to the front on May 10. A third company is being organized for despatch to the front. The entrainment will take place in the course of this week.

THE FALL OF EKATERINBURG

If the report of the occupation of Ekaterinburg on July 14 is correct, the Red Army must have advanced appreciably quicker than General Diterichs expected. It remains to be seen to what extent this will have interfered with his retreat. The alleged victory is, in any case, of importance for the Bolsheviks, and this from more than a purely military point of view. The chief advantage for them is that it apparently secures the harvest in the agricultural district of Ufa. The crops gathered there may suffice for the local population and for the troops holding the eastern front. Moreover, the mineral region of the Urals, of which Ekaterinburg is the centre, is now open to the Bolsheviks, and to the extent to which they will facilitate supply these two factors will also reduce the difficulties of transport. Hardly less important may be the strategical consequences of the advance. Besides having the main obstacle of the Urals definitely behind them, the Bolsheviks now seem to command the two important side-lines which run from Ekaterinburg northwards to Nizhne-Tagilsk and Perm, and southwards to Chelyabinsk and Ufa. Should they succeed in advancing as far as Tyumen, which is the head of the navigation on the Siberian rivers, they may have it in their power seriously to interfere with that navigation and to threaten Omsk by rail, road, and river. It is doubtful whether they will choose to do so. All reports go to show that Admiral Kolchak's forces are in need of a prolonged rest and thorough reorganization, and this can hardly be achieved in time to resume operations before the snow falls. Under the circumstances, and for the time being, the eastern campaign may for all practical purposes be considered as terminated. Following up their tactics of concentrated attack, the Bolsheviks, it is probable, will now attempt to wrest from Denikin the rich districts he holds in the south.

—The Manchester "Guardian," July 19th.

NO SEA-FOOD FOR RUSSIA OR HUNGARY

The following article taken from the Social-Demokraten, Christiania, July 24, shows to what extent the Allied Governments are attempting to prevent food from reaching Soviet Russia. The article is printed in Social-Demokraten under the title "Norway the Vassal of the Entente":

The Department of Commerce issues the following statement: All kinds of fish in cans, all kinds of fresh and smoked fish, including crabs and shell fish, together with salt cod, etc., may until further notice be sent to all countries except Hungary and Soviet Russia, without any special permission of this department. Until further notice, goods for North Russia may be consigned to the Allied Supply Committee at Archangel or Murmansk, either independently or by using certain sub-consignees, mentioned by name.

The Dissemination of Lies

An Editorial in "Social-Demokraten,"

Christiania, Norway

WHEN the Russian Telegraph Agency ("Rosta") opened an office in Christiania, this was done in a completely public and straightforward manner. The office sent to all the newspapers of the city an announcement and a request for subscriptions to its service. A manager was appointed, who assumed full responsibility for the activity of the office in Norway. Its task is to transmit official publications and other authentic data, which it may be possible to obtain from Russia in spite of the blockade. It was therefore perfectly possible for any honest man to come out and say that he was in the service of Rosta.

But, in spite of the fact that Rosta is a completely legal and honest institution, the anti-Socialistic press naturally attempted to depict its office as an underhand business. The attention of the police was directed to it, and it was even requested that the police close the Rosta office. The anti-Socialist press took this as equivalent to stamping Rosta as a mysterious and anti-social institution. The lying methods which the anti-Socialistic press is applying toward the Russian Workers' Republic as a whole were also used against Rosta.

It therefore came to pass that a number of "interested" gentlemen considered it desirable to establish an **anti-Bolshevist bureau** at Christiania. But how did **these** people work? Did this office send communications to all the papers and request subscriptions to its service? Did we learn who stood behind this Bureau or who was conducting it?

No, **this anti-Bolshevist Bureau is set up secretly**, it has sent out its requests for subscriptions only to bourgeois papers, and the man who is responsible for the activity of the Bureau, Mr. Segelcke Meidell, now attempts since he has been exposed, to escape responsibility for his work. He does not want to be "identified" with the articles sent out by the Bureau. Mr. Segelcke Meidell writes to us:

"You recently, in one of your articles, expressed yourself concerning news items in a number of Norwegian newspapers in a manner that suggested that the persons who communicated or wrote the articles against the methods of Bolshevism were despicable persons, who for low motives were taking a position opposed to their convictions of truth and right. And since you somewhat carelessly identify the matter in these articles with the undersigned, you are thus attempting to give your readers the impression that the utterances and explanations cited are something entirely new—new 'lies', as you like to put it; and that those who put these matters before the public are acting in the capacity of 'disseminators of lies.'

"In order that you may not take advantage of any silence on the part of the party accused, I herewith say in reply, that thousands of unhappy, suffering human beings, Russians, Scandinavians, persons of every nationality, both can and will bear witness—**entirely without pay**—to the shamelessness, wretchedness, and sufferings in countries ruled by Bolsheviks, and to the assassination of mental freedom and true democracy, which would be involved in an introduction of these same methods into Norway, which is what our democratic country may expect. The official English collection of reports from Russia on 'Bolshevism in Practice' are now accessible in print at the price of seventy öre. You can therefore calculate what is the expense of communicating the news items on which you have based your attack. And since you believe that you can prevent the Norwegian papers from printing necessary explanations, by means of base insinuations and innuendo, let me tell you plainly; there are no persons **behind** this thing who have the slightest 'personal interest in seeing reaction come to power in Russia.'

"The man whom you therefore 'have reason to believe is well informed' is just the opposite of well informed. His suggestion that there are Norwegian capitalists behind this thing, who have interests in Russia, is an insolent fabrication. The object of the articles, which have nothing whatever to do with Russia, is simply to show what is the true aspect of the Bolshevism which is it desired to transplant to Norway.

"On the day that you can, in a professional manner, weaken or convince the leaders of your Socialistic or bourgeois opponents, all the Scandinavian and other European newspapers, which have printed these same 'lies' or these observations, will lay down their arms.

"Until such time, however, your action must stand on its own merits.

"Christiania, May 31, 1919.

"(Signed) Segelcke Meidell."

First let us make a few statements concerning those who are behind Segelcke Meidell. One of his chief backers is the capitalist Torry Kiaer. Another is Councillor of Legation Prydz. Both of them have interests in Russia. The General Secretary of the Right, Gram, is also implicated. He is in the fight, but we can well imagine that he is concerned

rather as an organizer than as a contributor of funds. The material which Segelcke Meidell elaborates and sends out to the papers is obtained by him from an office on Drammensveien (Number 6), which in turn is in direct communication with the notorious Lie Bureau at Helsingfors. Whether the office on Drammensveien is supported by Russian counter-revolutionists or not, we are not in a position to say, but we should not be surprised to learn that the office is a branch of a gigantic system with its chief headquarters in America, carrying on all over the world a systematic campaign of misrepresentation with regard to Russia. At any rate, we do know that the office in America is trying to make connections with Norway.

Segelcke Meidell's Lie Bureau has a double task. In the first place it has to send out free material to the newspapers. In the second place—and this is probably the object of the persons behind the thing—it has to engage writers in the daily press, who, behind the backs of their editorial superiors, will get these newspapers to "interest themselves in Bolshevism." Whether it is also intended to bribe these journalists, and to induce them to smuggle material outright into the columns of the papers—on this point our authority has given us no information. But they will not "count their pennies," as the popular saying has it.

After attempting to free himself from responsibility, Mr. Segelcke Meidell nevertheless does undertake a sort of defense of the activity of his Lie Bureau. He invites us to explain, in a "professional manner," our attitude towards the statements made in the articles of the Lie Bureau. He evidently wants us to fill our paper with nothing but denials of his stuff. But that is entirely superfluous in the present case. The underhand method of work used by Mr. Segelcke Meidell's Bureau is enough of a denial. When he and the people who stand behind him have the impudence to call themselves "we peasants,"—that is enough to show that they have no objection to appearing under a false flag, and no one can trust them after that.

Mr. Segelcke Meidell refers to the English White Book. He must know that this wretched concoction has been denounced by liberal newspapers like the Daily News and the Manchester Guardian. The White Book consists of lying reports from official sources. It is a worthy counterpart to the shameful print produced in America, which attempted to show with the aid of forged documents that Lenin and Trotsky had been bought by Germany. It has been proved—and fully proved—that these documents were forged, nevertheless they were officially printed and circulated throughout the world. Now the English White Book is proceeding along the same lines. If Mr. Segelcke Meidell will read the book through, he will find among the other things, a number of reports from the English minister at Christiania. The reports are based on loose talk by Russian counter-revolutionists, who say, among other things, that Lenin's government is about to

fall because of the chaos ruling in Russia. The English ambassador was able to say the same thing months and years ago, and his statements have turned out to be ridiculous, but the British government, which is waging war against Russia, of course publishes these lies, and the White Book containing them is then used as a "source book" in the general newspaper campaign.

It would be too big a task to oppose all the lies that are spread concerning the Russian revolution. And, as we have already said, it is hardly necessary, since it is possible to expose the very method underlying the agitation against Russia. Nevertheless it may interest our readers to peruse the following telegram which the correspondent of the bourgeois newspaper, the "Chicago Daily News," recently sent to his paper from Moscow. The telegram has been reprinted in the French newspaper, "Le Journal des Débats," and runs as follows:

Moscow, May 19th.—There is no anarchy either in Petrograd or Moscow. There is no chaos in Soviet Russia. The Soviet government has never been as strong as now. In the history of modern Russia no government has ever had greater real authority than the present Soviet system.

When you enter Soviet Russia you are struck by the fact that whatever Bolshevism may be, it is certainly not anarchy. After a stay of some time in the interior of the Communist republic you are surprised to find the situation just the opposite of the conception which the American people has of it. There is no disorder here. The order as a matter of fact is perfect. You are much safer in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow than in the streets of New York or Chicago. Imagine what would happen at night in the streets of Chicago, if the police should disappear from the City.

In Moscow, there are no policemen; as a consequence of the lack of fuel the city is not lighted. But in spite of everything you can walk through the streets after midnight in perfect safety. The correspondent then asserts that Kolchak's last advance has merely strengthened the Bolshevik government by giving it an overwhelming majority within the nation. Whether this pleased the rest of the world or not, the American people should understand that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" means neither anarchy or chaos, but the greatest possible orderliness.

In the streets of Petrograd and Moscow there is neither theft nor drunkenness nor shedding of blood. The operas and theatres are besieged with spectators. In spite of the high prices the population is well dressed.

Yet the food question is quite serious in Petrograd and Moscow. Will America now extend a helping hand to this starving people?

Twenty Letters from Trotsky

By James Haining

"Vingt Lettres de Leon Trotsky." Paris: "La Vie Ouvrière," 96 Quai de Jemmapes. Prix: 25 Centimes.

These letters were written by Trotsky during the latter part of 1916, after his deportation from France by M. Malvy. Trotsky was, of course, accompanied to the frontiers of France and Spain by the inevitable police agents. Although he is no novice in these matters, Trotsky hoped to enjoy that modicum of liberty usually granted in present-day capitalist society. Alas! His hopes were soon shattered. Malvy's agents lost no time in "recommending" him to the Spanish authorities as a "dangerous terrorist." His arrival in Madrid was followed, almost immediately, by his arrest and incarceration in the model prison, the comforts and luxuries of which he experienced for three days. He was informed there that he would be sent by the first boat to Havana. This plan, however, was not carried out; and it was not until Jan. 2nd, 1917, that he and his wife and family sailed for New York. The letters are all written from Cadiz to a friend in Madrid to whom Trotsky had been recommended by the publishers of "La Vie Ouvrière." This friend was of considerable service to Trotsky, which fact was greatly appreciated by the latter.

Spanish Socialists, and especially Anguiano, the Secretary of the Spanish Socialist Party, took active steps to procure a modification in the treatment of Trotsky. Though, for the most part, pro-ally, they were enraged at the brutal and revolting conduct of the French Government. Guesde and Sembat were at this time in the ministry but they and the Socialist Party took no concern in the matter; and it is certain that many of these "Socialists" were, in their hearts, quite pleased to be rid of one so troublesome as our famous author.

Trotsky writes quite humorously concerning his relations with the police agents, although it is certain that they must have proven a constant source of annoyance. He states that he had "the inexplicable happiness to conquer the souls of the Spanish police agents." They smoked his cigarettes, drank his coffee, and sat quietly by his side in the public library for two or three hours, doing nothing but spitting on the floor. Occasionally, he was asked to accept a cigarette, which if refused, was thrust immediately by force between his lips: a proceeding quite in accordance with the dictates of Spanish politeness. Sympathy and monetary assistance were proffered also from this source.

The little plot that served as an excuse for Trotsky's expulsion from France is told in detail in letter No. 10, dated Nov. 29th, 1916. Briefly it is as follows: A mutiny broke out on a Russian cruiser at Toulon, resulting in the assassination of Colonel Krause. An issue of Trotsky's paper, "Nashe Slovo," was found on the persons of soldiers and sailors at Toulouse and Marseilles. Briand drew a connec-

tion between the presence in the locality of these papers and the uprising. It is shown, however, that the Colonel was murdered by a number of drunken sailors out of revenge for his bullying and ill treatment.

In these letters, Trotsky argues that Socialist ministerialism is the logical result of voting war credits and sending millions of men to the slaughter in defence of "the sacred union" or "fatherland." He shows himself a staunch believer in political clarity, and like Liebknecht, has no fear of dividing his forces through clearness in policy. Indeed, he actually declares that forces are not divided through clearness in policy, just as they are not multiplied by "confusionism."

The pamphlet contains, as an additional attraction, a photograph of the author (Moscow 1918) and a facsimile of his hand writing.

WOMEN AGAINST KOLCHAK

Moscow, May 21. (Russian Telegraph Agency.).

It is reported from Penza: A meeting has taken place in Penza, attended by women communists and sympathizers with communism. They unanimously passed a resolution calling upon women workers to enter the communist regiment. All men who are able-bodied must go to the front; others must replace them in the rear. At the front, the women must give their moral support to keep up the morale of the Red Army and must work as nurses.

MINE WORKERS UNDER THE REACTION

"The 'Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryeniye' (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, in its issue of June 24th, 1919, has the following item:

"THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS.

"The condition of the workers in the mines is becoming ever worse. Laws, orders, and rules are being issued forbidding strikes because work in the mines is of national importance. But there are no orders regulating the wages of the workmen to correspond to the high cost of living.

"An attempt to strike at the mines of Stchelkunoff immediately resulted in military intervention. There are rumors that the management of the mines is working on a new wage scale. But no one knows whether this is true, nor how much and when wages will be raised, no representative of the workers nor any outsider being allowed to participate in the determination of the scale of wages.

"The trade union of the employees is still in existence, but the union is denied a permit to meet. Thus in the beginning of May, a permit for a general membership meeting, and later one for a delegates' meeting, were denied."

Украинская Социалистическая Советская Республика.

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

ДОЛОЙ ПОГРОМЩИКОВ!

ТОВАРИЩИ! Царское правительство, охранявшее интересы капиталистов и помещиков, всегда пользовалось травлей евреев для того, чтобы укрепить свою власть.

Царское правительство организовывало сотни еврейских погромов; оно тратило миллионы народных денег для того, чтобы разжечь национальную вражду.

Национальным гнетом оно старалось разединять трудящиеся массы разных наций, мешало рабочим разных наций объединяться для совместной борьбы со своим общим врагом, — помещиками и капиталистами.

А теперь гиторовская сволочь катравливает свои грабительские шайки на беззащитных евреев, изливает на них всю свою злобу, подвергает женщин, стариков, детей издевкам и истязаниям.

ТОВАРИЩИ! Русо-офицеры и власно-вики этих банд и шайк, Гиторовы и их о нем — те же хранители интересов капиталистов и помещиков. Их предательская цель одна и та же: разединение рабочего класса и поражение единого пролетарского фронта.

Эти гиторовцы и власники, в союзе с мировой буржуазией, пытаются утопить нашу социалистическую революцию

в крови невинных жертв еврейской бедноты. Еврейские погромы — это соломинка, за которую хватается отживший мир, спасая свой капитал.

ТОВАРИЩИ! красноармейцы, рабочие и крестьяне! Не поддавайтесь на удочку пестелей и провокаторов, продавшихся буржуазии и дворянству, которые толкают вас на погромы. Через трупы еврейской бедноты капиталисты и помещики ищут пути к потерянному миллионам и домам.

Вместе с потоками крови еврейской бедноты уходят от крестьян земли и от рабочих фабрики и заводы. Им нужна свобода и власть гиторовских домысли с таким трудом.

ТОВАРИЩИ! красноармейцы, будьте тверды, не поддавайтесь на провокации. Пусть Вашим ответом на черносотенную агитацию будет смелый и гордый ответ:

ДОЛОЙ ПОГРОМЩИКОВ!

Крепко держите в своих руках красные знамя — знамя борьбы и свободы.

Да здравствует Интернациональная рабоче-крестьянская Армия.

Да здравствует Украинская Советская Социалистическая Республика.

Да здравствует власть рабочих и крестьян всех стран, всех наций.

Одесский Комитет Партии Коммунистов (Большевиков) Украины.

Translation of the Original on Opposite Page
UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC
Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!

DOWN WITH THE POGROM-MAKERS!

Comrades! The czarist government, which protected the interests of the capitalists and landed proprietors, always resorted to Jew-baiting for the purpose of strengthening its power.

THE CZARIST GOVERNMENT ORGANIZED HUNDREDS OF JEWISH POGROMS; IT SPENT MILLIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY FOR THE PURPOSE OF AROUSING NATIONAL ANIMOSITY.

Through the oppression of nationalities it endeavored to divide the toiling masses of different nationalities, and hindered the workers of different nationalities from joining hands for a united struggle against their common enemy: the autocracy, the landed proprietors and the capitalists.

And now Grigoriev's rascals incite their robber bands against the defenseless Jews, vent on them all their anger, and torture women, old men and children.

Comrades! Those who direct and inspire these bands and gangs,—Grigoriev and his like, are the same protectors of the interests of the capitalists and landed proprietors. THEY HAVE THE SAME TRAITOROUS AIM: TO DIVIDE THE WORKING CLASS AND TO BREAK THE UNITED PROLETARIAN FRONT.

THE BLACK HUNDRED AND THE GRIGORIEVISTS, IN UNION WITH THE WORLD BOURGEOISIE, ARE TRYING TO DROWN THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN THE BLOOD OF INNOCENT VICTIMS, IN THE BLOOD OF POVERTY-STRICKEN JEWS. JEWISH POGROMS ARE THE STRAW AT WHICH THE OUTWORN WORLD IS CLUTCHING IN ORDER TO SAVE ITS CAPITAL.

Comrades, Red-Guardists, Workers and Peasants! Do not be misled by the scoundrels and provocateurs who sold themselves to the bourgeoisie and nobility and who urge you to make pogroms. Over the corpses of the Jewish poor the capitalists and landed proprietors are trying to find a way to the millions and the houses which they lost.

Together with the torrents of blood of the Jewish poor will swim away the LANDS from the peasants and THE FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS from the workers, will swim away the freedom and the power from the toilers, which have been won at such cost.

Comrades, Red Guardists, be firm, do not yield to provocation. Let your answer to the Black Hundred agitation be the brave and proud call:

DOWN WITH THE POGROM-MAKERS!

Hold firmly in your hands the red banner—the banner of struggle and freedom.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' ARMY.

LONG LIVE THE UKRAINIAN SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLIC.

LONG LIVE THE POWER OF THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND OF ALL NATIONS.

Odessa Committee of the Communist (Bolshevist) Party of Ukraine.

Published by the Department of Soviet Propaganda attached to the Executive Committee of the Odessa Council of Workers' Deputies.

PRESS CENSORSHIP IN SIBERIA

"The Echo" of Vladivostok in its issue of July 9, 1919, has the following to say on the censorship of the labor press in Siberia:

"The condition of the democratic press in general is not of the best, but the condition of the labor press is unbearable. On a number of questions, and, indeed, the most acute and critical questions,—the labor press is deprived of every possibility to express its views, or, at best, is forced to resort to vague hints.

"While the Black Hundred papers freely fill their pages with reactionary outpourings, the labor papers are carefully watched by an ever-wakeful eye. they perish with their first issues, or, at best, come out crippled and deformed by the censorship.

"Yet, precisely at present, when means for direct association among the workers have been almost completely destroyed, the need of a labor press has become especially urgent." The editorial goes on to say that in spite of government repression, attempts are made to publish labor papers and periodicals, but "they quickly perish, and their editors are subjected to all kinds of persecution."

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FRENCH SOLDIERS IN SOUTHERN RUSSIA

(Received from Paris)

Ernest Lafont, of the French Chamber of Deputies, has given out very interesting data as to the behavior of the French authorities on Russian territory. During the French occupation in Odessa, men arrested and marched through the streets would be ordered by the escort to advance a few steps, whereupon they would be shot in the open street. The next day there would be a communication that the victim had been shot while attempting to escape.

Further, the sailors of the Black Sea fleet were by no means the first to refuse to fight in the cause of the counter-revolution. Lafont mentioned several examples of whole regiments who had refused point blank to fight against the Bolsheviks. Goade pointed out that in order to persuade the sailors to fight, a pamphlet was distributed to them entitled, "The Tyranny of the Bolsheviks." It consisted chiefly of extracts from Pichon's speeches, but "when the sailors saw these terrible Bolsheviks in Odessa, they formed an opinion very much at variance with that of the minister." "Our sailors," said Goade, "found themselves well received by all. They knew that many times the enemy might have hurled them into the sea at Sebastopol, but the Bolsheviks did nothing of the sort—all they wanted was that their territory should be evacuated. The French soldiers and sailors at Sebastopol saw posters on the walls that any Russian found molesting a French soldier would be condemned to death. When these same soldiers heard that the "Jean Bart" had attacked the inoffensive population without a cause they were disgusted. When further they read in bourgeois journals that only 'volunteers' were taking part in the war against Russia, their indignation knew no bounds. 'It is false,' they exclaimed 'we have had enough of this.'

Goade read a letter from a sailor explaining the manifestations of revolt of the sailors which commenced on April 19th on board the "France" with the singing of the "International."

"1. We do not wish to fight the Russian Revolution of which no one, not even the officers, understands anything.

"2. The 1905 and 1906 class, who had received the demobilization order, are still on board.

"3. Our provisions are impossibly bad.

"4. Those repatriated from Odessa belonged without exception to the bourgeoisie and we Frenchmen had to labor to enable them as cowards to leave their country in Revolution.

"5. During the evacuation of Odessa, the Bolsheviks, so far from attacking us, as they might have done, helped us to evacuate, and when we arrived at Sebastopol, the 'Jean Bart' drew on them I don't know how many rounds of cannon by way of thanking them."

"The manifestations of soldiers and sailors," Goade proceeded, "were unanimous and orderly, and the only violence committed was by an ensign of a vessel who, observing that the French soldiers fraternized with the Russian civil population, caused a machine-gun to be turned on a group of men and women."

* * * *

Bolshevism Among the French Sailors

Moscow, June 16th, (Russian Telegraph Agency)

The Moscow newspaper "Pravda" prints a communication from Sebastopol which supplements the earlier reports concerning the Bolshevik tendencies among the French sailors. This "infection," as is well known, was the chief cause for the removal of the French fleet from southern Russia. When a Communist Club was opened at Sebastopol early in May, bearing the name of Lenin, there was present at the opening, a delegation of sailors from the French cruiser "Mirabeau," which was then undergoing repairs in the dry-dock. The French sailors donated a red flag to the club, and delivered a number of speeches of greeting. Next day, the "Mirabeau" was withdrawn from the port of Sebastopol, although the repairs were by no means finished.

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COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PLOT AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

Petrograd, July 8th. (Russian Telegraph Agency.) The papers report that in searches made in the houses of the bourgeoisie at Petrograd, there were found bombs, hand grenades, and machine-guns in great number. The Moscow newspaper "Izvestya" reports that the Extraordinary Commission has discovered a wide-spread White Guard plot. The general plans include war-like operations by the Finnish, Estonian and English forces, the surrender of certain forts (Krasnaya Gorka) and divisions of troops, preparations for the re-establishment of the former power of the bourgeoisie in Petrograd with the aid of Kolchak's military forces, as well as those of the Poles, etc. etc.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
SIR DENIKIN—NEW WHITE HOPE OF THE ALLIES.		A NEW "ATTACK" ON PETROGRAD.	
By Louise Bryant	1	By Bassett Digby	16
OFFICIAL SOVIET DOCUMENTS	3	ANTI-SEMITISM ENCOURAGED AMONG INVADERS . .	17
THE WAR IN RUSSIA,		THE WAR IN RUSSIA (Continued)	18
By B. Roustam Bek	4	MAP OF THE MILITARY SITUATION	21
EDITORIALS	12	PRESS COMMENT	22
THE PRESENT "GOVERNMENTS" OF LETTONIA,			
By O. Preedin	14		

Sir Denikin—New White Hope of the Allies

By Louise Bryant

NOW that His Excellency, Admiral Kolchak, in spite of the combined assistance of Japanese, British, French, Italian, Czecho-Slovak, and American forces, has so definitely failed to crush Soviet Russia, it becomes necessary to establish a new champion. Already the boom is well under way. Those far-seeing British diplomats have for several months been casting friendly glances in the way of General Denikin. Early in July, I recall, Denikin was presented by King George with the Order of the Bath. There was something significant in this "honor". Perhaps the British officials felt that if they had not neglected to make a gentleman of Kolchak, the Cossack, at the very outset, he would have made a more persistent effort to be a winner. But the British, all things considered, are a very practical people, closely resembling the Germans. They did not stop with merely showering glory on His Lordship, Sir Denikin, but they backed it up with British tanks and the King's Own crack artillery.

Honest British liberals at the time of the presentation of the Order were at a loss as to the exact reason for the government's action. I quote a typical paragraph from a London paper:

"Perhaps the award was made on the report of the British officer, who, visiting our Ally, is alleged to have found sticking out of the ground the heads of 30 men (presumably Bolsheviks) who had been buried alive . . ."

Certainly we know that it was outside assistance and outside assistance alone which gave Sir Denikin his bloody victories.

In view of the situation, it is necessary that we become acquainted with this new made-in-England hero. Kolchak may be driven into the sea any day notwithstanding America's generous gift of rifles and ammunition. When this happens we will be stuffed with romantic stories of Denikin's charming and daring personality. Let us fortify ourselves against the inevitable blast of imperialistic propaganda.

Just as the everyday Britisher is wondering over the favors to Denikin, so do most people in America wonder why their country goes on supporting Kolchak, now that he has shown himself a sure loser. The Japanese have flatly refused to lose any more money or men on this particular hero. Americans are a practical people and yet their course cannot even be considered good business. Mr. Arthur Brisbane cleverly suggests in a recent editorial that since it is so obvious that all that is being accomplished is to frantically and ineffectually attempt to save the American investments in Russian bonds, it would be cheaper and more humane to buy these bonds outright and save American men and money. In the end it would be cheaper, more humane and it would still save the face of imperialism, whose face is, perforce, battered enough as it is.

But imperialism is not a graceful loser. It will wait until it is all over with Kolchak and then, with the rapidity and the nonchalance of a chameleon, it will change color in favor of Denikin. And some other new phrase will be invented to justify some one's "private war" against Russia. To the working people in all countries this characteristic

flopping will be of small interest. It cannot make the slightest difference to them whether the monster who heads the Omsk government is called Denikin or Kolchak. A careful study of the atrocities practiced by these two Allied pets will prove that they are of the same color.

DEMOCRACY UNDER DENIKIN

(From the London Herald)

His "volunteer" army was raised by Korniloff at a time when the Soviets in the Don were unarmed and nearly helpless.

The workers of Rostov and other towns were executed wholesale. The Russian Legion which sailed from France early this year was forced to serve in the "volunteer" army. On refusing to fight they were massacred to the last man. (The above item in the Herald is taken from the report of Col. Wedgewood before the House.)

Again I quote the Herald:

"Most revolting are the revelations of the state of the provinces under Denikin.

In Rostov prison more than one thousand workers were imprisoned and the Secret Police restored. General Krasnov in Novo Tcherkask divided the city into eight districts for domiciliary search. All "Bolsheviks" were shot and not only all Bolsheviks but persons convicted of being in sympathy with them, or of **having spoken improperly of the Tsar!** No defence it is said, was permitted. Perfectly innocent people and avowed Mensheviks were shot.

Denikin in December telegraphed to Yusovka that every tenth worker arrested was to be hung and left hanging for three days in the street.

DEMOCRACY UNDER KOLCHAK

The following document is an official order concerning the treatment of **political prisoners**, signed by two of Kolchak's right hand men:

"Order of the Supreme Controller of Peace and Order in the Yenissei and (Part of) Irkutsk Provinces.

"The Government troops are fighting with bands of robbers. The offending elements—dregs of society—are waging an armed struggle for gain, theft and violence. Bolshevism gave them organization. The disorderly acts performed by the robbers, the smashing of passenger trains, the murder of administrative officials (i.e., the Militia, which is being now appointed by the Central Government—as the police were before the Revolution instead of by Local organizations, as during the revolution, are not popular in the villages, and always get it first), and of priests . . . all this has **made it necessary to diverge from the general principles of morality applied to an enemy in time of war.**

"The prisons are full of the leaders of these murderers (a paper recently stated there were 10,000 people in prison at present in Siberia). I order the Commanders of Garrisons of the cities in the region entrusted to me:—

"(1) To consider the Bolsheviks and bandits detained in the prisons as **hostages.**

"(2) To communicate to me every act of violence similar to those I have stated above; **and for every offence taking place in the stated region to shoot from 3 to 20 of the local hostages.**

"(3) To bring this order into execution by telegraph.

"(4) To publish it broadcast.

"ROZANOFF."

"KILL IN 24 HOURS"

The "detailed instructions" attached say:—

4. The facts and accusations given to headquarters should not contain an opinion of the guilt of the person. This opinion is to be made by the Garrison Commander, but the person and institution giving the facts and accusations shall be responsible for their accuracy.

5. In cases of undoubted guilt the Garrison Commander, upon receiving from me permission in a given case to shoot a given number of hostages, shall communicate to me by telegraph only the surnames, christian names, by whom, when and for what they have been detained. Upon receipt of my telegram: "I agree with the contents of your telegram, recommending the shooting of No. —" to proceed to shoot the required number within 24 hours.

6. In doubtful cases all the evidential material in summarized form to be sent me by telegraph, and in this case to await my confirmation of the shooting of each batch.

7. Only persons detained for Bolshevism in general, or for acts, even although of criminal nature, implicating them in the present revolt, can be held as hostages. Simple ordinary criminals (not implicated in the revolt) are not to be included among the hostages.

ROZANOFF, Chief of Staff.

AFANASIEFF, Captain of the General Staff.

March 28, 1919, Krasnoyarsk.

In an early issue of "Soviet Russia," we shall present to our readers an article on the military situation in Siberia, from the pen of a prominent man who has just escaped to this country from Siberia.

Official Soviet Documents

ALL CHILDREN ARE FED

FOR the purpose of improving the feeding of children and the material conditions of the toilers, first of all of the workmen in the factories and workshops of the non-agricultural localities, the Council of People's Commissaries resolves:

1. All food products which are given by the local provisioning organs to children up to the age of 14 inclusive, shall henceforth be given free of charge at the expense of the state.

NOTE. This regulation applies to food products which are given to children by the provisioning organs from provision stores, as well as from public lunch rooms by cards.

2. The operation of this regulation extends to the largest factory and workshop centres (cities, large settlements etc.) of the following provinces: Archangel, Vladimir, Vologda, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Kostroma, Kaluga, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Novgorod, Cherepovetz, Olonetz, Petrograd, Pskav, Tver, North-Dvinsk, and Yaroslav.

NOTE. The People's Commissariat of Provisions has the right to extend this regulation to individual cities and factory workshop centres of other provinces.

3. There is imposed on all provisioning organs the obligation to issue first of all children's food products.

4. The right to receive food free of charge is granted to all children of the above mentioned age, regardless of the category of the class ration of their parents.

5. It is suggested to the People's Commissariat to publish immediately a list of the communities defined in (2), and to the Soviet institutions of these communities to take steps for the immediate enforcement of this decree.

6. All credits for the carrying out of the feeding of children in accordance with this decree shall be appropriated through the Commissariat of Provisions.

President of the Council of People's Commissars,
V. ULIANOV (LENIN).

Chargé D'Affaires of the Council of People's
Commissars, V. BONCH-BRUEVICH
Secretary, L. FOTNEVA

Moscow, the Kremlin,
May 17, 1919.

A NOTE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF GALICIA

Kieff, May 7.—Note to the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia. To the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stanislov.

Having cleared the territory of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic of the Directory troops, which were trying, in opposition to the will of the Ukrainian workers and peasants, to establish there the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Ukrainian Red troops have reached the boundaries of Eastern

Galicia. Extending a brotherly hand to the workers and peasants of Eastern Galicia, with whose aspirations for the liberation from all bourgeois oppression we ardently sympathize, I consider it necessary to declare in the name of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government of Ukraine that the question of the political organization of Eastern Galicia is the private affair of the Galician workers and peasants. Believing that, taught by the lesson of the Russian and Ukrainian revolutions and imbued by class consciousness, they will themselves through their own organized struggle establish a Soviet rule, the Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic declares its firm intention to refrain from any military action on the territory of Eastern Galicia, provided the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia, which has declared its respect for the will of the toiling masses, will cease hostilities against the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic and will agree to conclude an armistice and to establish a demarkation line as well as political frontiers between the two Republics. It is up to this Government alone to put an end to the fratricidal war, which aids the realization of the imperialist policy of encroachment of the Roumanian monarchy and of the Polish landed proprietors. The Ukrainian Workmen's and Peasants' Government requests the Government of the People's Republic of Eastern Galicia to communicate its consent to a cessation of military actions, in order that we may take corresponding measures.

President of the Council of People's
Commissaries,

People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs,
RAKOVSKY.

A PETLURA POGROM

A Soviet military wireless message, (such military reports, highly detailed, are forwarded daily from Moscow), has the following account of a little pogrom perpetrated by Petlura soldiers.

At the station of Romodany, Petlura troops instigated a blood-bath among the Jewish population and the railway passengers. The soldiers dragged homecoming Jewish invalids from the prisoners' cars, led them out on the tracks and beat them with swords and knouts, broke their jaws and gouged out their eyes. Jews who attempted to escape were shot down. Many of the passengers, nearly mad with their experiences, fled from the railway station to the nearby farms, but the pursuing soldiers threatened to shoot the peasants if they should give shelter to fleeing Jews. After plundering the population of Romodany, as well as the railway passengers, a bloody conflict arose among the soldiers over the division of the loot.

The War in Russia

Colonel B. Roustam Bek is a former Russian officer who has seen service during the Great War in British Volunteer Forces in many countries, and whose reputation as a military critic is very high. He is not a Bolshevik, and his reports of the Russian military situation, which have appeared in prominent English and American dailies, are distinguished by their correctness as well as by their impartiality. We have had the following account of the fronts in Russia compiled from Colonel Bek's articles in the *Detroit Free Press*, *The Philadelphia Press*, and other periodicals. His conclusions are also very illuminating, and will be found on page 20 of this issue.

THIRTEEN FRONTS IN FIVE GROUPS

The Soviet army will be called "Reds."

The Allied forces, the Russians inclusive, will be called the "Allies" or "Whites."

The Red-White Front is extended on about 14,000 kilometers, in other words, 15 or 16 times as long as the battle front of the Allies during the European War, while the number of troops engaged is considerably lower. In reality, in Russia at present, the total number of engaged forces of the Soviet or Reds as well as of the allied countries or Whites, is only one-twelfth or one-thirteenth of the number engaged in the war. Consequently the average density of the engaged battle fronts is very small. These fronts could be compared rather to the long and very thin lines of the Frontier Guard's patrols than to armies in the field.

The whole belligerent front is divided into five groups:—Northern, Western, South-Western, South-Eastern, and Eastern.

1. *The Northern Group:—Archangel front, Murmansk front, and Karelian front.*

2. *The Western Group:—Esthonian front, Lettish-Courland front, Lithuanian front, and Polish front.*

3. *The South-Western Group:—Ukrainian front, and Rumanian front.*

4. *The South-Eastern Group:—Don Cossack front, and General Denikin front.*

5. *The Orenburg Cossack front of Ataman Dutoff, and the front of the Admiral Kolchak, form the Eastern Group.*

Altogether there are 13 fronts engaged.

The fronts of the Soviet armies are in communication with one another while those of the allied invaders are mostly isolated from one another by large spaces.

The reader will observe that the situation is presented for two distinct epochs, for May, 1919, and for August, 1919, the data for the former month being kept in the first column, and that for the latter month in the second column, which arrangement is retained up to the end of the article.

THE IMPORTANCE OF EACH FRONT

The Murmansk and Archangel Fronts:

THE SITUATION UP TO MAY, 1919

The Murmansk Front—

The Murmansk front is very important because it covers the main line of the naval communication with the White Sea. The battle line starts from the south coast of Onega Bay and goes across Vigozero and Segozero Lakes to the Finnish frontier.

The Archangel Front—

The Archangel front is also of great strategical importance. Archangel is the strategical base. It ought to be the "Saloniki" on the Russian theatre of war. Here the battle line started from the twentieth kilometer south of the town of Pinega and, turning to the southwest, passed to the north of the town of Shenkursk, which was already in the hands of the Reds. From Shenkursk the line was

THE SITUATION IN AUGUST 1919.

The situation of the Whites here seems to me similar to the situation of the British in Gallipoli. We were permanently informed about "victorious" operations of the Whites in that region, while in reality there were several serious defeats of the allied (White) armies.

July 24th, as was officially despatched from London, Major General William E. Ironside reported a mutiny of the Russian troops. Consequently the town of Onega was captured by the Reds. The whole Onega front was abandoned by the British, which means that Archangel is seriously menaced. The report of Gen. Ironside signifies a disaster as is clear from a reading of the conclusion of his despatch: "The fresh British volunteer troops are equal to their difficult and perilous task." As was

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

directed to the northwest, to the Gulf of Onega and at a considerable distance from the latter it joined the Murmansk front.

The forces of the Whites on this front at the end of March, 1919, were estimated at 34,500 (13,000 English, French and Americans, and 12,000 Russians); later some reinforcements reached Archangel from England, which increased the strength of the invaders to 50,000 or 60,000 men.

All these troops are under the supreme command of the Maj. Gen. Ironside, of the British Army.

The Military Governor of Archangel was Lt. General Muller, the former general for Communications of the Russian Army to the Italian General Staff.

The Russian troops on both these fronts were under the command of Maj.-Gen. Marushevsky, who was previously the commanding officer of the Russian brigade in France.

The Soviet army in this region was in no case numerically superior to their enemy, but strategically the Reds were in much more favorable conditions than the Whites because the Reds kept behind their lines tactical as well as strategical reserves. Their rear in the region of Vologda was extremely well organized. The town of Vologda is situated at a most important railway junction. From here the Reds have railway communications with: (a) Archangel-Murmansk front; (b) Ural-Siberian front, and (c) Baltic front (Petrograd).

Therefore the Soviet General Staff has chosen the town of Vologda for concentrating their strategical reserves which could be moved to any of the above-mentioned fronts.

From a strategical point of view, such a distribution of forces when there are few troops on the battle front, and when, on the contrary, the main bulk of forces are kept in the far rear, may prove that the Soviet army was temporarily on the defensive.

The political situation of the Allies and the impossibility of disposing of their reserves, forced them to undertake also purely defensive tactics.

From the very first these two fronts did not seem to have any importance, thanks to the fact that both of the belligerent parties were temporarily forced to assume the defensive, but as I am convinced, the Archangel and Murmansk fronts are of great strategical importance,—even more important than all the remaining fronts of the Russian theatre of war, because they both are situated comparatively near to the Finnish frontier, to Petrograd, and to the fronts of the Baltic States. The left wing of the front of the invaders was separated from the Eastern front (Kolchak) by the scarcely traversible space of 700 kilometers, and the right wing of the Murmansk front lies far away from the Karelian front, for about 220 kilometers along the Finnish frontier, consequently totally exposed.

There are very poor means of communication of the battle fronts with Murmansk and Archangel

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)

published August first in the American press (from London), the Reds advanced 14 miles northward on the Onega. The greater part of the Russian Whites joined the Soviet Army and handed over to them their officers. Consequently the Allies were weakened considerably. Most of the American forces have already left the Murmansk and Archangel fronts and returned home.

The situation of the Allies became more than critical, which could be seen from the statement of Mr. Winston Churchill, of July 29, made in the House of Commons in London. The further speedy advance of the Reds proves that an energetic pursuit of the beaten enemy was carried out.

Mr. Churchill admitted that "the British venture into Russia has been a complete failure." July 31st a telegram was published (from London) that the War Office intends to despatch immediately a considerable naval force to Northern Russia and army units are being prepared for shipment in the event they are required to withdraw the expeditionary forces. In June, 1919, some fresh forces already reached Archangel and Murmansk from England but without visible result.

It is most probable that the fresh forces are destined for protecting the material and goods collected by the British in both northern ports. From a military point of view, they cannot be considered as strategical reserves.

The operation of the Reds in Northern Russia has fully accomplished a part of the gigantic strategical task of the Soviet General Staff.

The enemy on both the northern fronts was badly beaten and the Soviet General Staff has to deal now with another front of the enemy, which is considered as most dangerous: that front is Admiral Kolchak's.

As far as we know the Kolchak armies in Siberia have been routed.

The engagement of about 300,000 Red troops caused the advance of the General Denikin army, and this is quite normal, according to the strategical circumstances. We must not forget that Kolchak advanced also when the Reds invaded Southern Russia, clearing it of the Allied invaders.

Summing up the circumstances on the northern fronts we come to the conclusion that the Whites missed accomplishing the concentration of their forces prior to the defeat of their armies already in the field. Their reinforcement is coming too late. The political conditions of the Allies scarcely would be favorable to a new energetic operation. The discord existing among the commanding element and troops of the Allies is preventing the possibility of any serious military operation, and it is quite clear that the British have fully realized this and their main aim now is to save as much as possible of the material shipped to the northern Russian ports and then to withdraw.

As was reported from London, the town of Onega was bombarded and then taken by the

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

and the latter is open to navigation during a very short period of the year.

The press informations about the possibility of the invasion of Russia from the north therefore are groundless.

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)

Allies. Onega is a wooden town and certainly was razed to the ground. If this is so, the Allies are to lose only because they lost an intermediary base and will have to deal with the homeless population. The material kept by the Allies in that place may have been taken partially by the Reds and partially destroyed by the fire. It could not have been saved beforehand by the Allies in any case; there was not sufficient time to do that.

Certainly there could be expected counter attacks from the side of the invaders, and consequently a certain setback of the Reds, but in no case will a new offensive be undertaken by the Allies; if they would try to do so it would end in a real and final disaster for the invaders.

The report about the capture of Onega by the Allies was incorrect. The telegram of August 6 from London says the Bolsheviki are still holding Onega.

THE KARELIAN FRONT**MAY, 1919.**

Two hundred and twenty kilometers southeast from the left wing of the Murmansk front begins the so-called Karelian front. It extends to the northeast shores of Lake Ladoga.

On that front, during March-May, 1919, eight hundred Finnish volunteers were operating. Their strategical aim was; to cut off the Petrograd-Murmansk railway communication. Had they succeeded in this, the allies would have been greatly supported. Petrograd would have been menaced from two sides: from the west by the Esthonians and from the east by the Finns, because in that case it is very probable that the Finnish volunteers would have been supported by considerable Finnish forces. There was some success in the beginning, but the Reds soon overpowered the volunteers and, on the other hand, the Finnish socialists interfered and forced the Finnish Government to stop the operations of the Finns against the Soviet.

Consequently the Finnish volunteers were compelled to retire, and are occupying a line far away from their former front.

The Karelian front was only occasionally in communication with the Esthonian front, being separate from the latter by 360 kilometers (direct line) through lake Ladoga and the Finnish Gulf.

Recent despatches indicate that General Yudenich, Commander-in-Chief of the Russo-Esthonian Army, met, at Stockholm, General Lianozov and Hetman Skoropadsky, in order to discuss a forthcoming attack on Petrograd. It was also expected that Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievich would be present. Yudenich, a skilful strategist, is opposed to any offensive against Petrograd, but he will probably have to move in that direction, as England is anxious to occupy the islands of Oesel and Dago, in the Baltic, and to obtain railway concessions to the Esthonian frontier (reports of August 22).

AUGUST, 1919.

There is not much information about this front; but taking into consideration that the relations between Finland and Soviet Russia are improving, and the presence, in considerable strength, of the Reds in that region now, it may be considered that the situation here for the Soviet armies is satisfactory.

THE ESTHONIAN FRONT

(360 kilometers from the Karelian front)

MAY, 1919.

The strategical importance of the Esthonian front lies in the fact that it is situated only 40 kilometers from Petrograd.

Here the battle line extends from the Gulf of Narva through the town of Narva to Lake Peipus. From that lake the battle line runs across Lake Pskoff and joins the railway station of Petchora on the Pskoff-Valk railway, from which point the battle line turns to the west, passing close to the town of Dorpat and then joining the Gulf of Pernau.

On that front a small, well organized Esthonian army is operating as well as the Russian guerrilla detachment under Colonel Balachovitch. The whole front is under the command of a Russian Colonel Laidoner who is at the same time the Esthonian War Minister.

Against the Esthonians the Reds have concentrated their forces on two fronts:

- (a) In the East, in the direction of Petrograd and
- (b) in the South, in the direction of Riga.

The main defensive line of the Esthonians extends along the river Narva—Lake Peipus—Lake Pskovskoie. This line may be considered as a very strong one, thanks to its natural character and also to its strong fortifications. Therefore the Esthonians are only menacing Petrograd but do not dare to attack it.

It would be a very risky adventure for a small Esthonian army to start a real campaign against Petrograd; besides that, it would be disadvantageous for them to abandon the strong positions which they hold now, being able to defend themselves by means of a very small army against strong forces of the enemy.

The Reds are holding the Esthonians by three divisions: about 30,000 men with 120 artillery guns.

AUGUST, 1919.

There is no change on this front, and so all the talk about the movement of the Esthonian troops towards Petrograd or occupation of Petrograd was pure falsehood: On the contrary, as was reported late in July and on August 1st, the Soviet Government stopped fighting the Esthonians, which means that some understanding may have taken place between the Soviet and Esthonian Republic.

The latest news (of August 3d) from unofficial sources stated that Esthonia will be under British protectorate like Egypt. If this is so, it may complicate the situation, but taking into consideration the declaration of Mr. Churchill and the protest of the British working classes it may be considered that such a policy of the British aggressors will not be feasible.

Even in the case of such a protectorate, the attack on Petrograd would be a failure in the end and would be favorable to the strategy of the Soviet General Staff, just as the reduction of the population of Petrograd, recently reported in the press, is also favorable to their strategy.

THE LETTISH-LITHUANIAN FRONTS

(Separated from the Esthonian front by 210 kilometers)

MAY, 1919.

The Lettish and Lithuanian fronts are closely connected with each other and therefore may be studied together.

The battle line of the Lettish front starts 17 kilometers west of Riga in a small village called Shlok, whence it passes through the village of Kinzem, the village of Olai, and further to the west of Mitau.

The Lithuanian front starts from Shavli and extends through the town of Ponevej, the town of Vilkomir, the town of Kochedari and terminates east of the place of Olita.

On both these fronts neither Reds nor Letto-Lithuanians have concentrated strong forces.

The Reds have had here not more than 12,000 men with 70 artillery guns.

AUGUST, 1919.

Political discord between Poles and Lithuanians is greatly diminishing the importance of these fronts even politically.

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

The Letts are co-operating with the Baltic barons and their strength was estimated at 10,000 Letts and several thousands of Baltic Germans. The superiority of the Reds lies in having at their disposal strong reserve at their strategical base which is close to the Front. The Lithuanians have declared that they have 30,000 men mobilized but they have neither artillery nor machine guns, nor a sufficient number of rifles.

The Lettish-Lithuanian fronts as well as the Polish front have rather a political than a strategical importance. These fronts separate Soviet Russia from Germany.

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)**THE POLISH FRONT**

(Practically contiguous with the Lithuanian front)

MAY, 1919.

The Polish front begins from the eastern side of the village of Olita. It passes in a south-westerly direction near the town of Vilno and joins a very important railway station at Baranovich, wherefrom it goes to the town of Pinsk, where it terminates, being barred by the famous Pripet swamps.

The Poles here have under them the First Polish Musketry army corps of the late Russian Army under the command of the Russian General (of Polish extraction) Major-General Dovbor-Musnitzky.

Here the Red forces are very weak and mostly recruited from Lithuania.

The Poles were not at war with Soviet Russia *de facto* and in the past their military operations were limited to the occupation of Baranovich and Pinsk as points of great importance for their own protection.

AUGUST, 1919.

Being practically unmolested by Soviet Russia, the Poles have no bitterness against the Soviets, knowing that no danger may be expected from that side. They are very much frightened by the Kolchak-Denikin reaction and therefore it is possible that they may support the Soviet Government economically, opening to it the way for imports from Germany. 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.

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.

THE UKRAINIAN FRONT

(Separated from the Polish front by 110 kilometers of the Pripet swamps)

MAY, 1919.

The Ukrainian front is separated from the Polish front by 110 kilometers of the impenetrable Pripet swamps.

The Ukrainian battle line starts from the village of Stolin and goes southward, avoiding Dombrovitchi, to the station of Sarni (Kieff railway) and herefrom passes to the west, then the town of Berditcheff; and to the east, then Vinnitza; terminating in the Podolian government not far from the village of Soroki.

The Ukrainians occupy a very important railway junction at Lhmerinka.

The army, or rather, very large bands of the Ukrainians, are under the command of the former officer of the Russian army Captain Petlura, who is also the War Minister of the Ukrainian Directorate.

The greater part of the Ukrainian forces were formed from the fragments of the Austrian army, mostly of Ruthenians (Slavs).

AUGUST, 1919.

According to the despatch of August 2d from Vienna, the Poles are concentrating their offensive against the Ukrainians. The Polish army crossed Zbrucz River, thus breaking the limits fixed by the Peace Conference. Their objective is Kamenietz Podolsk, the headquarters of Captain Petlura.

The Ukrainian Directorate established diplomatic relations with Rumania and several missionaries were sent to the different European States and to America. At the same time, business connections were established with Germany.

A considerable part of the Ukrainians are in favor of co-operating with Soviet Russia, and it is very probable that, being under the pressure of the Poles, and menaced by the reactionary Denikin, they may decide to establish a peace with Soviet Russia. Militarily, they are powerless, and know that the Soviet Government is simply letting them alone for the time being. In case the strategical circumstances

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

There were also in the beginning a considerable number of Russian prisoners of war, in part those who had escaped from Germany and in part those who had been released by the enemy.

With these bands, Petlura succeeded in capturing Kieff in the winter of 1918. It was an invasion of real barbarians, who pillaged the inhabitants and, being of a very low military morale were unable to withstand the attack of the regular troops of the Soviet, who easily recaptured the ancient Russian Capital. Consequently, a part of these bandits joined the Red army and a part abandoned Petlura and returned home with rich booty.

The Petlura forces were rapidly diminished and the remainder, several thousands of Russian troopers, and some Ukrainians, were permanently engaged by the Poles in Galicia.

Being considered as harmless to the Soviet, the Ukrainians were left alone, only watched by one division of the Reds. Under these circumstances, the General Staff of the Soviet did not expect any serious movement on that front.

THE BESSARABIAN OR RUMANIAN FRONT (Contiguous with the Ukrainian front)

MAY, 1919

After the Reds succeeded in taking Odessa, Crimea and the greater part of Bessarabia, the battle line of the Rumanian and of the allied armies was withdrawn toward the Rumanian frontier. Since then the battle line was extended from the mouth of the river Danube (or not far from it) and, taking a north-westerly direction, passed near the fortress of Akkerman, and then to the west of the town of Kishinev, approaching the river Dniester near the village Soroki and entering Podolia, where the Ukrainians were operating. On the Bessarabian front, the allies always were on the defensive.

The strategical position of the Reds here was very strong. They were in possession of most important strategical points, such as Odessa, Sebastopol, and the greater part of Bessarabia.

Expecting operations in the north and also in the east (Kolchak) as well as in the South-east (Denikin), the Soviet General Staff only covered the newly created Rumanian frontier and ceased any further advance. The allies were beaten and did not dare renew military operations.

In the early days of civil war in Russia this front had a strategical importance, but since the failure of the allies it became only of political significance as a buffer between Russian and Hungarian Soviets.

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)

require it, the fate of Ukraine may be settled by the Red army in the course of several weeks. Moscow knows that and is not using the troops in Ukraine, preferring to utilize them in other more important places.

The latest reports of the "successes" of Petlura prove this: The Soviet armies are accomplishing their regrouping, which is a very complicated operation, and the further in Russia they meet the invaders, the more easily and more certainly will they dispose of the enemy.

AUGUST, 1919.

The sudden offensive of the Rumanians towards Hungary and the occupation of Bukharest may complicate the situation on the Bessarabian front and may require a considerable regrouping of the Red forces.

It may be also that by means of diplomatic negotiations with the Rumanians, the Soviet Government will be able to avoid such an undesirable complication but it may be also that the Bessarabian front will be strongly reinforced and Ukraine definitely invaded.

In any case, at the present moment, the Bessarabian front has regained its strategical significance, if it is still in the possession of the Reds, which is not clear, thanks to the lack of correct news.

The speedy advance of the Rumanian army into Hungary may produce a great revolutionary movement in Rumania and Hungary, the population of which, to a certain extent is infected with Bolshevism.

Summing up these circumstances, it must be admitted that any kind of confusion in Rumania and Hungary would be only in favor of the strategy of the Russian Soviet, because in that case aggressive movements of Rumania and the allies towards Russia on the Bessarabian front will be impossible.

In case such a movement were started it might have a certain success only at the start and very probably would be arrested, thanks chiefly to the internal events in Hungary and Rumania.

THE FRONT OF THE DON COSSACKS AND OF GENERAL DENIKIN

(2,600 kilometers from the Siberian front of Kolchak, by roads)

MAY, 1919

Six hundred kilometers separate the Rumanian front from the left wing of the Don Cossack front, which is the left wing of the forces operating against the Soviet army; it is led by General Denikin in the Caucasus and in South-Western Russia.

The Denikin armies of these two fronts have protected the Caucasus and the coal and iron mines and industries of the Donietz Basin. Consequently these fronts are of local significance.

The battle line of the Don Cossack front started east of the town of Mariupol and then north to the town of Lugansk, wherefrom it extended east to the river Donietz and then turned down along that river and further up along the river Manich enters in the Northern Caucasus, approaching the Black Sea shores near the town of Kizlar. The Don Cossacks were under the command of General Bogai-evsky, who is not of Cossack origin and who has handed over his Cossacks to the supreme command of General Denikin.

The total strength of the Don Cossacks and General Denikin's army were estimated in March, 1919 as 100,000 men. There are no more than 10,000 Don Cossacks under Denikin. The majority of these Cossacks remained neutral and a considerable part of them joined the Reds after the occupation of a part of the Don district by the Reds.

Denikin also had about 3,000-4,000 Kuban and Terek Cossacks and a volunteer detachment formed of the officers of the late Czar's army and a small body of volunteers as well of prisoners of war escaped and released from Germany and Austria, who arrived through Odessa at the time when this town was in hands of the allies. There is also a part of the Russian volunteer Legion, which, during the war, operated in France. These forces were estimated at 50,000 men.

The total strength of Denikin was considered as 150,000 in April, 1919.

Since Denikin was really supported by the allies the number of his troops rapidly increased.

During 1918, the Denikin armies were without any supplies and when the Reds attacked the town of Stavropol which was defended by the Officer's volunteer regiment, the men of that regiment were only in possession of eight rounds per gun each. Now Denikin is well equipped. All the material of Saloniki was placed at his disposal by the allies.

Until April, 1919 the Reds used against General Denikin their 12th army corps and some other regiments taken from the West.

After a considerable defeat of the Reds when they lost 40,000 prisoners last spring, there was no serious operation, and only encounters of no importance often took place in the vicinities of the coal districts. It was supposed that the Red army being engaged in the North and on the Siberian front will be unable to undertake a serious operation against Denikin and will take strictly defensive tactics on

AUGUST, 1919.

On June 19 in the Detroit Free Press as well as on June 29 in many American newspapers, Col. B. Roustam Bek firmly prophesied that the Kolchak's venture will be of an imminent failure; his judgment was based on purely impartial strategical calculations.

According to the telegram of June 30th, (the Globe, July 8th, 1919) General Brussiloff became an adviser to the Soviet General Staff. This was confirmed by important persons reaching America and France. It also became certain that Generals Parensoff, Plustchik-Plustchevsky, Klembovsky and many other prominent Russian generals are amongst the commanding element of the Red armies.

On July 16th, (the Globe) it was known that a big counter-offensive had been started by the Reds and that the speedy advance of the Siberian armies of Kolchak was checked. Kolchak was obliged to evacuate the town of Ekaterinburg.

In the meantime Denikin was in full advance from the Southwest.

The telegram of July 21st from London, officially (War Office) explained, that owing to a further landing from the Caspian Sea of strong Bolshevik reinforcements in the rear of General Denikin, the Denikin forces have been obliged to make another retirement (about the first retreat there was no news).

It proves that there was a serious failure of Denikin's army about which the Press Bureaus remained silent.

In reality the offensive of Denikin was a failure during the counter-offensive of the Red army against Kolchak in Siberia, and the successful advance of the Red army on the Murmansk-Archangel fronts.

This proves that Denikin has not even been able to accomplish an energetic attack on the enemy while the latter was fiercely engaged on the other important front.

Denikin's diversion was in vain because it has not saved Kolchak from defeat.

A telegram of July 24th from London, informs us officially of the mutiny of the Russian troops in the North.

It was a great moral blow for all the invaders of Russia and certainly brought a certain tactical failure upon the allies in the Murmansk-Archangel fronts.

On the other hand, the spirit of the Reds has risen.

On July 26th it was announced, (the Globe) that even the Northcliffe Press, the London Times, published the opinion of Mr. Raymond G. Carroll and Mr. Robert Wilton that the Soviets are in full control of Russia and that the military map shows that the whole campaign against the Bolsheviks has failed and that the sole hope of those interested in

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

that front. So it was officially reported and published by the chiefs of the allied forces. But in reality the Reds suddenly started an offensive, co-operating with a strong Soviet army which approached the Caucasus from Turkestan and successfully landed on the western shores of the Caspian Sea. This has very much complicated the strategical situation of General Denikin's armies and forced him to retire, giving up to the Reds all the industrial district of Donietz which was very important to the Soviet.

The continuation and conclusion of this article will be found on page 18.

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)

the downfall of the Reds hinges upon the armies of General Denikin, who is protecting the ports of the Black Sea and centering around Kharkoff and Bielgorod in Ukraine. Carroll, the correspondent with the Denikin forces explains there was a distinctive slackening of the pace of the Denikin forces toward Moscow.

July 30th, the whole American press published the statement of the Secretary of War in the House of Commons, made in London July 29. Mr. Winston Churchill openly declared that the British venture into Russia has been a "complete failure."

July 38th, a despatch from London reported a considerable victory of Denikin over the Reds. The town Komishin, on the Volga river, northern Tzaritzin with 5,000 prisoners and 9 guns fell into the hands of Denikin's army. Such a victory would have been of great importance had Kolchak defeated the Reds in Siberia, and thus prevented the Southern Soviet front from being reinforced, for strategical reserves of the Reds would then have been needed in the East—in case of the Kolchak victory. But on the contrary, Kolchak was beaten, and these reserves could be used against Denikin entirely.

Now it becomes clear that Denikin having had a temporary advantage during the fierce battles in Siberia, only won local tactical successes until the Red army on his front was properly supported with fresh reserves.

According to the statement of the British Secretary for War the Reds concentrated in Siberia, against Kolchak, 300,000 men. The situation for the allies became very alarming and according to the telegrams from London of July 31st the War Office intended to despatch immediately a considerable naval force to Northern Russia to aid in withdrawing the troops already there; also that a number of regular army units are being prepared for shipment to Russia in the event they are required to extricate the expeditionary forces. These forces will be in addition to those already sent in June for the same purpose. The measures are intended only to insure evacuation with a minimum of losses, Mr. Churchill declared.

When a retreat requires support in order to avoid losses—the situation must be very critical.

On the same day, from Washington, Mr. Bakmetief telegraphed to the press that the Russian situation is better than ever, and that this is also the opinion in Paris.

At the same time a telegram was published from Paris, that the head of the anti-Bolshevik Government in Northern Russia, Mr. Tchaikovsky, left Paris for London, in order to ask the British Government not to withdraw the troops from the Murmansk and Archangel fronts.

Whether he will succeed or not the situation will remain the same. Strategy cannot depend on diplomacy. The weakest part of the Kolchak-Denikin position is that their strategy entirely depends on the good will of the allied diplomats and this must bring upon them both final disaster.

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TO those opponents of the Soviet Government, whose principal brand of abuse has been the utterly false assertion that the Soviet Government is persecuting "real Russian revolutionists," i. e., the pioneers of the Russian revolutionary movement, the following news item published by the official Russian news agency, may be of some interest.

"The Russian Soviet Government has granted pensions to Russian revolutionaries, who in the 80's were known as "Narodovoltsy" (members of the People's Liberty Party). In consideration of the great services these veterans have rendered in the Cause of the Russian Revolution, and of the sacrifices they have made in the struggle for the liberty of the Russian people, the Soviet Government has assigned to those of them still living, a life pension of 9600 rubles a year."

* * *

OF all the criminal lies which have been circulated in order to create prejudice against citizens of Soviet Russia, or to mask the ignominious purposes of the Allies against citizens of Soviet Russia, there is hardly anything which outdoes the effort which is now being made in some quarters to persist in preventing Russian prisoners of war from returning to their homes. In its issues of August 23d and 24th, the New York Times prints dispatches from Coblenz, Germany, the headquarters of the American Army of Occupation, wherein the statement is made that the Russian prisoners in Germany cannot be repatriated to Russia, because the Bolsheviki would murder them if they were sent over the border.

The facts of the situation are exactly the opposite. Russian prisoners of war in Germany are all eager to return to Russia and the Russian Soviet Government is anxious to have them return to Russia, but certain Allied powers are doing all they can to prevent their repatriation unless they are willing to go to Russia organized in counter-revolutionary bands to play the game of Soviet Russia's enemies. It is true that thousands of Russian prisoners of war, including Russians who during the war were sent by the Czar to France to fight on the Western front, and who since the Russian Revolution, contrary to all international law and practice, have been kept virtually as prisoners of war, have been murdered or subjected to torture and abuse, the like of which has never been witnessed in history. But this murdering and torturing has been done by the Allied, especially French, authorities.

There is no more harrowing story of barbaric practices than the story of the Russian prisoners during the world war. The world war cost Russia about seven millions in dead and wounded. Their fate, however, was fortunate in comparison with that accorded the three million Russian prisoners of war taken by Germany. It is a well-known fact that while the lot of other Allied prisoners was considerably improved by measures and threats of retaliation made by Britain, France, Italy and America, and the food situation in the German prison camps, as far as British, French, Italian and American soldiers was concerned, was greatly improved by the regular relief sent to prison camps from outside, the captured Russians got no relief whatsoever, and were treated by the Germans worse than African slaves in the worst years of the slave trade. Out of three million prisoners of war taken by Germany, less than two million remained at the time of the armistice, the rest having succumbed to disease, starvation and physical abuse. The signing of the armistice was greeted by the Russian prisoners in Germany with enthusiasm, but very soon they found out that while the armistice automatically sent their Allied fellow-prisoners to their homes, to the Russians it meant only the beginning of still more hellish tortures and sufferings than they had ever known before. The new German government was at first inclined, even anxious, to send the Russian prisoners back to their homeland. In as much as their presence in Russia, under the new circumstances, could on the one hand not be exploited as before, and on the other hand the feeding of the prisoners was becoming an almost insurmountable problem, the German government was ready to let the Russian prisoners return to their homes. This, however, was immediately stopped by the Allies, who found that the Russian prisoners eagerly joined the ranks of the Red Army upon their return to Russia. In flagrant violation of the hitherto accepted rules of international law, the Allies prevailed upon the subservient Ebert Government to stop the repatriation of the Russian prisoners. But they went even further than that. The Allies began to organize the Russian prisoners of war into White Guard regiments, figuring on sending them to Russia to fight against their own people. These plans were unanimously rejected by the Russian prisoners themselves, and in

thousands of instances Russian prisoners were virtually murdered for their refusal to enter counter-revolutionary detachments. The *New York Times*, which is now trying to camouflage the real story of the fate of the Russian prisoners of war, may be reminded that in the *Times* itself, one of the renegade adventurers employed by the Allies in their intrigues against Soviet Russia, Mr. Frank Bohn, himself admits that this was the plan. Soviet Russia vehemently protested against such practices. Mr. Chicherin, the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs of Russia, on January 22nd of this year, sent a scathing note of protest to the German Government as well as to the Allies (we reprint here this note, notwithstanding the fact that it has been printed once before):

With the greatest astonishment the Russian Soviet Government has learned through wireless dispatches that among the new armistice agreements entered into between the Central Powers and the Allies is a clause which provides that the Allies shall control matters concerning the Russian war prisoners in Germany and their return home. The Russian Government declares that such an agreement has been made without the approval of the Russian Government and even without its knowledge. The care of Russian war prisoners in Germany is the concern of the Russian Government, and the Russian Government alone is competent to assign the administration of this matter to another power. The Russian Soviet Republic was not vanquished by the Allied powers and it has not entered into any agreements with them. The violation of the rights of the Russian Soviet Government therefore is an infamous and villainous act. In as much as the German Government is a party in this international crime against the Russian war prisoners who are found on its territory, we place the entire responsibility for the consequences of such an act on the German Government.

This act on the part of the Allied and German Governments causes us all the more anxiety as we have sufficient knowledge of the unscrupulous methods employed by representatives of the Allies who tried to induce Russian war prisoners in Hungary and on the Balkan Peninsula to enlist in the White Guards who are fighting against the Russian Republic.

The Russian Soviet Government brands before the whole world this barbarous act on the part of those who are ignoring the most elementary human feelings and who would compel the returning Russian prisoners of war to fight against their own country.

Likewise we brand before the whole world the abominable practice of these representatives of the Allied powers, who make Russian soldiers who refuse to lend themselves for such purposes, the victims of all kinds of prosecution and atrocities. The Russian Soviet Government is aware of the barbarous crimes which representatives of the Allies have perpetrated against Russian war prisoners on German territory occupied by the Allies.

Attempts have been made in those territories as well, to compel Russian war prisoners to fight against the Russian people. For instance, in Cologne, Russian prisoners of war who refused to enlist in the White Guards to be sent against the people of Russia, have been beaten in the prison with rubber clubs by colored French soldiers and interned in dark cells where they have been kept without food for several days and finally threatened with court-martial and execution.

The barbarous unscrupulousness of the Allied powers who have without cause and without declaration of war invaded Russia, where they have perpetrated a multitude of crimes, is sufficiently known, and these, their new crimes against the Russian war prisoners are to be classed with the system already so well known to us.

If, however, the German Government supports such acts, it is placing itself on the same level as the Allied powers in this respect, and we will have to regard this act of the German Government against the Russian war prisoners as a deliberately hostile act against the Russian Soviet Republic. We also declare that German comrades who are in Russia will not in any way be held responsible by us for such acts on the part of the German Government which murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

* * *

SPEAKING of the Russian prisoners of war in Germany, it is necessary also to remember the thousands of Russians who, although technically not prisoners of war, but "honored Allies" in France, are being subjected to terrors beside which the terrors of the German prison camps will altogether fade away. During the war, the Czar's government, as will be recalled, sent a few regiments of Russians to France. After the Russian Revolution, these soldiers were subjected to all kinds of abuse on the part of their so-called hosts. Efforts on the part of the Russian soldiers to organize their battalions in accordance with the principles of army organization in Russia, led to mass massacres of Russian soldiers in France already during Kerensky's régime. After the November revolution, which was greeted by the Russian soldiers in France as enthusiastically as by their brothers in Russia, the treatment accorded these soldiers became increasingly worse. The Russian Soviet Government made several demands on the French to have the Russian soldiers sent back. Those demands were of no avail, and where the Russian soldiers themselves presented such demands they were treated as criminals, imprisoned and shot down in great numbers. Of course, the French reactionaries also tried to organize these soldiers into counter-revolutionary White Guards, to be sent to Kolchak's and Denikin's front. When such efforts were met by an unanimous opposition on the part of the Russians, stern measures were taken, and in one particular instance several thousand of

such Russian soldiers were forcibly carried away to French possessions in Africa, and put to hard labor under terrible circumstances. There are still a few soldiers left, suffering untold misery, under the burning sun of Algeria and Tunis. Most of them have succumbed to the privations.

* * *

SOME Americans will remember a visit to the United States, about two years ago, of a Lieutenant Pyeshkov, a son of Maxim Gorky. Lieutenant Pyeshkov served in the Russian battalion in France. His lectures in New York clearly show that he was not a Bolshevik. He returned from New York to France and recently the report has reached us that Lieutenant Pyeshkov has been shot to death by the French for "insubordination." In other words, Mr. Pyeshkov was one of those who refused to let himself be used by the French against Russia. He had to pay with his life for his refusal. The insinuation of the *Times* that Russian prisoners of war are being killed if they, upon their return to Russia, refuse to enter the Red Army, is absolutely false. There is no foundation whatsoever for the story, printed by the *Times*, of three Russian officers who were "stood up against the wall, and shot down" upon their return to Russia. It is quite possible that some plotters sent by the French into Russia, to carry out the vicious intrigues of the Allies, have met with stern repression; but it is an unmitigated lie that returning prisoners who do not want to join the army are interfered with in any degree. On the contrary, they are given every opportunity to return to peaceful, civil life, if they are willing, as almost all of them are, to abide loyally by the new order in Russia.

If ever the full history of the treatment of the Russian prisoners by the Germans, as well as by the Allies, will be recorded, it will form a most terrible indictment of the Germans, as well as of the Allies. The Russian Soviet Government has done all in its power to put an end to this misery and to accord the Russians an opportunity to return to their homes. The story of the *Times*, depicting the Allied jailers of the Russian prisoners of war as "guardians of humanity who want to save the Russian prisoners from Bolshevik atrocities" is a perfect piece of boundless hypocrisy and deliberate falsehood.

* * *

ARTHUR RANSOME'S new book, "Russia in 1919," from which we have reprinted several interesting excerpts, has just been published in an American edition by B. W. Huebsch of New York.

"I have tried," writes Ransome, "to provide material for those who wish to know what is being done and thought in Moscow at the present time." The book is a store-house of such material. Ransome attended the important meeting of the Executive Committee when it considered Chicherin's acceptance of the Prinkipos proposal. He gives excerpts and summaries of the principal speeches upon that occasion, with intimate character sketches of the participants. The book contains a great variety of illuminating details, hitherto obscured by the censorships, about schools, libraries, theatres and railroads; food conditions, housing, police, trade unions, agriculture, political parties, etc. There are also extremely interesting interviews with Lenin and other leaders. The volume is essential to anyone who wishes to be informed upon present conditions in Soviet Russia.

The Present "Governments" of Lettonia

By O. Preedin

THE Councils of Workers' Delegates of Lettonia have not succeeded in liberating the *whole* territory of their country from counter-revolutionary bands. The city of Libau and its environments have been all the time in the hands of black forces under the protection of the German army of occupation that had been previously operating in Lettonia, and then under the guardianship of the English and French warships.

The foreign diplomats, protected by their armed forces, were using all their skill in order to form out of the local reactionary elements a single front against the workers of Lettonia. They have not succeeded in this as yet. Besides the Soviet rule, there exists in Lettonia two more "governments": "The Provisional Government," headed by the nationalist Ullmann, and basing itself on the so-called "National Council" of Lettonia, and the "Committee of Order," headed by the Lettish pastor A. Nedre and formed by the local German barons and the most reactionary elements of the Lettish big bourgeoisie.

Both of the last named "governments" find no support in the broad sense from the local population. Owing to a predominance of large undertaking not only in industry but also in agriculture, the workers in Lettonia form a large majority of the local population. In the villages, the rural proletariat, which lives exclusively from its earnings, forms *three-quarters* of the rural population. The entire working class of Lettonia holds in high esteem its own party—the Communist Party of Lettonia—under whose leadership all workmen are organized into the Workers' Councils of Lettonia.

The so-called "National Council" of Lettonia represents a self-appointed group composed of men coming from the petty and middle bourgeois elements. It originated not from *local* elections, as might be inferred from the name it has assumed, but *through an agreement between several "parties" had eliminated* from their conferences, at the very outset, the Communist workers' party. There were seven "parties" that

took part in the conferences which named themselves the "The National Councils of Lettonia." The reports of the "councils" offer no explanation as to the composition of the parties mentioned save giving their names as follows: democrats, progressive democrats, republicans, national democrats, the peasants union, Independent Lettonia, and lastly the "Social democratic party of the workers of Lettonia." All of those parties have as their representatives men of enterprising spirit, desirous of attaining social standing. Whom do they represent, however? The majority of these representatives represent merely the circle of their friends and relatives and their more or less successful fully selected party labels. Their political following in no case deserves the name of a "party." The majority of these "parties" have never had their own party press nor any other printed publications. To all who have no access to the personal pocket note-books of the representatives, the "parties" themselves would appear only in the form of question marks.

The name "Social-democratic Workers' Party of Lettonia" may confuse those who do not know the conditions in Lettonia. The name of the "party" is misleading, for it may be mistaken for the "Social-democratic Party of Lettonia." The latter now calls itself the Communist Party of Lettonia and has nothing in common with the loud "National Council" and its appendix the "Social-democratic Workers' Party of Lettonia."

The appearance of all these abortive "parties" in their present form, together with the "National Council," itself has become possible only as a result of the abnormal situation of Lettonia to-day. The "National Council" *will never be able to restore normal conditions in Lettonia*, because the organization itself, deprived of a sufficient support from the masses of the population in Lettonia, is basing itself on *armed forces of invasion by foreign imperialists*. With the removal of the invading armies, the "National Council" of Lettonia will be left an impotent group of men resting on the ruins of the devastated part of the country which just a short while ago was liberated from the camps of the invading armies. By some traits of *nationalistic* character the National Council of Lettonia reminds one of Ukrainian Rada and the Lithuanian Tariba. By its structure, however, as well as by its *character* it differs greatly from the latter two bodies. The conferences of "party" delegates who call themselves the "National Council of Lettonia" and their "Provisional Government" have never till now had *actual power in the country*—the power of any kind of government. This "Provisional Government" has for the entire time of its existence been only a *Utopian pretender for the power*. It has no hope of receiving such power from the people of Lettonia and therefore it strains all its efforts towards *entreating* the great powers to hand to it the power over the country, even if only temporarily. As a result of this, we very seldom find either the "premier" Ullmann himself, nor the larger part of his "cabinet" in any corner of Lettonia: they are travelling abroad almost all the time, visiting the governments of Sweden, England, France, etc., to ask for help. If the "government" is successful in getting its representatives

received by some official or other, the fact is heralded as an extraordinary event, of course. When on May 20th a certain French commission arrived at Libau and—by the way—"entered into relations," among others, also with the "Provisional Government," then, although the nature of the relations was of a very indefinite character, the event assumed such importance in the eyes of the "National Council" that it announced the fact through its Information Bureau in London to the entire world, inflating the incident into international importance.

The success of the "National Council" up to the present time is expressed in the fact that the Paris Peace Conference has "taken into consideration" its report which, according to the "announcement" of the Information Bureau at London, dated May 20th, 1919, "along with the question of the organization of an army in Latvia," puts forth—among others—the following demands: "The railroads are to be returned by the army of occupation to the government of Lettonia in complete order" . . . Such is this "government": it is trying to get even the means of communication in their own country away from the hands of the Paris Conference.

According to the latest "announcement" of the same Bureau that has reached us, dated June 25th, three representatives of the "Provisional Government" had been admitted to the session of June 10th of the "Baltic Commission" of the Peace Conference. The Chairman of the Commission, Howard, representative of England, honored the delegates even with an answer to the effect that "all the Allied powers will fulfill their promises previously given, in so far as the independence of Lettonia is concerned, but that the final definition of the juridical status of the state of Lettonia will have to be given only after the establishment of a government in Russia will offer a basis upon which the Allies will decide as to the situation of their former ally in arms—Russia."

The policies of the "Provisional government" of Lettonia depend, in all their manifestations, entirely on the good graces of the Allies. To demand of the "National Council" a definite political programme would be equal to demanding a stable and definite position of a weather-cock. It is the business of the wind and not of the weather-cock itself to determine the position. The "Provisional Government" of Ullmann is exactly in the position of a weather-cock in that it depends on the policies of the foreign governments not only in questions of secondary importance but in the question of its very existence as well. After his overthrow by the German barons, that is after the arrest of some of the members of his "cabinet" by the armies of the barons—the German Landwehr—which was supported by the German army of occupation (Noske being commander in chief of the army), the "National Council" raised a great cry—and brought its complaint before the Paris Conference. However, during the months that passed before the complaint was taken up, members of the "Provisional Government" were, some of them imprisoned and some of them spending their time in *dolce far niente*, their absence being almost unnoted by the people of Lettonia.

The Information Bureau at London announces the following as of May 20th: "Acting under some pressure, premier Ullmann is conducting negotiations tending to recognize his cabinet by admitting to it three Germans, one conservative Lett, and one representative of the foreign elements" . . . Still, another premier of a like figure-head "government," A. Niedre, finds that the "liberal" "Provisional Government" is not sufficiently liberal in giving away positions in the cabinet to the "conservatives" and does not agree to the proposition of K. Ullmann to reorganize the cabinet to include "five Letts and four Germans." K. Ullmann and other "liberals" do not consent to this and thus the "forming of the government" is still going on and it does not move forward even by the sermons of Pastor and Premier Niedre himself in the Annenski Church in Libau.

Because of this last quarrel there has been issued the manifesto of the "Social-democratic Workers' Party of Lettonia," mention of which was made in No. 7 of "Soviet Russia," as having been reprinted from "Social-Demokraten." The accusations of the manifesto against the German government and its support of the Baltic barons do not by far express all the horrible crimes

committed by that government in Lettonia. The removal of the army of occupation from Lettonia means the liberation of Lettonia from the organized armed robbers and assassins. Every cultural man will support this demand. But the demand of the manifesto to "reestablish the National Council" cannot be supported either by the revolutionists or even by any serious men.

The "National Council of Lettonia," with the Ullmann "cabinet," as well as the "government" of A. Niedre, have but one real mission: to bring confusion into the popular masses of Lettonia, to disorganize the *Workers' Councils of Lettonia* and to cooperate so far as it goes in the work of overthrowing the Workers' Councils of Lettonia by the armies of occupation.

In the hands of the Lettish Soviet are the localities around Riga, the cities of Vollmar and all localities to the east of Pskov and Dvinsk.

Riga, Libau and Mitau are in the hands of the Landwehr. The people of Germany have demanded the return of the armies to Germany. In reply to this, the German Command has declared all members of the Landwehr to be citizens of the occupied lands, thus belonging to the local defence.

A New "Attack" on Petrograd

SPECIAL CABLE TO THE DAILY NEWS

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By Bassett Digby

The following is the text of a cable article in the "Chicago Daily News" of August 23, dealing in an authoritative way with the prospects of the attack that is said to be preparing against Petrograd. The chances that this attack will be successful seem to be no greater than in the case of previous efforts of the kind.

Stockholm, Sweden, August 23.—News of the recent formation of a West Russian government in the Baltic region and the arrival of long deferred shipments of munitions and tanks for General Yudenitch, together with announcements of the impending renewal of military activities, may have caused Americans to think that something big was afoot. Despite all this superficial bustle and apparent optimism that deceives nobody with inside knowledge, it is safe to say that all the real indications are strongly against a successful march on Petrograd by the anti-Bolsheviki.

The issuance of a list giving the names of the members of the so called West Russian Government does not mean that harmonious and strong directing bodies are in existence. The contrary is the case. All the leaders in the Baltic area are working at cross-purposes. There has been serious friction between the Russian northwest army and the Esthonian army and now relations are extremely strained between General Laidoner, the Esthonian Commander-in-Chief, and the Esthonian government, in which radical tendencies preponderate.

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP THREAT

General Laidoner signed an agreement to advance toward Petrograd against the desires of his government, and now says that he will clear out these Socialists and run the country as a military dictator, after the style of General Mannerheim in Finland, if they go counter to his wishes. The entente has been trying to reshape the cabinet and eliminate the radical elements, but the chief minister, Petz, has stubbornly resisted and an agreement with General Laidoner finally had to be signed.

Meanwhile Germany, quietly but energetically, has come upon the scene equipped with what the entente most obviously does not have—namely, a clear idea of what she wants and how she is most likely to get it. The former foreign minister, Von Hintze, has just appeared in Stockholm on his return from a visit to Finland. There is every reason to dismiss his natural assertion that he has been there only as a humble and insignificant tourist, the more so as the German news-

Anti-Semitism Encouraged Among Invaders

PROCLAMATION.

The Allied soldiers in Northern Russia, who have no desire to be there and who are being used to further the ends of the blackest reaction, must be inflamed, by the devices of their masters, into an artificial mood of hostility to the population of the Russian Soviet Republic. One of the means by which this is done is to work up any latent anti-Semitism that may be present among the unwilling invaders. It is clear from the "Proclamation" reproduced herewith, that this means is not being neglected. We reproduce it, by permission, from the August number of "The Class Struggle."

We remind our readers of the Ukrainian Proclamation directed against pogroms, which we reproduced in our last issue, and which is a striking contrast to the "Proclamation" given herewith, which was apparently printed at the Archangel Government Printing Office.

There seems to be among the troops a very indistinct idea of what we are fighting for here in North Russia. This can be explained in a few words. We are up against Bolshevism, which means anarchy pure and simple. Any one of you can understand that no State can possibly exist when its own internal affairs such as labour, railways, relations with Foreign Powers etc are so disorganised as to make life impossible for everybody. Look at Russia at the present moment. [The power is in the hands of a few men, mostly Jews,] who have succeeded in bringing the country to such a state that order is non-existent, the posts and railways do not run properly, every man who wants something that somebody else has got just kills his opponent, only to be killed himself when the next man comes along. Human life is not safe, you can buy justice at so much for each object. Prices of necessities have so risen that nothing is procurable. In fact the man with a gun is "coax of the walk" provided that he does not meet another man who is a better shot. The result is that the country as a whole suffers and becomes liable to be the prey of any adventurers who happen along. Bolshevism is a disease which, like consumption kills its victim and brings no good to anybody. Undoubtedly things will be changed after the war, but not by anarchy and wholesale murder. Bolshevism to start with was only commenced with the sanction of Germany to rid the latter of a dangerous enemy, Russia. Now Bolshevism has grown upon the uneducated masses to such an extent that Russia is disintegrated and helpless and therefore we have come to help her to get rid of the disease that is eating her up. We are not here to conquer Russia, and none of us want to stay here, but we want to help her and see her a great power, as at present she is lying helpless in the hands of the adventurers who are simply exploiting her for their own ends, and who, in order to attain their ends, kill off their opponents from the highest to the lowest, including those who have the best brains in the country, whose powers could be utilised to restore her prestige and place among the nations. When order is restored here we shall clear out, but only when we have attained our object, and that is; the restoration of Russia.

—Apx. Tyd. Inn.

(Continued from Preceding Page)

papers are widely declaring that preparations are afoot for German military co-operation with the czaristic Russians.

Recently the *Freiheit* has been publishing one document after another on this subject and now *Vorwaerts* itself comes out with a sensational document revealing comprehensive recruiting in Germany. For this purpose M. Gutchkoff and several other leading Russians are now in Berlin.

ESTHONIAN TROOPS NOT STRONG

The morale of the Esthonian troops points to their being no likely tool for forcing Petrograd. Additional testimony of this is given by the leading anti-Bolshevik Finnish newspaper, the *Helsingfors Sanomat*, which announces that from personal investigation these troops are a hopeless body of men for a successful campaign in Russia. They are war weary, like most of the soldiers on whom, in the last analysis, rather than on the political leaders, will devolve the test of smashing the Bolsheviks.

REAL HELP FOR KOLCHAK

The Japanese have politely but firmly declined to send several divisions of troops to the rescue of the fleeing Admiral Kolchak and his remnant of forces, routed by the Bolsheviks.

In these circumstances, the United States is evidently pursuing the wrong course in sending arms and munitions of war to Kolchak. The unholy opposition would probably just take them away from him, anyhow. A real help would be to send a few transports to wait until he reaches the west bank of the Pacific Ocean.

—The New Orleans Item, August 16th.

A SOVIET ALLIANCE WITH AFGHANISTAN

(Kokusai Direct)—Copenhagen, July 16th.—According to newspapers from Moscow, the Soviet Government has recognized the independence of Afghanistan. An offensive alliance against Britain has been concluded at the Askhabad front between the Governments of Khiva and of the Bolsheviks.

—The Japan Advertiser, July 25th.

THE WAR IN RUSSIA (Continued from Page 11)**MAY, 1919 (Continued)****AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)**

Next Week "Soviet Russia" will begin the publication of a series of three interesting articles on internal conditions in Siberia, from the pen of **Max M. Zippin**.

On the 31st of August, the news was published that Poltava was taken by the Denikin forces.

This may be so and may not be so as it was several times in the past with regard to Petrograd, and if it was so, it is certain that the regular Denikin forces could not be the authors of such an operation, and it may be possible that the Petlura's bands in co-operation with a certain part of the Don Cossacks, taking advantage of the great battles raging on two fronts, successfully raided Poltava. This news is very strange, because there were no reports that the Donietz coal district was retaken by Denikin from the Reds. If this district is still in the hands of the Reds, than how can Poltava come in possession of the Denikin army?

Being in control of the means of communication, the Reds without any difficulty can retake the lost town, as they have done in regard to Kieff after it was taken by the Petlura bands.

It would be very interesting to know whether Odessa is still in the hands of the Soviets. Odessa was taken by the British navy as lately was reported. Grigorieff the former Soviet General, who with his army joined Denikin as was reported August 3d (The Sun, August 4th), was shot by the Reds, which means that he was captured after his detachment was defeated. Grigorieff was the Commandant of Odessa.

There was no news about the further development of the movement of the Red forces which are menacing the rear of the Denikin army from the Caspian Sea. Had they been defeated it certainly would have been widely advertised. Why is the Press Bureau silent in regard to these forces about which it was said that, "the presence of solid forces of enemy in the rear of the operating army put it in a critical position. Naturally the position of Denikin is critical, and any attempt to advance would mean for his army certain disaster.

After the defeat of Kolchak and the allies in the north, the Reds will be able to concentrate against Denikin's superior forces and taking advantage of their strategical position will defeat him entirely.

History will judge all that is happening now in Russia, but it is visible even now since the Reds have accomplished complicated strategical manoeuvres which Germans were unable to accomplish during the Great War, in spite of the fact that they were in an uncomparably more favorable condition than the Red army of Soviet Russia.

THE URAL SIBERIAN FRONT**(The front of Admiral Kolchak)**

**(2,600 kilometers from Denikin front by roads, now farther away and
700 kilometers from the Archangel front.)**

MAY, 1919

The most numerous forces of the two belligerent parties were concentrated on this front.

The battle line started from the town Cherdin on the river Kama, extending through the town of Glasov on the Viatka-Perm railway and then was directed on the town Sarapul on the river Kama, town Menselinsk on the same river, then on town

AUGUST, 1919.

There is a great change on the Siberian front.

The "victorious" advance of Kolchak ended with a disaster. All the victories created by the British Press Bureau were disclosed when it officially was known that Ekaterinburg was taken by the Reds.

The situation became so serious that the Omsk government started to withdraw to Irkutsk. The

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

Sterlitomak on the river Belaia and further joined the southern part of the Ural mountains. Here close to the river Ural the Kolchak forces came in connection with a small detachment of the Orenburg Cossacks of the Ataman Dutoff.

The total strength of Kolchak forces were at that time 110,000 Allies and 180,000 Russians. Later they were slightly increased.

The Reds on this front were divided in three groups:

1. Viatka-Petrograd.
2. Kazan-Moscow.
3. Samara-Moscow.

On each of these routes there was one Red army. All together there were 200,000 men concentrated and about 100,000 reserves.

So that the estimate of Mr. Churchill made in the House of Commons that there is more than 300,000 Soviet troops against Kolchak was correct.

The strategical situation of the Kolchak Siberian army cannot be considered as favorable in any case.

1. There was no protected and organized rear and no intermediary bases in existence. The main base is too far away from the battle front.

2. The communication with the base is very unsatisfactory. Only one railway line in very pitiful condition is at the service of the army. Let us remember that Kuropatkin in 1904 was in a very difficult position in spite of the fact that the Trans-Siberian R. W. worked regularly and the intermediary bases were created in the rear of his army. There were ammunition factories as well as depots and stores for war material and food stuff. The railway was well guarded.

The situation of the railway now in the sphere of the activity of the Kolchak armies is much inferior to what it was in 1904. Its capacity is absolutely beneath criticism. The railway officials are much wrought up and in opposition to the present authorities.

3. On both sides of the railway line, as well as in the rear of the operating army, the guerrilla bands of the elements hostile to Kolchak are very active and they are especially numerous in the region of Krasnoyarsk, which is comparatively near the front. There is a lack of rolling stock and locomotives.

4. All supplies must be brought from regions situated far away from the front and carried through along the whole Trans-Siberian Railroad. There is no industry in Siberia. There is no solidarity between the Russians and the foreign commanding elements and men. The head of the government and of the army is handicapped, being entirely dependent on the policy of the allies.

5. The new movement of the Separatists or Anti-Kolchaks in the rear is a sign of the existing disorganization of the whole military machine of Si-

AUGUST, 1919 (Continued)

beria and it may progress after failures at first. victorious march on Moscow ended by losing the whole industrial district in Urals. The upper systems of Volga, Kama and Belaia came into the possession of the Soviet armies in addition to their railway communications.

The most important coal and iron regions were captured by the Reds.

One who realizes the real situation of Kolchak will understand that his position could be compared to the position of the Russian army after its defeat by the Germans. Soviet Russia could be strategically compared to Germany, with only one difference, that after the Russian collapse the forces of the allies were supplemented by the American participation in the war, whereas now, after the failure of Kolchak the allies are deserting him.

There are many reasons why Kolchak cannot reckon on Japan, one amongst many is that Japan will recognize only the strongest.

Since these lines were written the Soviet troops have already captured Turnien and Jletz near Orenburg. The latter place is a very important strategical point of the Orenburg Cossack "voisko" and could hardly have been taken without the help of the Cossacks themselves. Kamishin on Volga as well as Tambov were also recaptured by the Reds from Denikin.

(Continued from Preceding Column)

beria and it may progress after failures at first.

6. Lack of population for new recruitings.

7. No reserves at all.

8. Lack of money.

9. Decision of the allies to withdraw their troops.

10. The alliance with Japan. The Japanese are hated by the Russians.

11. Kolchak as a naval officer cannot be popular amongst the army commanders and there already exists some friction on that ground.

12. The majority of the officers of the old régime, who introduced the old traditions in the new army, and by means of cruelty maintained discipline, are hated by their men.

13. The drastic measures against the population: requisitions and so on.

14. The presence of the foreign authority who have power over Russians also.

15. Drunkenness and low morality of the superior officers and men.

16. An absolute lack of military maps.

17. A deputation sent by Kolchak to Berlin, which irritated the Allies.

All these facts cannot help the Kolchak armies to win.

The position of the Soviet armies on that front is much superior to that of their enemy.

1. The Reds are numerically preponderant.

2. They possess behind their lines comparatively good railway lines.

MAY, 1919 (Continued)

3. They have strong reserves.
4. They have well organized rear and intermediary bases.
5. Their communications with the rear are beyond any danger of being threatened by the enemy.
6. Their strategy is free and does not depend on anything but the Soviet General Staff.
7. There is an absolute unity in the commanding elements.
8. There is a great material for recruitment.
9. There is no foreign element which could provoke jealousy.
10. There are military maps in abundance.
11. There is money.
12. There is no drunkenness at all.
13. There is a common idea—to free Russia from foreign invaders and from usurpers and reactionaries.
14. There is the national industry.
15. Their strategy is based on the strategy of inner lines with considerable support from outside: Turkestan, etc.

SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL WAR SITUATION

Summing up all the circumstances, strategic, economic, and political, of the two belligerent sides: the Soviet Republic of Russia, and its allied adversaries, we arrive at the following conclusion:

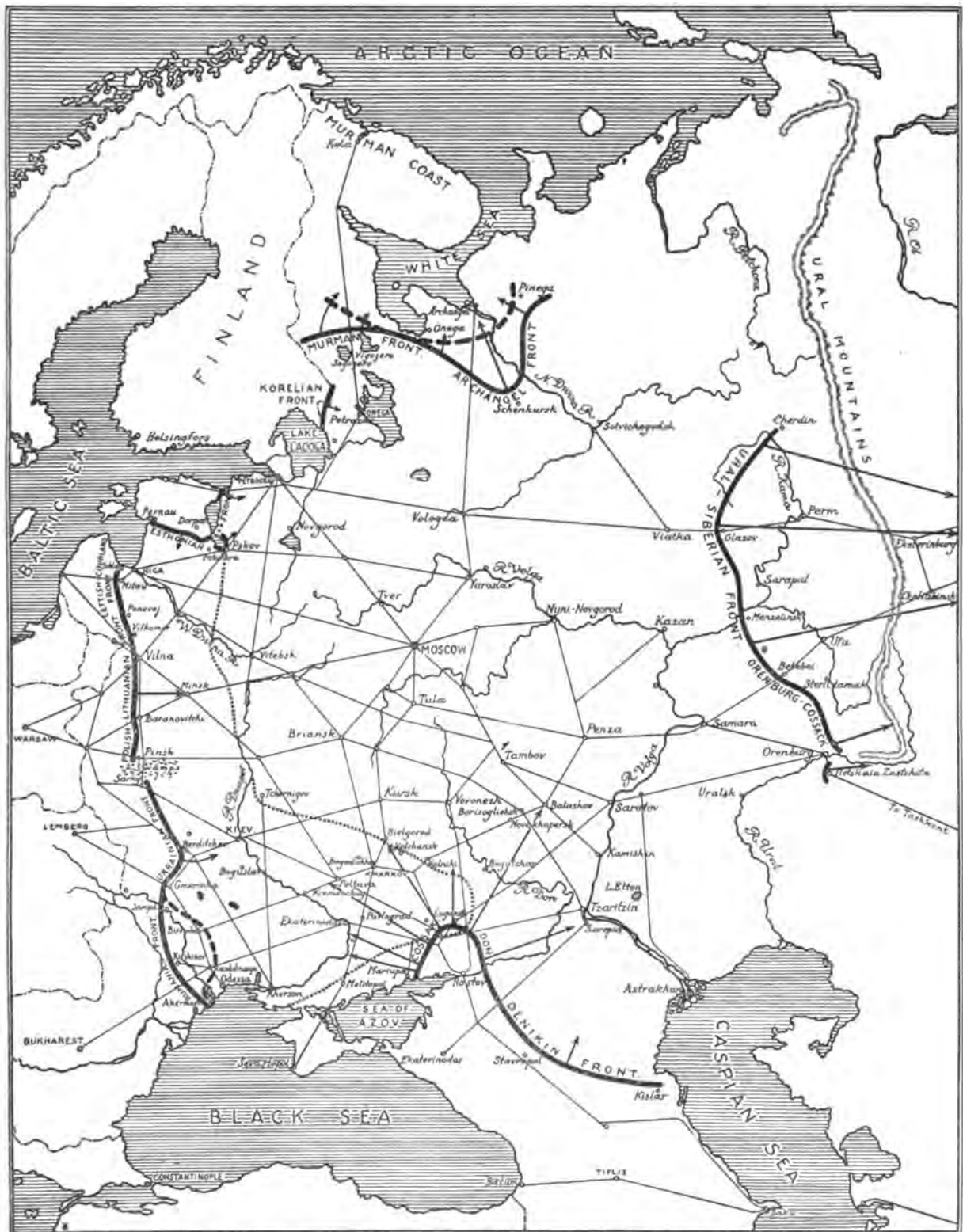
The fronts of the Invaders of Russia and their Russian Satellites.

1. The fronts of the armies hostile to the Russian Soviet Republic are separated from each other in most cases and therefore, through lack of communication, cannot attain any unity of command. The unity of command in the military organization of the invaders and their associates exists only nominally. The military map of Russia, examined by any person with elementary military education, will lead to the judgment that such unity of command is absolutely an impossibility.
2. The invaders have no rear, neither have they intermediary bases, and there is no military industry or any other industry at their disposal. Their armies and population are wholly dependent on imports. In order to purchase anything from the allies, the so-called All-Russian Government must borrow money from their suppliers. Such an economic situation of the Kolchak Government is ridiculous especially when, in the meantime, his armies are engaged in serious military operations.
3. Operating on outside lines, the invaders must keep up the strictest solidarity and co-ordination, which cannot be accomplished under the present circumstances.
4. Therefore Kolchak, together with the allies, in spite of all their efforts, will be unable to obtain any positive strategical result and Kolchak's political existence in Russia will come to an end. Certainly he would have succeeded had the allies supported him properly from the beginning, landing in several parts of Russia not less than three or four million men, and keeping proportional reserves ready. But this could not have been done, and now any assistance to the Kolchak government will be not only useless, but even criminal, because it will cost the allies thousands of innocent lives and enormous sums of money which never will be returned. No power in the world can now save Kolchak and Denikin from the inevitable end. Their cause is lost.

The fronts of the armies of the Russian Soviet Republic.

1. The fronts of the armies of the Soviet Republic are far flung and therefore could easily be broken through. Only by means of skilful manoeuvring and by carefully using their reserves did the General Staff of the Soviet army prevent such a disaster. The strategical situation of the Soviet armies was much superior to that of their adversaries, because the Reds were operating on so-called inner lines. Such strategy is very favorable for the defensive and especially for the blockaded Russians, in the presence of inner disorders. The pacification of the country, as well as the centralization of the general administration in view of such a situation was carried out much more easily than it would have been had Russia been free from aggressive pressure from the outside.
2. The operation on inner lines is based on the possibility of defeating one group of the enemy by attacking him with the main forces, while holding the remaining groups by means of very weak forces.
After studying the operations during the civil war in Russia, any military expert would certainly admit that the Soviet General Staff has brilliantly accomplished this difficult strategical problem in spite of all obstacles and in spite of abnormal political, economic and strategic conditions, which had to be met. The regrouping of some forces was carried through wonderfully, in spite of the lack of railway-trucks, locomotives, and other kinds of mechanical transport.
3. Only in the presence of absolute unity and high spirit of the troops could such a difficult campaign be carried out successfully. The level of the spirit of the armies in the field entirely depends on the level of the spirit of the nation itself; only the people engaged in a war can lower or raise the spirit of the fighters. Once the spirit of the nation is broken the army stops fighting. It is an

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN MAY AND AUGUST, 1919.



The full heavy lines indicate the "White" (Anti-Soviet) Fronts in May of this year.

The broken lines indicate the new "White" Fronts of this August (1919).

The arrows from the May Fronts indicate the directions the "White" Armies have been taking since May; they should not be considered as meaning "direction of advance," since, in the most important case, that of the Ural-Siberian Front, they indicate retreat.

The line of small crosses indicates the western and southwestern boundary-line of Soviet Russia, as fixed by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in February, 1918.

absurdity that any army could be forced, by means of atrocities alone, to fight with the determination to conquer or to die. Severity is applicable only in certain periods and occasions and in practice is exceptional. Discipline can be established only in the presence of a high spirit of the masses and of a clear understanding of the ideas which force men to fight.

The idea to free Russia from foreign invaders who are led by purely materialistic instincts and to punish those Russians of low motives who supported them, as well as those who, with arms in hands, tried to restore the hated Czarism instead of the new born liberty, was sufficiently strong to determine Russians to fight the whole world and rather die than be again put in the chains of slavery. This idea produced the spirit of the Red army, which was the cause of all its successes and certainly will bring the young Russian Republic to the final victory.

Press Comment

THE RUSSIAN BLOCKADE

The raising of the German blockade has had for its direct consequence the abandonment of the Russian markets to German and neutral trade. Not even the Government could fail to realize the folly of this. Pressed by questions from both sides of the House, Mr. Cecil Harmsworth yesterday said that "no blockade had been declared or was being exercised against any part of Russia." But he went on to say that "the aggressive measures taken by the Soviets against those portions of the former Empire who declined to recognize their authority rendered it, he believed, physically impossible for goods to reach the interior of Russia." As a matter of fact a state of peace now practically exists between Esthonia and Soviet Russia, as both Governments have declared. Here then we have one door open. Are we to understand that private traders are free to go in at that door or any other they may discover at their own risk? It would be well if we could have a clear statement on that subject.

—The Manchester Guardian, August 6th.

WHY THE WAR CONTINUES IN EASTERN EUROPE

By Boris Souvarine

IT seems that we understated the truth yesterday, when we gave the number of armed conflicts which are still prolonging the blood-letting; "The Daily Herald" reports an enumeration by a member of the American Peace Commission at Paris, who has counted not less than twenty-seven fronts of warfare. But that is a minor matter. It is enough for us to state the hideous reality as a whole; war continues in central and eastern Europe simply because the Allied Governments, and principally the French Government and the French Parliament, wish to have it so, inspired as they are by a terror of the revolution and a hatred of Socialism.

It is perfectly clear today that the war which the Allies are waging against Socialist Russia, which is undertaken under the lying pretext of a struggle against "German influence" is a plain counter-revolutionary effort. Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Bonar Law have clearly recognized, on the other hand, that it is the Allies who have set up the

Kolchak government, as it is they who have given to Denikin the material means of maintaining himself, and of imposing himself upon the populations of the Don and of the Kuban. Socialists have never been the dupes of the hypocrisy of the governing classes, but the assertions of the latter must be recorded for the edification of the simple.

Mr. Churchill, the English Kolchak, Mr. Clemenceau, the French Kolchak, both allied with the Russian Kolchak, want to drown in blood the Russian revolution. It is for this work of death and reaction that thirteen classes (of French soldiers) are still under mobilization and that our Parliament is still voting billions. This is what the French people must know.

They must also know in what interest this unspeakable massacre is being prosecuted. Our comrade, Neil MacLean, a member of the English Parliament, on January 27th, revealed to the Congress of the Labor Party at Southport the fact that three English ministers, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Long, and Sir Eric Geddes, have placed investments in Russia, which is an explanation of their policy. It is not difficult to find similar influences in France; for instance, will Senator Perchot, director of the **Radical**, deny that his sympathy for the Bolsheviks is in inverse ratio to the capital which he has invested in the Murmansk railway? Similarly we were not astonished to learn through our friend Jacques Sadoul that Savinkov, a former revolutionary, had investments in the Putilov works. But our materialistic interpretation of history enables us to receive such information with tranquility.

Our manufacturers of cannons and munitions, of tanks and air-planes, our purveyors of tainted beef, our grafters and our profiteers are the only ones who are interested in the war against Russia, and they subsidize the papers which defend this war. But the people who pay with their blood and with their labor for the rascally enterprise of which they will be the victims, will they ever shake off their slumber and take the enemies of their class by their throat?

—L'Humanité, July 2nd.

THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA

In his preliminary address to the Senate foreign relations committee Tuesday, the president gave a striking account of the economic loss which is being caused in this country "because the channels of trade are barred by war when there is no war." His immediate point was the need of early ratification of the treaty with Germany, but much that he said applies with equal force to the anomalous interruption of trade with Russia. He declared:

We cannot afford by not doing all that we can to mitigate the winter's suffering, which unless we find means to prevent it, may prove disastrous to a large portion of the world, and may, at its worst, bring upon Europe conditions even more terrible than those wrought by the war itself.

For the mitigation of the winter's suffering two things are essential, increased production and free circulation. The channels of trade cannot be opened to anything like their full capacity till the blockade of Russia is removed. It is an unavowed blockade, but none the less a real one. Russia's access to the sea is scanty enough at best, and now all the ways are stopped. Even if the Russians should push Kolchak across Siberia they would find a Japanese fleet at Vladivostok. Even if they should regain Archangel they would find the Arctic patrolled by unofficially hostile warships. At this moment, while it is protested in the House of Commons that there is neither war nor blockade, a British fleet is sinking Russian ships in the Gulf of Finland and by one account bombarding Kronstad.

Thus is a nation of 85,000,000 people, in great need of what western countries want to sell and able to pay in what Russia produces, cut off from the commerce of the world. Putting politics aside, and looking only at economic needs, it can be seen that this continued unofficial blockade is a terrible handicap not merely to Russia but to the western nations which are trying to get business under way, yet are mortally afraid of importing goods. There is no such fear in Russia; its needs after five years of isolation are so great that it is ready to buy on almost any terms, and in its vast natural resources it has means of payment which business men find satisfactory. The great Russian co-operative societies, also, which are nonpartisan and flourish both in Soviet and non-Soviet Russia, provide an agency through which business can be resumed without delay.

The United States government is understood to have held consistently to the view that the blockade of Russia was but an incident of the war with Germany and that when the war ended there was no excuse for blockade. From Paris it has been reported that this view has been pressed upon the peace conference by the American delegates, but thus far no formal action has been announced. Time presses, and as Mr. Wilson says, "We cannot afford to lose a single summer's day." Hardly any one thing would do more to promote prosperity and to mitigate the winter's suffering than to per-

mit and aid the exchange of goods between eastern Europe and the rest of the world. Russia is not in such danger as last year of starving, because it has a splendid wheat harvest and has gained access to the rich grain fields of western Siberia. But its needs are very great and of a sort which would make the opening of trade stimulating to industry both in Russia and in western countries, including the United States. After a year nobody is able to explain why there should be a blockade, and no government dares to admit that there is one. Under these circumstances it seems clear that the time has come to make freedom of trade a fact. To continue the blockade of the largest country in Europe would be a grave responsibility.

—The Springfield Republican, August 21st.

GERMANY SEEKS TRADE WITH RUSSIA

In the House of Commons yesterday Mr. Raper (C.U.—Islington) asked whether the Prime Minister was aware that a very powerful syndicate of German banks had been formed, under the leadership of the Deutsche Bank, for the economical exploitation of Central Russia, and that this syndicate had recently sent a special commission to negotiate with the Bolshevik Government with regard to the export of grain and raw materials from Russia and the import of German manufactured goods into Russia; and whether the British Government would leave the initiative of trade with Russia to Germany without attempting vigorous commercial counter-offensive in those parts of Russia which had now been freed from Bolshevik domination.

Mr. Harmsworth (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs): I have no information in regard to the first part of the question beyond what has appeared in the press. Existing conditions are understood to make actual trade with Central Russia physically impossible at the present time. The Government are fully alive to the importance of promoting trade with the parts of Russia which are free from Bolshevik control, and are devoting special and constant attention to the best means of doing

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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this in the abnormal conditions which prevail. One special measure which has recently been put into force for this purpose is the provision of insurance facilities by the Government for goods exported to General Denikin's area, and Russian goods exported from there in return.

During some further questioning Colonel A. Murray (C.L.—Kincardine) remarked: Can we expect to get trade with Russia when British warships are bombarding Russian ports?

—*Manchester Guardian, August 8.*

FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?

THE "Workers' Dreadnought," of London, in its issue of July 26, publishes the following article under the heading: "Russian Babies' Fund; will it be used for Counter-Revolutionary Ends?"

"A number of sincere people, including Dr. Rickman, whom first-hand experience has made a convinced supporter of the Soviets, has addressed a letter to the Press appealing for money to buy milk, clothing, medicines, soap and disinfectants for Russian babies.

"But how are these useful, necessary commodities to reach the Russian babies? Any lack suffered by them is due to the Allied blockade, which prevents imports into Soviet Russia, and to the Allied military intervention and support of the counter-revolutionaries, who could not continue their struggle without Allied aid. The Allied Governments are causing whatever suffering there is amongst the Russian babies and are making the children suffer with their parents in order to force their parents into submission to Kolchak. How then are the organizers of the fund to reach the Russian babies? Dr. Rickman and his colleagues, in their letter to the press, say:—

"The Government grant of one pound to meet every pound given privately will be available, it is stated, for such districts of Russia as the Supreme Council may decide.

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"It is officially announced that Mr. Hoover and Sir William Goode urge that efforts should be concentrated on helping the children of Eastern and South Europe."

"The Allied Governments will subscribe to this fund, which would be quite unnecessary, if they would but let Russia alone; but the money the Allied Governments subscribe may only be used in certain districts, and we believe, if they can, and their power is great, they will force the fund committee to confine its operations to those districts.

"What districts will the Allies choose to allow the relief to go to? Obviously not to Soviet Russia, which they are blockading: obviously to the parts of Russia where counter-revolutionaries like Kolchak and Denikin hold precarious sway over an unwilling population. Probably it is hoped that the stories, which will lose nothing in the telling, of the great assistance sent from England to non-Soviet Russia may bribe Soviet districts to relinquish the struggle against the counter-revolution.

"We know that those who are organizing this fund are doing so with the best possible intention, but whilst the money they will be able to raise will be as nothing amongst the vast populations to be dealt with, the political effect may be helpful to the counter-revolutionaries.

"To help the counter-revolutionaries is to prolong the starvation of Russian children. To provide any excuse for the intervention of the Allied Economic Council or any other organ of Capitalist Governments in Russia is highly dangerous. We urge the promoters of this fund to reconsider their project."

WELCOMED TO RUSSIA

The eagerness with which foreign intervening troops are welcomed to Russia, will be seen in the following mention of a citation, taken from the "Manchester Guardian" of June 19th, representing a British Captain as having been distinguished for shooting a Russian mutineer.

Quelling a Mutiny

Lt. (T. Capt.) Godfrey Fuller Whistler, R.F.A.

At Tulgas, on April 25, 1919, a mutiny occurred among the Russian troops. His prompt action in shooting a mutineer saved the lives of two other officers. He subsequently took charge and carried out the retirement of the guns from Tulgas with great ability. His courage and devotion to duty had the effect of keeping the Russian artillery personnel loyal. And reports that intervention is to cease seem much exaggerated. Mr. Churchill is reported in the same issue of the "Manchester Guardian" as having said in the House of Commons:

"All troops in Russia, except those who volunteer to join the military missions, will be brought home before the winter, and those who were in North Russia during last winter will, it is anticipated, start for home in September, excepting always such men as may volunteer to stay."

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
THE NATIONALIZATION OF WOMEN IN RUSSIA . . .	1	THE DIARY OF A RUSSIAN COUNTER-	
CADET DEMOCRACY	2	REVOLUTIONIST	14
A SIBERIAN PAPER ON MADAME BRESHKOVSKAYA . . .	3	ATROCITIES OF THE FINNISH WHITE GUARD	
KOLCHAK AND THE SITUATION IN SIBERIA	4	IN KARELIA	15
WHY THE SOVIET'S ENEMIES ARE WEAK	6	RUSSIAN INGRATES, <i>By Max M. Zippin</i> ,	
THE WHITE TERROR IN FINLAND,		FIRST ARTICLE	16
<i>By W. J. Goode</i>	10	SOVIET RUSSIA AND FRIDTJOF NANSEN	18
EXPORT FROM SOVIET UKRAINE TO		SEVENTY MILLION POUNDS FOR COUNTER-	
SOVIET RUSSIA	11	REVOLUTION	20
EDITORIALS	12	IS THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT A TYRANNY? . . .	21
		KOLCHAK'S TREATMENT OF THE JEWS	22

The Nationalization of Women in Russia

Absurd Creations of the Imagination Emphatically

Denied

Moscow, May 22. (Russian Telegraph Agency.)

Among the accusations against Soviet Russia which are so zealously circulated in all countries by the capitalist press, the most stupid and insipid is the one that has been most widely spread, namely, the completely idiotic falsehood, that women in Soviet Russia have been nationalized. None of the numerous lies about Soviet Russia has had such a healthy life as this repulsive folly, which is enough to cause the hair of all narrow-minded philistines to rise on their heads, for in the eyes of these people, Soviet Russia is a creation of the devil. We are in a position to state with definiteness how this absurdity originated.

In the bourgeois paper "Zarya Rossyi," April 17, 1918, there was published a telegram from that paper's own correspondent in the little town of Khvalynsk in the Saratov government, in which the correspondent states that a certain woman named Fedorova had published in the local edition of "Izvestiya," a plan for the Socialization of Women, which was on the one hand to prohibit prostitution and illegal relations between the sexes, and, on the other hand, to prohibit the celibacy of women, and to oblige each woman to become married. The Fedorova plan states that in the cities of Luga and Kolpino, in Peterburg government, such a plan had already been carried out. It is hardly necessary to add that this whole business is a creation of the imagination of this worthy but unknown lady, and that neither in the two places named, nor in any other place in Russia, has any such project been carried out.

This ridiculous notion of the unknown lady was taken up and passed on as a humorous story, and no one gave any serious attention to it.

The newspaper "Svoboda Rossyi," April 14, published a note, according to which a private letter received from Saratov was said to have contained a statement to the effect that an anarchist group at Saratov had passed a resolution requiring the city to nationalize women. But there has been no news of this resolution, beyond the private letter cited in the newspaper mentioned.

The whole affair therefore seems to be a sort of humorous anecdote appearing in the "Miscellaneous" column of a newspaper.

The above two facts are the only things from which the stupid legend that has gone the rounds of the entire capitalist press of the world and has developed into an infamous accusation against Soviet Russia, could have taken its origin. We can only be impressed with the malice on one side, as well as with the gullibility, on the other, which has made it possible for such an absurdity to make such headway and attract so much attention. The Stockholm correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" has not even hesitated to communicate the precise wording of this fictitious decree, and even invents scenes that are alleged to have taken place in consequence of its application in one government or another. We herewith declare that all these reports are pure fictions, directly contradicting the truth. Never was there drawn up anywhere in Soviet Russia a decree nationalizing or socializing women.

Cadet "Democracy"

THE June issue of the Contemporary Review contains an article by Professor Paul Vinogradov on "Prospects in Russia." This article is reprinted in "Struggling Russia" of July 19th, with an editorial remark that it "is of great interest and significance." And indeed it is, as a typical expression of the views of the Cadet Party.

The enemies of the Soviet Government object to it because it is a dictatorship of the proletariat. Professor Vinogradov, however, thinks that "a military dictatorship is a necessary stage" of the reorganization of Russia. "There are some generals and officers in Russia," says he, "whose range of political vision does not extend further than to the establishment of a military dictatorship." Not so Professor Vinogradov. He wants that dictatorship to be "only a transitional stage." What then is to be the form of government of Russia? "Is New Russia to be a Monarchy or a Republic?" He considers this an open question. "Another form of monarchical settlement is, however, more than a subject for fanciful speculation. I mean an attempt to turn the military dictatorship arising out of the death struggle with Bolshevism into a permanent Empire on the Napoleonic pattern. Such an eventuality is not to be ruled out as fanciful or substantially improbable. The disillusionment as regards liberal theories, the craving for rest and order, the demand for retaliation and punishment which is sure to follow the collapse of the Bolsheviki will provide a good deal of material for a 'counter-revolution,' and the chief who succeeds in putting an end to the present trouble will naturally form the centre of political movements directed towards the restoration of personal government on Imperial lines. The problem of organizing the democratic mainstays is not less ominous. The impractical idealists of 1905 thought they had discovered a simple formula to solve all difficulties. Let the country be governed by assemblies elected by means of universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. This famous formula 'with four tails' was proclaimed from every platform and any attempt to introduce modifications in the sacramental demands was condemned as a device of aristocratic and bureaucratic reactionaries. The sacramental formula was put into practice after the upheaval of 1917, with the result that crowds of uneducated people swamped the elections in the wake of unscrupulous demagogues and wire pullers. . . . The naive theory that a modern commonwealth can be ruled by a supposed sum total of all the wills of its individual members is a curious survival of the rationalistic conception of Society prevalent in the eighteenth century. We know by this time that votes must not only be counted but ought to be weighed; the fiction of equality in experience and aptitude, when applied to politically undeveloped communities, is simply an excuse for sleight of hand and log-rolling. The best that can

be said for universal suffrage is that it is difficult to substitute for it a reasonable and just scale of citizenship. One qualification, at any rate, can be imposed without any derogation to democratic principles. Let men and women vote without any regard being had to property or class, but let it be recognized that at least elementary education is required from those who are entrusted with a decisive function in the government of their country."

Professor Vinogradov suggests a literacy test in lieu of universal suffrage. The adoption of a literacy test would rule out one-half of the adult male population between the ages of 30 and 50, more than one-half of the whole population above the age of 50, and more than three-fourths of all the women.

Another objection usually made to the Soviet form of government is that it is based upon a system of indirect elections. Professor Vinogradov, however, believes that—"perhaps the best expedient would be to drop the requirement of direct elections for the National Assembly. A parliament built up as a Central Conference of representatives of Zemstvos and towns would present much better guarantees of healthy and skilful leadership than an assembly elected by direct suffrage. Should such an expedient be rejected as undemocratic, it would be necessary to insist on the formation of a Senate or Second Chamber representing provincial and municipal units, as well as other constituted powers in the State—the Universities, the Clergy, possibly Co-operative Associations and Trade Unions."

These quotations clearly show that the championship of the Constitutional Convention by the enemies of Soviet Government is sheer pretense.

The "Echo" of Vladivostok, in its issue of April 24, 1919, has the following to say about the alleged democracy of the Siberian Cadets and their leader, Mr. Zhardetsky:

"According to reports in the Omsk papers, Mr. Zhardetsky spoke before the Omsk 'bloc' on the 'representative' body. According to the speaker the body proposed by him (for which he has not yet found a suitable name), ought to be an appointive one and should be 'a technical aid to the government' in administrative matters and in framing legislation. This body is to have no other rights except the right to 'address inquiries to the ministers.'"

"Sic transit . . . Thirteen years ago the president of the first Duma, S. A. Muromtzeff, exclaimed: 'Let the executive power submit to the legislative power.' This occurred in the days of the monarchy, when it was forbidden even to dream of popular rule. Thirteen painful years have passed,—

and Mr. Zhardetsky, who is, of course, not averse to being considered a scion of the noble house of S. A. Muromtzeff, expounds the wisdom of state quite differently, and at any rate so simply that it might as well not have been expounded at all, inasmuch as samples of it had been known in bygone days.

"And so, instead of a representative body which has been so much talked and written about, Mr. Zhardetsky recommends, on behalf of the political combination of which he is the leader, to organize a kind of bureaucratic incubator endowed with the right to draw salaries and to address inquiries to the ministers. But then, what difference is there

between this body and the various inter-departmental conferences and conferences pure and simple which served as a refuge for the failures of the bureaucratic hierarchy in the memorable days of autocracy? Absolutely none. Just as the minutes of these conferences were quietly put away in blue files and found a rest in the archives without any effect upon public life, just so would the labors of the 'body' proposed by Mr. Zhardetsky be doomed to swell the archive deposits.

"Mr. Zhardetsky's project is interesting inasmuch as it characterizes the political combination which has produced this cascade of 'statesmanship' and yet claims to be 'truly democratic'."

A Siberian Paper on Madame Breshkovskaya

(From "The Far Eastern Review," of Vladivostok.)

VLADIVOSTOK, June 12th, 1919.—In yesterday's issue of our paper, Breshko-Breshkovskaya's telegram to Pankratov and the answer thereto of the Omsk "statesmenlike democrats" were published. It would not be worth while calling the attention of our public to this correspondence of old friends,—any one is at liberty to correspond on current events. But in this case we have an occurrence of a different character. The participants in this telegraphic correspondence act as politicians. On the social arena they appear in the rôle of leaders of democracy. Their correspondence is, therefore, of a political nature and is subject to conversion and criticism by those in whose name they pretend to speak.

With Breshko-Breshkovskaya occurred the same "historic misunderstanding," as with the other political actors of the heroic epoch of the liberation movement. From the time of our revolution she found herself in the position of a general without an army. In Russia itself the political groupings, represented by Breshko-Breshkovskaya and her comrades, are of little value. They represent a group of politicians, small in number, influential partly because of their personalities, partly because of their good work in the past.

At the same time public opinion in Western Europe, poorly informed of the spirit of New Russia, attaches to them political significance not justified by their influence in the country, and accepts their declarations as the real voice of the public.

This is true in the case of Breshko-Breshkovskaya, whose past is known in the United States.

In that country the old revolutionist Breshkovskaya is still looked upon as the leader of Russian democracy. While she may realize the "historic misunderstanding," the victim of which she has become, yet the personal character of her political

activity has never been displayed in her declarations. Her years-long social position, which is the property of democracy, is now being used by her as a gorgeous mantle for covering her purely personal policy. This is a tragedy not only for the Democracy, but also a personal tragedy of her's, Breshkovskaya's, when the Babushka, who had always been in the vanguard of New Russia, has remained alone, and cannot find sufficient courage to declare it publicly.

It is not our object in this article to criticize Breshkovskaya's views or their merits. We are merely interested in the irresponsible representation of the opinion of the Russian people by private individuals. In this respect both their method of procuring information for themselves as well as that of informing Western Europe and the United States of events in Russia are, mildly speaking, superficial. All this is done "between friends." Breshkovskaya is shocked by some political event. She cables about it to her friend Pankratov,—he in reply advises her of the political situation—and thus, by a cablegram of 15 lines, a plan of action for the consumption of foreigners is fixed. We beg the pardon of these veterans, who undoubtedly deserve our esteem, but we must say that such a method is more appropriate in the sphere of commercial transactions, than in that of politics.

Breshkovskaya left Russia after the Omsk events had occurred, and she was therefore in a position to form her own opinion of the political situation during her stay in Siberia.

The policy of a Government depends upon the social basis upon which it rests, and it does not radically change in a month or two. The degree of the democratic spirit of a government is measured by the stand of the elements supporting it. All this is understood and felt by all those who have the courage to look reality in the face. If the Omsk Government be democratic, at all events one does not have to inquire about it by cable.

Kolchak and the Situation in Siberia

By L. Ozersky

I HAVE but recently returned from Siberia, and am, therefore, in a position to describe the situation there.

A rapid growth of reaction in Siberia had already begun with the coming of the Czecho-Slovaks, but Kolchak's seizure of the power marked the beginning of truly dark days for the Siberian democracy, resembling the period of autocracy, which we thought had been destroyed forever. The "man on the white horse," the dictator, he of whom there was so much fear, came; and the intelligentsia that heretofore was so anxious to get rid of Bolshevism, was suddenly filled by an ever worse kind of Bolshevism,—by Bolshevism from the right.

The famous cossack—Semionov, who had even before this terrorized the whole Trans-Baikal region, who had flogged almost all the workmen and employees of the Verkhne-Udinsk-Harbin railroad district, of which he considers himself the absolute ruler, now inaugurated an even worse terror, trying to exasperate Kolchak, whom he did not recognize and against whom he had almost formally declared war. Nor was Kolchak inactive. Flogging and shooting—these two words turned Siberia into nightmare and stifled the consciousness. Flogging and shooting—on suspicion—for a glance or a hint—have now become everyday occurrences. From Harbin to Cheliabinsk, every large and small station, every village, town and city witnessed floggings and shootings for no offense. It has even become a custom to force people to dig their own graves before they are shot. The numerous atamans of the various cossack detachments competed with one another in brutality and barbarity. In the Semipalatinsk region Ataman Anenkov issued an order with regard to fires, in which he accused the Bolsheviks and declared that in case the fires should not cease, he would first deprive the prisoners of food and then shoot every tenth prisoner. Ataman Kalmykov officially declared that the use of the word "comrade" would be punished by flogging or even by execution. Ataman Dutov, in the province of Orenburg, on mere suspicion of Bolshevism, destroyed by artillery or execution whole villages. The ever drunken Ataman Krasilnykov was sweeping through the province of Irkutsk, leaving a bloody trail behind him. And Irkutsk itself was terrorized by the legalized murderer, General Valkov.

It is hardly necessary to mention that a merciless campaign was inaugurated against the workers and their organizations. As a start, bayonets were resorted to, to disperse a meeting of the progressive Union of Metal Workers. This was followed by the prohibition of all labor and similar conventions. And in order to hold a meeting, progressive organizations had to ask the authorities for permission seven days in advance, pointing out what questions

were to be discussed at the meeting. If there was the slightest deviation, the meeting was closed and the officers of the organization were arrested. The former labor commissariats and workmen commissars were abolished and in their place factory inspection was established, an institution of the days of autocracy.

A similar campaign was begun against the Zemstvo and city self-governments. It will be remembered that the Bolsheviks had altogether abolished such self-governments, turning over their functions to the departments of the Council of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies. Kolchak, however, issued a decree establishing a limited suffrage for the elections to the dumas and Zemstvos, just as during czarism.

The bourgeoisie was triumphant. They were outlawed under Bolshevism, but now their day has come again. The bourgeois parties began to organize so-called "blocs" to actively support Kolchak and to sanction all his actions. Among these was the "Omsk bloc," which was joined also, in opposition to the will of millions of Siberian co-operators, by the Council of All-Siberian Co-operative Congresses, a quite important and influential organization. The leader of this organization, Sazonov, is indirectly responsible for the horrible murder of nine eminent political leaders.

This occurred in the following way. During one of the insurrections at Omsk, the revolutionary soldiers who were guarding the jails released all prisoners, including the nine above-mentioned. Among them were the influential political leader and co-operator Fomin; the editor of the "Volia Naroda," Mayevsky; and a member of the Constituent Assembly, Bruderev. On leaving the jail they consulted Sazonov. He advised them to return and personally informed of this the commandant of the city. The latter ordered all of them to return to jail and guaranteed their safety. Not being conscious of any offence, they obeyed and returned. During the night Kolchak's henchmen came to the jail, and, taking the prisoners to the shore of the Irtysh, tortured them to death. The report of the medical examination shows that on Fomin's body alone were found twenty-seven different wounds.

I shall not dwell here on the rôle of the Czecho-Slovaks in the last reaction, nor on the Japanese, who have terrorized the Ussuriysk region, the Priamur and Amur provinces, where, incidentally, they have seized everything. All of this made life in Siberia so unbearable that, while the intellectuals were either praising or mildly criticizing Kolchak, the people themselves took up arms. While I was still in Siberia, three insurrections took place in Omsk alone. All of them were suppressed with an

unheard of brutality by volunteer officers and cossacks. After one of these unsuccessful insurrections, a whole regiment of revolutionary soldiers was driven behind wire entanglements, and there every one of them was shot.

In spite of this, rebellions occurred here and there all over Siberia. The county of Yenisseisk, including the city of Yenisseisk, Krasnoyarsk and its county, the counties of Minusinsk, Kansk and Modyinsk of the Yenisseisk province, and the adjacent Verkhne-Udinsk county of the Irkutsk province, through all of these spread the fire of rebellion, and the whole region became a battlefield. Neither side was taking prisoners. They were shot on the spot.

In February, Yenisseisk and its county were in the hands of the insurgents and a Soviet Republic was established there which endured for three weeks. At the same time a desperate struggle was going on in Trans-Baikal against Semionov, and in the coal district near Vladivostok, against the allies. In the town of Badaevo, in the province of Irkutsk, a Soviet Republic lasted seven days. A cossack detachment of ataman Gamov revolted, killed its commander, Byriukov, and then put themselves under the protection of the American detachment at Krasnaya-Rechka. In March the Siberian central committee of the Bolshevik Party issued a manifesto requesting the Allies not to intervene in the affairs of the country and calling upon the workers and peasants to prepare for a general organized uprising.

Such a situation could not improve the economic or financial development of Siberia. Even in Russia industry was at a standstill, but in Siberia there has never been any. On account of the never-ceasing disturbances the price of the Russian rouble became constantly lower, particularly after each of the numerous Russian governments, having no general currency, found no better means than to issue their own currency. Here, for instance, is a list of the currency used in Siberia: "Dutovki" (of the Orenburg Republic), currency of the Provisional Siberian Government of Kolchak, "Krasnoshchokovski" and "Muryaki" (issued at Blagoviestchensk by the commissaries of the Amur province Krasnoshchokov and Muriu), currency issued by the Chinese-Eastern Railway (Khorvat). Besides these there are the "Kerenki," "Romanovski" and various bonds of different loans, and their coupons.

With this multicolored currency Kaleidoscope, it was necessary to apply to foreign capital. At the same time everything, from a needle and thread to a locomotive and overcoat, had to be imported from abroad. It is obvious that Russian "money" was of little value to foreign capitalists. Lately the Russian rouble has gone down to less than ten kopecks. The terrible word "destruction," which was already beginning to be heard in the early days of the revolution, has here become a reality. Money was bought and sold on the streets of the cities and in

market places as old rubbish.

In the meantime Kolchak abolished all monopolies and decreed a so-called "free commerce."

From the very beginning of the war, Russia had been suffering from so-called "speculation." The Bolsheviks declared a merciless war against speculation. Most of the necessities were taken out of the hands of private merchants through monopolization, the state alone selling them, and at fixed prices.

Now, however, when there was no merchandise on the market and no material conditions for healthy competition the decree about "free commerce" could have but one meaning: "Rob the consumer." Indeed, an army of small and large speculators from every part of the world attacked Siberia and robbed it to the last thread. No matter how much the worker or the salaried employee earned, he could never save enough for an overcoat or suit of clothes.

On account of the high cost of living and under the influence of the rabid speculation, corruption developed among the railway employees and, as a result of this, a car of merchandise shipped from Vladivostok to Irkutsk cost 50,000 roubles in bribes alone. Hence the fabulous prices paid in Siberia for the necessities of life.

It should be noted that in districts removed from the railway the prices are much higher. As a curiosity I may mention that in Barnaul the price of a single match was three kopecks and the price of a needle five kopecks.

Kolchak paralyzed the attempts of the great Siberian co-operatives to fight speculation. In order to please the bourgeoisie, he oppressed the co-operatives in every way. His one success was the resumption of the production and sale of vodka by the government.

Such, in brief and general lines, is the situation in Siberia, and it is growing constantly worse.

ENGLAND AIDING COUNTER-REVOLUTION

At Novo-Rossyisk, (on the Sea of Azov) England has accumulated uniforms for ten thousand men, together with three hundred and fifty (350) cannon (150 heavy guns, and 200 of lighter caliber), one hundred and fifty (150) tanks; also airships and great quantities of cartridges and ammunition. Uniforms for 400,000 men have arrived at Vladivostok from Canada, as well as sixty (60) cannon from England. Although Canadian troops have been withdrawn from Siberia, as is now very generally known, and although the English Government has practically declared its intentions to cease sending troops to Russia, it appears nevertheless that England is not unrepresented by material things in various Russian ports.

Why the Soviet's Enemies are Weak

The following small items show how obstinate is the struggle of those who oppose reaction in Russia, and how brutal is the tyranny which calls forth this opposition.

KOLCHAK'S SWAY

Interesting Statements in the German Government
Organ

(From Social-Demokraten, Christiania,
July 16, 1919.)

Vorwaerts of Berlin reprints the following facts from a well-informed source, concerning Kolchak's situation. It is a well-known fact that this counter-revolutionary general is supported by the Entente:

Siberia cannot by any means be considered as an integral state, such as is the case with Soviet Russia, but is divided up into innumerable republics, of which the most are Soviet republics. This condition has created a situation of great danger in the rear of Kolchak's army. The innumerable republics are fighting against Kolchak's government. Guerilla divisions have been formed, which undertake sudden attacks from the republics which lie far away from the railroad line, and it is known that a number of such divisions have often succeeded in exposing the railroad communications between Vladivostok and Perm to danger to such an extent that trains are often held for four days at a single spot, before they can move from eastern Siberia to Tomsk. The stretch from Marinskaya to Irkutsk is most threatened. A number of guerilla divisions pursue the trains between these two stations and it has frequently been the experience that they have derailed military trains, and dragged them off as much as 14 feet from the tracks.

Newspapers in Tomsk are constantly full of accounts of peasant uprisings in the townships of Bysk and Barnaul. The strongest Soviet republics in Siberia are probably those of Blagoveshchensk and Krasnoyarsk. The towns of Achinsk and Tomsk still belong to these republics. They control a permanent Red Army, which can display great belligerent power and which includes artillery and modern instruments of warfare. These republics are being besieged and fought by Japanese troops. Japanese newspapers express their astonishment that in the conflicts with these Siberian Soviet armies, American soldiers have been made captives. When Kolchak's seventh Ural division was formed, these Red Armies completely crushed it, a small portion which reached the front deserting to the Great Russian Red Army.

The advance of the Great Russian Red Army causes the revolutionary ferment in Siberia to assume more and more pronounced forms. All this is of course not entirely unknown to the Entente powers, and as they do not feel themselves strong

enough to put down these revolutionary movements with their own forces, they content themselves with recognizing Kolchak.

The author of the article in question is convinced that Kolchak's government will soon collapse. And then Soviet Russia will be able to utilize the forces thus liberated against Poland and the other White Guard countries which are being supported by the Entente in the West. They will collapse just as catastrophically as Kolchak inevitably must.

BOLSHEVISM IN THE POLISH ARMY

(Special Telegram to Social-Demokraten,
Christiania.)

Berlin, June 28th.—It is reported from Kovno to Vorwaerts: Bolshevik tendencies are attacking greater and greater portions of the Polish army. General Pilsudski's Polish regiments which are stationed at Rovno have mutinied. They refused obedience and declined to be used on the Bolshevik front and surrendered their general staff to the Bolsheviks. The feeling among the peasants around Rovno is declared to be Bolshevik. In Rovno a revolutionary government has been set up.

ATROCITIES AT VILNA

Moscow, May 21. (Russian Telegraph Agency.)

The newspaper "Nash Kray," appearing at Vilna, describes the atrocities perpetrated in that city by Pilsudski's Government. All the prisons of the city are overflowing, and those incarcerated are without food. Savolnaya Street has been absolutely destroyed. Anyone even suspected of belonging to the Communist Party or of having any sympathies for it, is shot down without mercy. Those doomed are obliged to dig their own graves, and those about to be executed, themselves condemned to death, are obliged to finish the graves of their executed comrades.

MOBILIZATION UNNECESSARY

Odessa, May 20. (Russian Telegraph Agency.)

The enrollment of volunteers for the Red Army is so great that there will be no necessity for mobilization in the near future. Every day there are long lines waiting in front of the recruiting offices.

THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL-SIBERIAN CO-OPERATIVES AND THE UNIONS OF CO-OPERATIVES

("Priamur Co-operator," Bi-weekly organ of the Union of the Priamur Co-operatives, Vladivostok, May 31, 1919.)

AFFIRMING its resolution with regard to the first declarations of the All-Siberian Council of Co-operatives and taking into account the further steps of the latter, the Union of Co-operatives of the Semipalatinsk region adopted the following resolution:

"Recognizing the necessity of the existence of the Council of All-Siberian Co-operatives as a central organ whose duty it is to guard the interests of the masses of the urban and rural population participating in the co-operatives, the Non-commercial Department of the Semipalatinsk Union believes that the present membership of the Council is not only unfit for this task, but that its political declarations, which were made in spite of the decisions of the 2nd Congress of the All-Siberian Co-operatives, and which contradict the elementary conceptions of democratism and are in harmony with the declarations of social groups hostile to the co-operative movement, prove that it is incapable to express the views and to defend the interests of the rank and file of the co-operatives. Protesting against the political declarations of the Council, the Non-Commercial Department insists on the speediest convocation of the regular Congress of the All-Siberian Co-operatives for the purpose of electing a new Council and for the precise regulation of its activity in the future."

A similar resolution was adopted by the Council of the Co-operative Conventions of the Trans-Baikal region. According to "Narodnaya Gazeta" of August 7th, the resolution deprecates the participation of co-operative organizations in politics, "blocs," and fusion arrangements, on the ground that the objects of co-operative organizations are purely economic.

THE POSITION OF THE WORKERS

AS a result of a number of causes, among which political factors are of considerable importance the labor question in the territory which was liberated from the Bolsheviks is becoming more and more acute. In the after-revolution period the workers received important rights, determining their social position, and these gains, which are extremely necessary for the working class, should not be disregarded as is the case in some industrial circles.

The considerable curtailing of the rights of the workers with respect to the activity of the labor unions, workmen's sickness funds, etc., is to a considerable degree caused by the bellicose attitude of our possessing circles to the gains of the workers in the recent past.

The activity of the labor professional organizations is regarded with great disfavor, particularly by the local authorities. Every plan of one or another kind of activity, even educational, is always meeting with obstacles. This restraint upon the activity of labor organizations cannot but arouse the laboring masses.

Furthermore, the authorities as well as some civil groups are trying to discover "politics" in the manifestations, among workmen, of discontent with the material conditions of life, insufficient wages, etc. Under the conditions of modern economic life there must occur conflicts between workers and entrepreneurs or even government authorities over the scale or method of remunerating labor. These conflicts are inevitable, for the cost of living is rapidly growing higher and wages always remain insufficient to secure a minimum of the means of subsistence.

And when the authorities attempt to interpret the movement of the workers for higher wages or, in general, for better living and working conditions as of a political nature, and resort to corresponding measures,—this must result in exceptional complications.

Vladivostok "Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie"
(Far Eastern Review), June 27, 1919.

EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA AND IN SIBERIA

In a letter from Cheliabinsk, published in the Vladivostok "Echo" of April 26th, the correspondent compares the plans of the Soviet Commissary of Education with the conditions in Siberia. He begins the following quotation from a statement by People's Commissary for Education Lunacharsky, which appeared in the Moscow papers:

"In the coming half-year we must do a great deal for the people, chiefly for the peasants, in order to secure for them the benefits of education. For this purpose we have assigned 160,000,000 rubles, which will be used exclusively for the education of the people above school age in the rural districts. We will organize people's houses, lectures, courses and discussions. Particular attention will be paid to the organization of "houses" where books, papers and magazines will be available for the use of the peasants. These "houses" should play a prominent part in the work of education, for they will be used not only for lectures and discussions on agriculture, but also for the spread of political information.

"We have taken important steps for the development of art. Half a million rubles have been appropriated for the purchase of pictures at exhibitions; these pictures will be distributed through the national museums. Finally, we have taken steps to unite all Russian teachers in one All-Russian union. This union will include professors as well as teachers and in general all school workers."

The correspondent then contrasts the educational work of the Soviet Government with the conditions in Siberia and in the Ural region:

"The periodical press, for political reasons, is barely existing."

"There are no books or newspapers in the rural communities."

"If we want to get rid of the nightmare of Russian life, of universal drunkenness and barbarous lynchings, which take place throughout the vast expanse of Siberia—we must organize instruction for people above the school age, liberally appropriating for this purpose large sums, and we must undertake the publication of truly popular, democratic newspapers."

The correspondent concludes with this warning:

"If we display any slowness about this, Comrade Lunacharsky, with his 'education,' will come closer to the people."

EXECUTION BY KOLCHAK HENCHMEN WITHOUT TRIAL

THE COUNCIL of the All-Siberian Co-operative Conferences received information that on March 24th last a military detachment led by a commanding officer and two subalterns, arrived in the village Luzzino, County of Ossinov, District of Balagansk, Province of Irkutsk. The detachment came from Balagansk, it was said, to search for deserters and to take from the population all arms of a military pattern. Being ordered to give up their arms, two members of the co-operative association, V. Sirin and T. G. Sirin, answered that they had none. Failing to obtain the required arms, the officers ordered that these men should be flogged, which was done with gunstocks. After this flogging the victims were removed elsewhere. A delegation sent by the local zemstvo and consumers' association was assured by the officer in command of the detachment that the men who had been arrested were in no danger whatsoever, and that they had been taken to headquarters for investigation. But both men, Vassily and Timothy Sirin, who were arrested by the military detachment, were later found at the roadside, shot by explosive bullets. One of them was found dead and the other died half an hour after he had been brought home.

CENSORSHIP IN SIBERIA

THE fire-eating anti-Bolshevik "Narodnaya Gazeta," of New York, in its issue of August 14, 1919, reprints the following from the Siberian "Nasha Zarya":

"By order of the Staff of the Commander in Chief, of June 24, 1919, the Omsk newspaper, 'Zarya' is hereby closed, without the privilege of resuming its publication under any other name, for

having printed an article containing incorrect information on questions of war organization and for interfering with matters of military command.

"The newspaper 'Zarya' was published by the Siberian co-operative centers. The political stand of the newspaper was ultra-patriotic, in every way supporting Admiral Kolchak, but, at the same time, the 'Zarya' was in favor of a democratic policy, and it has been closed for having criticized the government which has removed Generals Gaida and Popelyaev from the supreme command of the army and replaced these generals, who were popular in democratic circles, by creatures of the conservative elements."

THE SOLDIERS IN SIBERIA

(An Editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*)

In another column of this page will be found an illuminating letter from a soldier in Siberia whose plea should not fail to find sympathy in American bosoms. He is one of 5,000 who want to come home, who weren't anxious to go, and who are still in the dark as to why they were sent.

Like those who went to Archangel, our soldiers, many from the middle west, went to war to meet a specific enemy. It is no wonder they resent finding themselves, nearly a year after the conflict for which they armed has subsided, in a totally strange portion of the earth, and potentially the opponents of a people against whom there is no declaration of war.

In addition to the plea that they want to come home, there remains the broader objection to American soldiers in Russian territory in that we, as traditional friends of the Russians, by our surprising antagonism are probably not disposing of the Bolshevik terror, but more than likely driving all the Russians into a common frame of mind, which is that if the world is against them they must of necessity drop their internal differences and stand shoulder to shoulder.

An American soldier probably wants to understand the nature of his errand and have some stomach for the job. If neither is present there isn't much question but he will grow irritable and want to shuck the whole business. The soldiers have been patient in Siberia; still are patient. And we think they will be a lot more patient with American institutions if they are brought home instead of being left out on an interminable camping trip half way round the world.

* * *

We print the above editorial from the *Chicago Tribune* of August 5th, leaving the reader to infer the character of the letter to which it refers, which can be found in the newspaper from which it is taken, for the same date.

AN APPEAL TO THE RUSSIAN TRADE-UNIONS

Petrograd, July 15th.—The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions has addressed an appeal to the workers of the Entente countries, in which it emphasizes that it is already two years since the Russian proletariat dared throw off the chains of Czarism and of international capital, and since the bourgeois of all countries have become its mortal enemy. Korniloff, Kaledine, Denikin, Kolchak, might have been the favorite heroes of the Entente bourgeois and of the Entente governments. The latter finally sent their troops to Russia in order to throttle the revolution. After the victory of the Entente over the Central Powers, with unparalleled cynicism the Entente governments are now haggling and trading with the nations of the earth and fastening chains upon their necks. Against Soviet Russia, there are the Polish reactionaries, the Roumanian boyars, the Estonian, Lettonian, Lithuanian and German White Guardists, and the Finnish military reaction. They hold Archangel in their power, and are giving Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich the necessary strength for their attack on revolutionary Russia. They are inciting White Guard rebellion in the heart of Russia and also attempting to throttle Soviet Hungary. Paris has become the center of world reaction. Versailles is once more, as at the time when the French Commune was drowned in blood, the headquarters of the hangmen of the popular movement.

The appeal asks the workers of the Entente countries whether they will long permit their governments to drown social revolutions in blood. The Russian proletariat is fighting on in despair, and is bearing the starvation and other suffering caused by the blockade. The international counter-revolution is stretching out its tentacles for the throat of the Russian people but their unbounded confidence in the victory of the revolution gives the Russian proletariat the strength to continue in the struggle confident of the aid and sympathy of the workers of the Entente countries.

THE WORKERS' CONDITIONS UNDER KOLCHAK

The conditions of the workers in the mines are becoming worse and worse. All sorts of decrees, circulars and rules are issued for the purpose of prohibiting strikes, as the mines are of national importance; but there are no circulars regulating the wages in accordance with the high cost of living. An attempt to strike in the mines of Zheltooga produced the interference of military forces. It is said that the administration of the mines is working out a new scale of wages; no one knows, however, how true this is, to what extent and when the wages will be increased, as no representatives of the workers are permitted to participate in working out the scale.

The Trade Unions are still in existence. But they are not permitted to hold meetings. In the first part of May they were refused permits to hold a membership meeting and later on a meeting of delegates.

—"Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie,"

("The Far-Eastern Review"),

Vladivostok, June 24, 1919.

RAIDS ON THE CO-OPERATIVES IN SIBERIA

It is claimed by the subsidized publication of the Kolchak Government in the United States, that his so-called All-Russian Government has the support of the rank and file of the co-operative associations. The true attitude of the Kolchak Government to the Siberian co-operatives appears from the following item in the Irkutsk "Nashe Dyelo," of June 25, 1919:

"On June 4 representatives of the authorities, accompanied by an armed force, came to the storehouses of the local co-operative organizations and, without presenting documents or making any explanation of their act, demanded that the storehouses be opened for examination. The storehouses of the Northern Union were searched in the absence of members of the administration, and a steamer of the Tobolsk Credit Union and a loaded barge which were ready to sail to the north were detained. The warehouses of the "Zakupsbit" have been sealed and guards assigned to them, and an embargo placed on goods of the Northern Union.

"We have presented our case to the Supreme Ruler and the military authorities, asking them to protect us from such actions on the part of armed and unauthorized persons. These actions prevent our sending of goods to the north, where they are absolutely necessary for the lives of our people there."

In connection with this telegram the Ekaterinburg Board of the Ural Union wired to the Council of Ministers a protest, demanding that the order by which cargoes of supplies were detained and requisitioned be revoked.

THE DISORGANIZATION OF THE KOLCHAK ARMY

(Izvestia, May 20, 1919.)

SAMARA, May 17th.—The *Omskaya Zaria* reports that cases of army officers assassinated in the barracks are becoming more and more frequent. The Omsk field court martial heard a case, in which the defendants were accused of attempts on the lives of officers, and of carrying on agitation among soldiers, and has sentenced 14 men to be executed and 11 to the galleys.

The White Terror in Finland

How Bolsheviks Are Made

By W. J. Goode

Helsingfors, June 15.

HAPPENING to pick up a few days ago in Reval a number of the *Manchester Guardian* in which the White Terror was discussed, it has struck me that I might as well give the general outlines of what happened at that time. Great Britain can hardly fail to be affected by this story, for she is at present actively engaged in crushing Bolshevism, yet is at the same time recognizing and supporting a Government whose actions tend to create Bolsheviks.

Let me first give a swift recapitulation. Finland is a country living largely by agriculture and timber-raising. In the south there are districts which are industrialized—with the usual results. Politically it was advanced and democratic, a fact of which Finns were proud. After the Revolution and the subsequent upheavals in Russia, Finland found itself divided sharply into two camps, bourgeois versus workers, and by the end of 1917 the two were at daggers drawn; by the beginning of 1918 at death grips. The world knows the result of the struggle; how, after selling themselves to the Germans, the "Whites" were able, by German help, to crush the revolt of the "Reds."

What the world does not know, or knows at best only by vague hints, is the after consequences. The fight had been waged with great ferocity—the usual characteristic of class warfare when the most bestial passions are let loose—and hideous things were done by both Reds and Whites. But, victory having fallen into the hands of the Whites, one would have thought that a spirit of clemency would prevail and an effort be made to heal the breach between the two halves of the population, to put an end to evil conditions, and stand united before the world. But no such thing happened. The bourgeoisie—i. e., the Whites,—shaken to the marrow by fear, fear for life, property, social position, and political power, began a repression that looked as if they purposed the extermination of their opponents. It is only by this panic fear that I can explain to myself the action of the Whites; no other motive suffices.

The Victims of the Terror

That there were accounts to settle, men among the prisoners to be brought to justice, nobody who has followed the war can doubt for a moment; also that the food difficulty was great and that the Whites naturally looked after their own people first. But when that is said, the list of excuses is exhausted. And nothing but blind fear can explain what happened. Some 70,000 to 80,000 prisoners were penned in camps, 13 or more, and between June and September, 1918, 11,748 of them died, mostly from hunger. (From official prison records.) At Viborg, for instance, 400 died in one month;

at Ekenas the death-rate rose through the weeks of August from 4 per cent to 8 per cent of the prisoners. At Tammerfors the result of an investigation published on June 12, 1919, gave 260 killed in fighting, 475 murdered by Whites, and 381 died in prison there. When the extent of country over which action ranged and the number of camps in which prisoners were interned are considered, the totals seem appalling.

Lest it should be thought I am exaggerating, let me give some results of a different kind, quoted by a member of the Christian Labor party, M. Helenius-Seppälä, in a speech reported by "Tyd Kansa" on March 7th—viz., that 23,000 war orphans had been examined; of these 10,000 had fathers alive in prison camps at the beginning of this year, leaving 13,000 to be accounted for; 760 of them were orphans of Whites, the remaining 12,240 being made up of 5,000 children whose fathers had been shot, 3,100 whose fathers had died in camps, 3,100 whose fathers had fallen in action, and 1,100 whose fathers had been murdered. This investigation is official and is still proceeding.

The conditions of the camps were revolting and altogether inexcusable. Men were stacked, literally, in small spaces, sick and well together, and locked in. They could wash if rain fell, and those who had underclothing wore it continuously for three months. The filthy and verminous result needs no description. Hospital accommodation was practically non-existent, and reports of doctors and commandants prove this; and the sending in of food and necessities was forbidden. To the tale of hunger, filth, and disease must be added torture and beatings. I have myself seen one of the hideous instruments used and questioned a doctor who treated men after beatings, while a typical case at Tammerfors, that of Matti Koski, beaten for twelve hours, is open for all to read, though his assailant is still unmolested. Of the shootings the exact number will probably never be known, but after many investigations I have come to the approximate number of 10,000 to 12,000 men, which with the numbers mentioned before makes a grand total of deaths for which Whites were responsible, after the war, of 25,000 to 30,000. Many were undoubtedly justifiable, but such numbers were the result not of justice but fear.

Dismissed Officials

To the same cause was due the dismissal of railway and post-office officials who worked their departments through the Red administration but took no part in the revolt. As the result of their sane and patriotic action these men are now branded as Reds, are unable to find settled employment, and are being rendered desperate. (I speak only of the departments I have investigated, affecting some 2,000 railway and 400 to 600 post-office employees.)

The effect of all this in creating the state of feeling which is the natural feeding-ground of Bolshevism is easy to understand. But when to this is added the numbers in the country under "conditional punishment" (at least 30,000 and put by one person at 80,000), free in person but deprived of civil rights, living under a stigma and prevented by recent administrative order from traveling from their place of abode, the belief is aroused that the Government of this country has done its utmost to exacerbate feeling among the lower half of the population to the point where it seeks its salvation in Bolshevism.

I have purposely avoided recounting the horrors of the war on the part of both Reds and Whites, and forbear to mention errors of a gruesome kind occurring since. I have tried to show in short space what the White Terror was, and to indicate, from my personal experience of some of its victims, that it has really been a school of Bolshevism. That is a view I commend to the consideration of the Powers who are actively engaged in crushing Bolshevism.

—Manchester Guardian, July 18th.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S HARVESTS

An editorial in the Springfield "Republican" of August 20th has the following to say on this year's grain prospects in Soviet Russia:

"Bumper grain crops over a great part of Europe are news of the very best sort and may be the saving of many lives. Nor should there be regret that Soviet Russia shares in this bounty of Nature, for of its 85,000,000 or more people there are few indeed whom the most ruthless would wish to see starve. The excellent harvest seems to make certain that Russia cannot be starved out next winter, specially as the Soviet armies have at last broken the blockade established a year ago by the seizure of the railways in eastern Russia by the Czechs. The Czechs have withdrawn and Kolchak's armies have been driven across the Urals, restoring connection between European Russia and the grain fields of Siberia. This will make the Soviets less dependent on the grain of the Ukraine which its armies are abandoning."

Export from Soviet Ukraine to Soviet Russia

AN article in the Moscow "Economic Life" (the organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy) of April 13, contains interesting data on the export of unregulated products from Soviet Ukraine to Soviet Russia. The data cover a period of three weeks—from January 30th to February 21, 1919,—and refer to products bought by representatives of various organizations of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The purchasing for export to Soviet Russia was regulated by the provisioning co-operative committee of the Ukrainian Soviets. During the period covered by the article, a total of 847,745 poods (a pood=36.11 lbs.) was exported. Over 91% of this consisted of food products, viz.: vegetables, milk products, fish, etc. Over 90% of the total was sent to the provinces of Moscow, Petrograd, Vladimir and Oryol,—not because of favoritism to these pro-

vinces, but because they were in greatest need. This is made clear by one of the tables, which compares the percentage for each province of the total requests with the percentage of the total allowance. We quote from this table the data with reference to the three largest single items of the export (giving over 56% of the total), viz.: potatoes, cabbage, and vegetables and fruit.

Another table shows the requests and allowances for the different organizations. The percentage of the allowances to the requests is as follows: for professional unions and factory committees—13.1%; for co-operative organizations—59.4%; for railway organizations—37.8%; for government, including military organizations—50.3%. This shows that the co-operatives are looked upon as one of the most important distributing agencies.

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ASKED FOR AND ALLOWED FOR EACH PROVINCE

		Total for all provinces in poods	Moscow	Petrograd	Vladimir	Orlov	Kaluga	Total %
Potatoes	asked for	945,809	66.1	6	6	5.2	1.2	100
	allowed	227,512	58.3	7	14.5	5	4.5	100
Cabbage	asked for	309,656	46	16.3	8.3	6.3	.....	100
	allowed	83,773	60	10.3	10	12	.....	100
Vegetables and fruit	asked for	498,265	70	12.4	5.1	5	0.6	100
	allowed	166,710	50	24	13.5	2.5	2.8	100

OPTICAL AND SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS

The People's Commissariat for Health Conservation has recently concluded an agreement, with the co-operation of the Commissariat for Trade and Industry, with one of the Saxon optical firms, for the purchase of optical apparatus and surgical instruments to the value of one million roubles. Measures are being taken for the immediate and unhindered delivery of these goods to Russia.

VON DER GOLTZ OFFERS SERVICES TO KOLCHAK

Berlin, Friday.—The Roumanian press bureau announces that according to reports arriving at Bucharest through Odessa, General Von der Goltz has offered his services to Kolchak through Prince Lieven.

—Stockholms Tidningen, August 2.

Soviet Russia

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About Russia**

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PRESS despatches recently announced that the Soviet Government had made an offer of peace to Roumania. This "news" was displayed as though it were an exceptional event, completely in disregard of the fact that the Soviet Government for months has been making offers of peace to all the belligerent nations of the world. The vagaries of the Russian news in the past two years are beyond analysis. The Russian people, who never aggressed against any of the Entente powers, have repeatedly sought peace with them all, and have accepted each of the proposals towards agreement, such as the Prinkipos invitation, the terms of the Bullit mission, the Nansen proposal, only to have these terms withdrawn as soon as they were accepted and the world informed that the Soviets had rejected them. The repeated peace proposals of the Soviet Government have been either suppressed by the censorships or smothered in the distortions of an unscrupulous propaganda. And now when representatives of the Moscow Government approach Roumania, with offers of peace and agreement, the fact is heralded forth to the world as something novel and exceptional. We may expect to see this step interpreted as an indication of "weakness" on the part of the Soviet Government. (It is general in these days to attribute to weakness any desire to avoid further bloodshed and slaughter.) Yet the offer to Roumania is only in line with the whole policy of the Soviet Government, clearly established and repeatedly expressed during the past year. If the powers and the censorships willed it, the newspapers might any day be filled with columns of news about Russia's offers of peace to the United States, to England, to France, to Italy, to any nation in the world whose

government would accept in good faith an agreement to cease further attacks upon the Russian people.

It is recommended that Kolchak be recognized "on a gamble." After so many months of indecision and evasion, this is the height to which arm-chair strategists and parlor diplomats have attained in their attempt to solve the Russian and Siberian problem. Having tried intervention, and intrigue, "support" of "loyal" Russians, slaughter of Bolsheviki, conscription of unwilling peasants, poison gas, tanks, blockade, bombardment, propaganda, and all these having failed, amidst ever-increasing confusion, one final resort remains: Recognize Kolchak "on a gamble!" It is too late in all probability; but any desperate chance is worth taking!

"There has been a fatal lack of decision," says the *New York Times*, and too much delay based on the "prime doctrine of international law" that no power should be recognized until it has demonstrated its ability "to make an army, a navy, and a nation." Kolchak, to be sure, can exhibit no nation; he is an "admiral" of no visible navy; and his fleeing army crumbles day by day under the pressure of his own ruthless despotism. Wherefore, *The Times* comes to the conclusion that "it is absurd, in such a case, to apply the international law doctrine." Obviously! If your case does not fit international law, chuck the law. "We are killing Bolsheviki in the North," continues *The Times*, Kolchak is killing them and promises to kill more of them South. Further delay "becomes plain neglect of an ally" in this congenial slaughter.

So comfortable journalists and diplomats and map-room generals plan this "gamble" with the lives of hundreds of millions of people. It is not legal, they admit; it is not very certain; but it is the final throw in the pitiless game of crushing the Revolution. If it fails, no doubt they will find some other resource, equally futile, equally mad, equally cruel. But for the moment, this is all they can propose. We can only imagine the courage and strength this miserable exhibition must bring to the hearts and purposes of the defenders in Moscow. Fighting against a world of enemies, enduring privation, famine, disease, they keep a united front and victorious spirit and behold those enemies, rendered impotent by jealousies and dissensions, preparing to gamble on the "moral effect" of recognizing an admiral without a navy, a dictator without a nation, a general of a defeated army. The odds are all with Moscow!

* * *

EVEN while engaged in the pursuit of the once "victorious" army of Admiral Kolchak into Siberia, the Soviet forces are already turning their attention to General Denikin, with the results that we have confidently expected. Day by day the news comes in, and it is plain enough, despite the attempt to smother it under irrelevant headlines, the Denikin front is steadily crumbling.

Elementary strategy, inspired by unwavering determination and firm unity of command and forces, is achieving its inevitable success. Until the Kolchak advance was turned into a demoralized retreat, the Denikin forces were allowed to achieve barren "victories" up flooded river courses and through waste lands. This gave the propagandists their much needed material for empty boastings and prophecies, but it brought no real military threat to Soviet Russia. The Red command was not greatly perturbed by statements issued in New York about the invincible "pincers" closing upon Petrograd. They knew the real strength of those pincers. While the press agents were exhibiting the menacing jaws, the Soviet troops were destroying the fulcrum. So long as Kolchak was heralded by the counter-revolutionary forces as the center of their political and military power, with Omsk as their capital, the obvious thing to do was to destroy Kolchak. Now Kolchak is destroyed. Omsk is no longer a comfortable resort for carousing Czarist officers. Now comes the turn of Denikin, and the next few weeks will show the speciousness of his widely heralded victories. Tanks and poison gases, lent by the powers who do not dare risk their own men any further in this hopeless venture, have won him some useless territory and much extravagant fame. More tanks and more poison gases, from these same sources, may aid him in a further slaughter and torture of Russia's defenders; but they will not gain him victory and they will not save him from certain defeat in the Soviet offense which has just begun.

* * *

THE recent manifesto of Soviet Russia to the people of China expresses the spirit of the peoples' armies marching forward victoriously into Siberia: "Not in order to enforce their will on other nations; not to enslave them; not to continue the note, 'knows this already.' Their confidence in the good will of the Soviets, is shown by the numbers in which they flock to the Red Armies, by their mass desertions from the counter-revolutionary white guards, by their demonstrations of resentment against the foreign invaders, and by their irrepressible uprising against the monarchical despots who, with foreign aid and connivance, have attempted to impose their ruthless tyranny upon them.

The Chinese, no less than the Siberians, have good reason to know the sincerity of these words. They can compare the treatment they have received at the hands of the imperialistic nations, through years past with the policy of the Soviet Government as expressed by Chicherin in his report on Foreign Affairs to the Fifth Soviet Congress in July, 1918:

"Imperialism has created in the East a special kind of veiled annexations.... Socialist Russia

cannot reconcile herself with such a situation, despite its existence for centuries.... We have notified China that we relinquish the conquests of the Czarist Government in Manchuria, and that we recognize Chinese rights in this territory, where the principle trade route runs, namely, the Eastern-Siberian Railroad.... We have recalled from China all troops for the protection of consulates, troops which were sent by Czarist Russia and the Government of Kerensky to protect the power of the Russian bureaucracy.

"We are prepared to relinquish the right of extra-territoriality (institution of capitulations, etc.) of our citizens in China, Mongolia and Persia. We are prepared to relinquish the tributes imposed upon the peoples of China, Mongolia and Persia under pretexts by the former Russian Government...."

In view of this policy and these explicit purposes, as expressed by the Soviet Government more than a year ago, it will be difficult for the propaganda of the capitalist powers to convince China that there is anything but security and friendship awaiting her in the proximity of a peaceful, unaggressive Soviet Republic of Russia. The recent manifesto from Moscow was merely a re-affirmation of Russian good will, already well-known to the Chinese.

FOREIGN TRADE

An Offer From a Swedish Firm

The Swedish firm of Golstrem & Tuneld has offered to supply the People's Commissariat of Trade and Industry with the following articles in unlimited quantities: electric motors for automobiles, electric power stations, water supply equipment for railroad stations, fixtures and machinery for steamships and locomotives, equipment and all necessary material for railroad and automobile factories, depot equipment, material for rolling stock.

This offer has been, in general, accepted by the People's Commissariats of Trade and Industry. The carrying out of this offer depends, of course, upon our foreign political situation and upon the economic blockade imposed on us by the Entente.

Saxon Wares

The representative of a number of industrial firms in Saxony, Franz Rauch, a German citizen, with whom the People's Commissary of Trade and Industry has recently closed a deal for the purchase of some Saxon goods, communicated on April 9th that he is making preparations for sending to Russia 100,000 scythes, 110,000 transverse saws, 5,000 broad-

(Continued on Page 22)

The Diary of a Russian Counter-Revolutionist

IN a battle last February, at Novogrigorievsk, in which a regiment belonging to the Denikin army was entirely wiped out by the Soviet forces, an interesting diary was found on an officer. It throws interesting light on the conditions in, and the tactics of, Denikin's hordes. We reprint here some extracts from this diary.

"I have just returned from a punitive expedition into the village of Mikhailovka . . . I was walking along its many streets with my party. In front of us walked the giant of our company, Hobikin, displaying on the bayonet of his rifle a little red flag, with gold initials and a crown on it. Dressed in clothes presented to him by a kindly colonist, he looked more like a Red Guard than a soldier.

Suddenly I observed in a side-street a man in a grey high Cossack hat, a coat over his shoulders, a rifle on his back and saber on his side looking around in alarm. Having noticed Hobikin first, the expression of uneasiness on his face gave way to one of joy. Apparently the civilian coat and the little red flag deceived him.

"Tovaristch, where are ours?"

"Here we all jumped out. Stop, get down, we will let you know what 'tovaristch' we are to you; there were voices from every side, and a half dozen rifles were leveled against him. He was dragged down from the horse. Pale, trembling, his eyes confused with fright, he stood before me, only muttering: 'Forgive, I am not guilty, forgive.'

"On the way back we met Captain Perepalitsin, the commander of the machine-gun company of the regiment. Seeing the prisoner, he swung his gunstick and struck with its steel-covered end, with all his force, at the head of the fellow. The man fell. I pushed Perepalitsin away, declaring that the prisoner was mine and that I would take him to the staff and not allow anybody to touch him.

"Soon we arrived. I allowed to have his coat, boots and the high hat which saved his head from the blow, taken away. Our men were in ecstasy, since most of them had no coats and wore torn boots. Knowing that he would be shot anyway, I considered it my moral duty to take care of my soldiers."

The following day the officer saw among the executed bodies that of his prisoner, all beaten up and stripped. "Before the sentence of a court martial, or, to be more correct, the imitation of one, is carried out," he writes in his diary, "anybody who wishes to can go to the condemned men and take from them everything they have, since they have no more need for anything, while our poorly dressed boys are in need."

Upon his return from the punitive expedition, the author of the diary was promoted. Several days later he made the following entry:

"Now, if we are not seriously disturbed, the big work will begin. A company of the best regiment must be created of these more or less uniformed men, who look at you like wolves but dare not show themselves openly. If we must give battle in a week, then it is certain that nothing will remain of us except the most unpleasant memory among the local colonies who, through their behavior toward us, have unquestionably gained bitter enemies in the bolshevist peasants of the Melitopol district."

"The staffs are overcrowded and the ranks are empty," the writer complains ten days later. "I am more and more convinced of the impossibility of forming a solid regiment. The commanders are worse than the enemies."

On February 28 the following words were hurriedly entered into the diary:

"It's 7 in the morning. The battle is on. The Izmailov Company is lost. There is no time to write . . ."

A remarkable diary was found on the body of another officer of the Southern Russian Army. The unfortunate author was Lieutenant Vladimir Nikolski. The first entry was made on December 10, 1918, in Sebastopol. It read:

"The first impression from the Volunteer Army is undoubtedly not satisfactory. Wrecked fragments cannot fight against a newly growing organization, or even approach the new in a new manner. I personally have more faith in the Siberian dictatorship than in the Volunteer Army, that is not in a political sense, but with regard to the greater number of chances for the future.

"Our arrival in Theodosia (Crimea) has provoked excesses on the part of comrades who abound in the city. . . . Three companies just left to make raids and arrests. Unfortunately it is all being done in a foolish way, noisily and with a bad organization. I definitely arrived at the most negative conclusions concerning our adventure and am thinking only how to get out of it."

On January 19, after a battle, Nikolski wrote:

"To me personally this expedition proves the extreme short-sightedness and illogical conduct of our chiefs, confirming only those sad conclusions at which I arrived in the beginning. The Volunteer Army, following the Allies, has entered into an agreement with Petlura, and one of these days will announce as its program the constituent assembly. In this state of affairs it is senseless to form guard regiments, and for us, officers of the guard, it is

both indecent and ridiculous to lead our regiments in support of the constituent assembly.

"I also consider the case of the Volunteer Army as hopeless, for agreement with Petlura puts an end to conversations about a single and indivisible Russia. We told the soldiers one thing and now it appears that we deceived them.

"Not far from us, to the north, are the Bolsheviks. And we can expect that they will simply wipe our handful of men off the face of the earth. Finally, one cannot argue against the obvious: The only strong army is the Red Army of the Bolsheviks.

"If I could only believe for one moment that I am doing a work which will do some good to some cause. No, we are an army of condemned men.

"It is hair-raising to think of what is going on in the Third Division. The officers again beat the soldiers with their gunstocks, forcing them almost under the whip to sing 'God, Save the Czar!' Indeed, they are God-forsaken men, extraordinarily dull-witted. The soldiers will finally kill them like that many chickens. To speak the truth, I should myself like to beat them with gunsticks, to make officers

and not hangmen out of them. This is not restoration of discipline, but its destruction. It is not creative work. It is the disgrace and total corruption of an ideal."

After an interruption, the diary is resumed as follows:

"What is coming? Every army in a country undergoing revolution at first loses its fighting power, and then, grown young, revolutionary, full of ardour, it becomes invincibly powerful. The army of Kerensky was first; the Red Army is second.

"The Allies, who conquered first us and then Germany, will in all probability perish in the torrent of social revolution. But before they do that, they will have to conclude some sort of an agreement with the Bolsheviks. The Allies don't need Russia. They need only her riches. They will recognize any strong government on our territory. At first they recognize us, but when they see and realize that we are a myth, not having the support of the masses, they will betray us light-heartedly."

Atrocities of the Finnish White Guard in Karelia

(*Izvestia*, May 14, 1919.)

After the entrance of the Finnish White Guard bands into the Karelian region the latter passed through horrible days. The occupation of Olonetz marked the beginning of executions. On the day following the occupation, executions took place in the garden of the Soviet hospital, the victims consisting of wounded Red Guardists and 27 other patients who had no connection whatever with the Soviet authorities.

The wives and children of those who served in the Red Army and of the Soviet workers were shot or beaten up. The following description of the shooting of the wounded and the patients was authenticated: when the city was occupied by the White bands, a commission consisting of a physician and nurses in the evening of April 23 went through the hospital examining the patients, after which they went to the headquarters of the White staff. On the morning of April 24 the lightly wounded were led out of the hospital while the seriously wounded were carried out on stretchers to the hospital garden, where all of them were shot.

All of this is confirmed by the protocol drawn up by the medical staff of the Olonetz county hospital. Executions took place also on the basis of reports by informants. Thus, Tatiana Abramova, of Olonetz, was shot because it was alleged that during the uprising of "fists" in June 1918 she gave refuge to several communists. Vassilkova, also a citizen of Olonetz, was sentenced to be shot for being in sympathy with the communists, but the death sentence was at the last moment changed to flogging.

Information furnished against any family to the effect that some member of the family was in the Red Army or worked in a Soviet institution was sufficient to cause the immediate execution of the members of this family, regardless of sex or age.

In all sixty persons were executed in Olonetz and more than two hundred in the county. As to our wounded and those who remained behind during the evacuation, all of them were mercilessly killed. It has been established that the White Guard has a special unit of dastardly drunkards who are shooting and killing the wounded.

The former merchants, government officials and landlords at first welcomed the coming of the Whites, but soon they became depressed. The Whites spread the rumor that when the Reds come they will execute all of the remaining residents. The scared residents deserted their houses and possessions and left with the retreating Whites for the Finnish border, but there they were not allowed to cross.

The Whites pasted up placards inviting the people to join the White Guards, which ended with a statement in large type: "HE WHO IS NOT A WHITE IS A RED," while the Reds were made short work of.

When the White Guardists invaded the Olonetz county they immediately expelled all teachers, declaring that they would teach the children in Finnish, ignoring the desires of the population, which was hostile to the Finns.

Russian Ingrates

By Max M. Zippin

(First Article)

WERE I at the head of the government of the American people, I should unhesitatingly withdraw every semblance of assistance from the Russians in Siberia. It is no use. They are the most ungrateful creatures. Nothing would satisfy them. No amount of comfort and cooperation given them would satiate them. For help they pay with contempt, for assistance with scorn and mockery.

I want to make it clear at the outset that I have not in mind those Russians in Siberia that have chosen that horrible path of Sovietism. These will never be satisfied until Russian soil is totally cleared of foreign aggression, whether the offending powers profess eternal friendship and solicitude for them, or not. And they will never lay down their arms until they are enabled to organize their own free life according to their own sovereign wishes. To the gentlemen at Paris their brave little detachments in Siberia may be only "guerilla bands under leaders having no settled connection with any organized government." Not so to themselves. To them their "bands" are integral parts of a strong and thoroughly organized government, that of the Soviets, which to their conviction is to come out just as victorious in the end in Siberia, as in European Russia or in Ukraine. Not only to themselves, but also to the Allied Commanders in Siberia, and to their great democratic ally, Supreme Ruler Kolchak, their "bands" are not merely bands "whose allegiance to any settled authority is apparently temporary and transitory," but full-fledged Bolsheviki. That is how they are always referred to in the official Allied communiqués over there, unless it be, for short, as "reds". The forty odd official fronts and the hundreds of unofficial ones are indisputable proofs of this. That the allegiance of the leaders of these "bands" is often *apparently* transitory is a fact, but then that is part of their strategy, and this explains why the "great" Kolchak forces, with the concurrence of the great Allied forces, are having constant victories, capturing Bolsheviki by the tens of thousands, and simultaneously moving to the East, with such rapidity that they are about to "enter" Irkutsk, only some 3,000 miles behind the original front. It is not this Russian element that I have in view when I talk of its ingratitude. Besides, it is a negligible lot, only ninety-two percent of the population or thereabouts.

I am talking of the "Real Russians," of the real "people" of Siberia, the selfsame people that have invited foreign intervention in order to get back for them the power wrested from them by the Russian masses and their "standing" of bygone days, and organize for them a Kolchak Government of the knout. It is these elements that I have in mind, since they are the only beneficiaries of the Allied aid. Whatever assistance is sent to Siberia in food and clothing, not to mention armies, tanks and poison gases, is for the

benefit of *these* people only. Food and clothing never reach the masses, since the first accomplishment of that supreme democratic government of Supreme Ruler Kolchak was to renew speculation on a colossal scale. Ask the American Red Cross, and it will tell you that in Tomsk alone 500 workers have died from exposure to cold last winter, and over two thousand have been maimed forever by the cold. And that same American Red Cross will tell you of the epidemics of sicknesses among the masses, closely related to, and resulting from malnutrition, and of death from starvation. And that in Siberia, in a land known for its plenty.

It is the "elect" elements that are so ungrateful, so viciously ungrateful that one wonders how the governments of the democratic countries have still left in them so much patience as to continue to worry about them and to recommend them to their peoples.

Just listen to what these people say of their benefactors in their own press. The Russian press in Siberia now, it must be remembered, is theirs only, that is, it belongs to the elements that have become the object of the concern of all the Allied and Associated powers. No Socialist publications are to be found there even of the "very right" tinge, unless some fellow wants to run the risk, as Mayski and others did, of being stood up against a wall and shot.

"What are the aims of the Allies in Russia, is a question that no Russian citizen, wanting to decipher the events just taking place, can neglect to put to himself,"—writes Matzokin in *Novaya Sibir*,—a liberal Cadet writing in a Cadet newspaper. Is it really necessary to say that the declarations of the Allied Governments and their phrases are not only not answering this question, but, on the contrary, only confuse it? Let us, therefore, put aside all those pompous and eloquent words of the Allies or, rather, let us put them where they rightfully belong. Let us solve the problem on the thesis that at the bottom of international relations there always lies bare profit, or, to put it more plainly, governmental egotism. And this principle of governmental egotism will give us the key to the answer. The question "What are the aims of the Allies?" will then mean—what are the aims of their governmental egotisms, or, to make it more explicit,—the egotisms of the governing classes that are now in power in the Allied countries. And from the principle thus presented we shall understand also their plans."

The writer here makes an analysis of the aims of the Japanese in China and of the plans the Japanese are following there, and continues:

"Now what are the Allied governments, including that of Japan, doing in Russia? *As in China, they are openly and secretly supporting here, simultaneously, various groups and parties that are at constant war. It is sufficient to look at the order, or rather disorder, existing now in the Transbaikalian Region, where no one knows who is heading the government, that government*

whose hands have strangled each and every freedom, the freedom of the press, of opinion, of assembly, of person, of abode, etc. Whose agents are so actively collaborating there with the most reactionary Russian elements? (The Transbaikalian Region is nominally, of course, under the rule of Supreme Ruler Kolchak, but is practically dominated by the Japanese Military Commanders. There are also a number of American soldiers, but they have strict orders 'not to interfere' in the 'Russian' affairs.—M. Z.).

"And the results of the Allied support to the unceasing civil war in our country are too obvious. Was not Russia prevented from being represented at the peace conference by these civil wars? And, let us confess, wasn't the absence there of our delegates advantageous for our Allies, for the egotism of their governing bodies? By the absence of a Russian representation, they were enabled to dispose of many problems in which Russia has a vital economic interest, and in a way that is detrimental to Russia. It must be remembered that there is practically no problem now at the peace table that can be solved, honestly and rightfully, without Russia participating in the councils.

"And since the absence of Russian representation at the peace conference was so profitable to the governments of the Allied countries, it is perfectly natural for us to put the question thus: Was not this absence created purposely and by skilful and artificial means, that is, by encouraging and supporting perpetual fratricide in our land, that the Allies may settle all that interests Russia without her taking part, and then put her before an accomplished fact? Of course they find it necessary at times, in order to keep up the appearance of decency, to shed a few tears of friendly sympathy, and to endeavor to convince the Russians, that, after all, it is all their own fault.

"But the artificial prevention of Russia's participation in the Peace Conference is only the beginning. The sequel will evidently come after the closing of the Conference, and will consist in the creation by the Allies of such an All-Russian Government, as will be an obedient tool in their hands, mindful of their welfare, of their realistic economic interests. The Allies know perfectly well that the Russian people have a moral right not to pay "their" war debts. They know fully well that were they in the place of the Russian people they would never have paid these debts. The government of Nicholas the Second, when entering the war against Germany, and piling up debts with the Allies, had expectations such as the annexation of Galicia, of Turkish Caucasus, of Constantinople, etc. And it is needless to say that when they renounced annexations and contributions, the Russian people simultaneously declared their right not to pay the war debts. As a matter of fact, why should the Russian people pay the war debts of the Czarist Government? For the independence of Poland and Finland? For the self-determination of Ukraine, Latvia, Caucasus? Or, may be, for the transformation of the whole Russian Far East into a Japanese Colony? Or for the many millions of Russian citizens that have lost their lives on the battle-

fields, and so made possible the victory of the Allies over Germany? And seeing as they do with perfect clearness, that they have no moral foundation for collecting these war debts from the Russian people, and suspecting that the Russians will refuse to pay them, the Allied governments are looking for a way out, and that way out is to be found in that "help" they are so generously giving to Russia, that is to certain parties in Russia.

"But their program is even more elaborate. One should expect anything; one may anticipate the possibility of failure. In that case to the rescue of the Allies will come intervention in Siberia, and the notorious interallied control of the Siberian railroads. Should the "organization of order" in Russia, on the "Allied style," end in a wreck, the Allies would be prompt to announce that the interallied control over the Siberian railroads is to become an interallied occupation, until Russia comes to her senses and consents to pay off the debts. And in order to make possible such contemplated occupation, under the mask of guarding the Siberian railroads, an "inspiring" Allied force is being put along the railroad lines, of about 200,000 men or more."

I have, of course, quoted so extensively from this article, not because I agree in any way with what the writer says, I mean with the spirit in which he says it, but because this is the universal tone of the liberal press of Siberia today, and because any other quotation I might make from other papers of the same stamp would read the same.

"The gentlemen of Paris," whites the Novosty Zhizni, another liberal newspaper, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the alliance between Russia and France, "say that, first of all, Russia must pay off her debts. And when one calls their attention to the necessity of letting Russia organize a healthy order, he is told that he is a Bolshevik and should be imprisoned or shot . . . Vainly the Russian people look for help and friends. The Allies have long forgotten their vows of eternal friendship. Just now their only aim is to crush her under their mailed feet."

It must be noted that these people, being totally cut off from Russia, are evidently ignorant of the fact that the Soviet Government had decided to pay off all the Russian debts, actually to buy peace from the Allies. Had they known that, their constant references to these debts would be omitted by them for even stronger expressions. But with the Russian workers and peasants at constant war against the Allies and their own Kolchak, and with the Russian liberals uttering such hard words, it hardly looks as if "all the elements of the population of Siberia look to the United States for assistance."

The liberal Cadets are frequently used as a sort of shield for the knout-hero Kolchak, to show how democratic he is. The Kolchak apologists here to the contrary, the liberals are far from supporting the Supreme Ruler, and are still further from acknowledging all the good and blessed things the Allies have done and are continuing to do for them. I, for one, if I had any-

thing to say in the American government, would not give these liberals a second thought. The American Government should long ago have stopped troubling itself with such impudent ingrates and abandoned them to the vicious Bolsheviki. It would only serve them right, and I dare say they would be only thankful to the Allies for such abandonment, seeing, as they do, what the Allied intervention has brought them. Every newspaper of a democratic trend in Siberia is convinced that the "help" the Allies are giving to the Russians is meant to enslave the Russian people, and

to occupy as much of their territory as will satisfy the "egotism of the Allied Governments," and, what's more, they say so openly.

But it may be that the democratic Allies and democratic America are supported at least by the Russian reactionaries in Siberia? That would leave at least one of the elements of the population of Siberia which favors them.

Unhappily for the democratic Allies and Associated Powers, they fare even worse with this element. I shall prove this assertion in my next article.

Soviet Russia and Fridtjof Nansen

Astonishing Exposure of Entente Lies from Official Russian Sources

THE Russian Telegraph Agency (Rosta) has forwarded the following:

News items have been pouring in upon the press with regard to Fridtjof Nansen's well-known proposition concerning the provisioning of Russia, but these communications, coming from Entente countries, have been completely misleading. Among other things, it has been said that Harmsworth, in the Lower House, answering Kenworthy's interpellations, declared that the Soviet Government's answer to Nansen's proposition had been intercepted by wireless on May 10th. The telegraphic report then indicates in a few strokes the contents of this answer.

But Russia is now in a position to hand out a translation of an official declaration on this matter from the Soviet Russian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, and also Fridtjof Nansen's reply to Chicherin's answer to Paris. The Entente governments therefore had knowledge of the latter without any "interception." The Russian Foreign Commissariat's explanation places the wretched policy of the Entente powers under the proper illumination, and shows how mendacious are the claims of the bourgeois press, which state that Soviet Russia does not want any foodstuffs, but wants to fight. This declaration, which is published in the Russian press, is here given in its entirety.

As early as April third, the well-known Norwegian explorer Nansen applied to the Council of Four at Versailles, in a communication in which he presented a plan for supplying Russia with foodstuffs and medicines. This plan was based on purely humanitarian, non-political considerations, and the equitable distribution of the products was to be guaranteed by a commission consisting of Norwegian, Swedish, and possibly also Dutch, Danish and Swiss members.

On April 17, Orlando, Wilson and Clemenceau answered that their governments would be glad to cooperate in the realization of this plan with the objects pointed out by Nansen. The plan provided that the matter of providing foodstuffs should be left to the Entente governments, while the financing, as well as the transportation within Russia, should be provided

by the Russian authorities. The neutral governments should cooperate in solving the question of transportation from the foreign countries to Russia. The problem of distribution should be solved by the Russian people with the aid of the proposed commission and under the latter's supervision. In each district, the people should be able to give Nansen's commission advice on the composition and methods of work of the committees. This plan proposed that the belligerent operations in certain districts should cease, and that the transportation of troops and of war materials within Russia and from foreign countries to Russia should also cease. Both these communications, with Nansen's additions, were not received by the Russian Government until May 4th. Later, through an American radio telegram, forwarded from Lyons, it was reported that *all governments had refused to forward this radio-telegram*. It was, however, obtained from Berlin through the German government, at the request of the Norwegian legation in Berlin.

On May 7th, the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs sent a telegraphic reply to Fridtjof Nansen, in which the People's Commissaire warmly thanked him for his friendly interest, and declared that the Soviet Government would be very glad to enter into any communications that aimed to realize the purely humane plan. Unfortunately, other political considerations,—such as the question of the cessation of warlike operations—were involved in his non-political plan and Nansen's humane objects were thus exploited for purposes of a different nature. The Soviet Government is now still, as it has declared so many times in the past, ready to enter negotiations, with the object of attaining a cessation of the blood-letting. Some time ago, this government accepted the proposition that it should take part in the conference on Prince's Island, and this proposition came to naught, not because of this government, but because of its opponents, because of the counter-revolutionary governments, which are supported by the Entente powers. The People's Commissaire also pointed out the counter-revolutionary character of the so-called governments which have been set up in Rus-

sian territory, and which are fighting against the Soviet Government, and called attention to the atrocities which are perpetrated by these governments against the working masses, and also to their chief object, which was to make slaves once more of the working masses who have freed themselves from oppression. In every way, these so-called governments are supported by the Entente powers; those powers supported the thorough-going reactionaries and militarists in Roumania, Poland, and Finland, as well as the White Governments of Esthonia and Lettonia. In spite of the official declarations of the Entente powers to the effect that they abstain from intervention, they are actually carrying on the most active policy of intervention.

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 to say, 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 place for a meeting between his Commission and the representatives of the Soviet Government, with the object of discussing the aims 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 radio-telegram, 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.

The declarations contained in these American radio-telegrams may be considered as manifestly conscienceless, for the Russian Soviet Government has never in any way refused to cease the blood-letting, concerning which it has often proposed going into negotiations, as it again emphasizes in its answer to Nansen.

The conscienceless statements of the American telegrams further prove that the Entente governments have not had friendly intentions toward the working masses of Soviet Russia, and that they are merely seeking the annihilation of the achievements of the revolution in Russia, even though they may cloak these aims under the masks of humanitarian declarations.

The real objects of the gentlemen at Versailles with regard to Nansen's plan are further characterized by Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, in his statements on Bullit's well-known mission to Russia, in the following manner:

"The efforts of Bullit and possibly of Wilson have failed because of the obstinacy of the blood-thirsty Clemenceau, and the invitations to the conference have come to naught. Instead, the reactionary groups at Versailles have put forth a plan, connected with the name of Nansen, for exporting and supplying food-stuffs to Russia on the condition of the disarmament of the workers and peasants in Russia, and *handing them over to the mercy of Kolchak and Denikin.*

Fridtjof Nansen answered Chicherin's above-mentioned telegram with the following telegram of May 25. It was published in the Moscow newspapers:

"Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Moscow.

"Sir:

"I beg you to accept the expression of my gratitude for your telegraphic answer to my telegram of April 17th, which I received on my return to Christiana, and the contents of which I have immediately transmitted to Paris. I am glad to have an opportunity to go to Russia to meet you or your representatives, but would consider this to be purposeless so long as I do not know what will be the attitude assumed by the Associated governments with regard to your recognition. I shall enter into communication with you as soon as I obtain further information.

FRIDTJOF NANSEN."

GREECE AND SOVIET RUSSIA

SIMPHEROPOL, May 10th. (Delayed).—The Greek Admiral in Sebastopol has informed the Representative of the Red Army that all Greek vessels are leaving the Black Sea. FROM NOW ON GREECE WILL TAKE NO PART WHATEVER IN OPERATIONS AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA. Before leaving, the Admiral with a number of diplomatic representatives visited the Representative of the Revolutionary Committee and more than once expressed the sympathy of Greece for Soviet Russia. The Greek Consul spoke about the desirability of resuming trade relations, saying that Greece would in the near future send to Russia transports with cloths, olives and olive oil. In exchange the Greeks hope to obtain raw material and tobacco. In private conversation *the Greek representatives spoke bitterly about the fatal influence of the Entente powers, who forced the Greeks to take part in the operations against the Red Army.* The Greeks are emphasizing their good will in every possible way. *At an affair given by the Representative of the Revolutionary Committee all the Greeks, including their Admiral, appeared with Red Guard insignia on their coats.*

Seventy Million Pounds for Counter-Revolution

THE *Manchester Guardian* for August 15 gives a detailed account of the amounts spent by Great Britain in encouraging the counter-revolution in Russia. We reprint this account below:

A White Paper issued yesterday gives details of the cost of the naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the Armistice to July 31, including the assistance to the anti-Bolshevik Russian forces, showing that the total expenditure during that period was nearly seventy millions.

British Operations

The cost of the naval and military operations connected with the occupation of and withdrawal from North Russia (Murmansk and Archangel) was £17,910,000, made up of the following accounts:

Expenses of British contingents.....	£5,650,000
Sea transport	1,940,000
Money to Provisional Government.....	750,000
Supplies for Russians	1,000,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	2,800,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	5,770,000

The maintenance of an army in the Caucasus cost £2,860,000 and the naval operations in the Baltic and Black Seas £5,200,000, making a grand total of £25,970,000.

Assistance to Russian Armies

Our total expenditure in assisting the anti-Bolshevik forces was £43,315,000. More than half of this sum, £26,050,000, was paid in supporting General Denikin's army. Admiral Kolchak's campaign has cost us £14,430,000, while the assistance to the Baltic States, including the Northwest Russian Corps, which has met with such ill-success in its operations against Petrograd, cost £2,835,000. These sums are made up of the following items:

Kolchak

Expenses of British contingent.....	£1,250,000
Sea transport	590,000
Supplies for Russians.....	30,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	6,410,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	6,150,000

Denikin

Expenses of British contingent.....	£ 150,000
Sea transport	310,000
Supplies for Russians	550,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	5,840,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	19,200,000

Baltic States

Expenses of British contingent.....	£10,000
Sea transport	100,000
Supplies for Russians.....	125,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (marketable)	350,000
Munitions, etc., for Russians (non-marketable)	2,250,000

In the same issue (August 16) the "Guardian" makes the following editorial comment on the situation:

Only Seventy Millions

We have the word of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the guardian of the nation's purse, that unless the present rate of expenditure is cut down it will bring us to bankruptcy. From the White Paper now published it appears that from the Armistice to July 31 we spent the value of £70,000,000 on our Russian war, which still continues. We shall probably, therefore, be on the safe side if we say that the cost for a full twelve months is not likely to be less than £100,000,000, which is half the maximum total expenditure of this country before the war. Of the seventy millions rather more than thirty-three is ascribed to munitions and stores for our Russian allies of a "non-marketable" kind, by which presumably is meant surplus stores that could not be sold in this country. We should be interested to know what they were, and cannot but remember that the Admiralty thought the German battleships would be unmarketable even as scrap. In any event, the lack of a market for, say, poison-gas does not diminish the moral and political objections to its use on Russians whose opinions we dislike; but, taking the bill as the White Paper adds it up, what have we got for our money? We have lost a good many British lives. We have not upset the Bolsheviks. Rumor has often cast them down and out, but they are still in power. We have driven over to their side various patriotic Russians who dislike Bolshevism much but dislike foreign invasion in the interests of reaction even more. We have given our support to a movement which we can neither trust nor control, and which, if it succeeded, would undo a large part of the work of the Revolution at home, and abroad would re-create for us on the frontiers of India the old Imperialist Russia which was a bogey and a burden for so many years. It has cost us thirty-six millions in cash and marketable stores and over thirty-three in stores which are said to be unmarketable, but of which we paid the price. We hope the taxpayer likes his balance-sheet.

Is the Soviet Government a Tyranny?

MUCH has been said in the press which is hostile to the Russian Soviet Government about the so-called tyrannical methods of that government, and exaggerated accounts are presented of the dictatorial power of the Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissaires, Nikolai Lenin. The truth concerning the Congress of Soviets, as well as the influence of Nikolai Lenin, is given by Arvid Hansen in his new book, "Arbeidernes Rusland" ("The Russia of the Workers," Christiania 1919):

"The condition that restricts admission to this Parliament to a certain portion of the nation is of course only temporary. It is presumed that ultimately the entire Russian people will support the ideals of the revolution, and that the very conception of counter-revolution will pass away. Gradually the entire nation will become a nation of workers, united by one common interest: the permanence of the achievements of the Revolution. As this attitude spreads, the right to a participation in parliamentary work will be extended, until it embraces the entire population. When no one is any longer sabotaging the Revolution, when all recognize their solidarity with the new Society—then also, all will be admitted to the legislative body. But as long as the Revolution, the new germinating system, is struggling for its existence, no one can accept the heavy responsibility of placing weapons in the hands of its enemies.

"The myth as to the despotic, dictatorial power of Lenin in Communist Russia has almost become hardened into an 'axiom' in the consciousness of many persons who have not had an opportunity to acquaint themselves with the real constitution of the Soviet Republic, its spirit and its provisions. And yet it is perfectly clear from the wording of the Soviet Constitution, as well as from its application in practice, that the following is the case:

"1. Not Lenin, but the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year, is the supreme power and authority in the Russian, Socialist, **Federal, Soviet Republic.**

"2. This All-Russian Congress elects a Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

"3. This Executive Committee is responsible in every respect to the Congress of Soviets.

"4. Between sessions of the Congress, the Executive Committee is entrusted with the supreme legislative, administrative, and supervisory authority.

"5. The People's Commissaires are appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

"6. The decrees and propositions of the People's Commissaires must be approved by the Executive Committee.

"7. The Executive Committee has the right to pass decrees of its own and to postpone or annul any action of the Soviet of People's Commissaires.

"Although Lenin is the President of the Soviet of People's Commissaires—there being no President of the Soviet Republic as such, and certainly no 'imperator'—and although Lenin, by reason of his political genius, has a very great personal influence, he has no despotic power of any kind, and certainly has never asked for such power. The relations between the People's Commissaires and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee are somewhat like those existing between the Government and the Storting (Parliament) in Norway. Dictatorship in Russia does not signify the absolute power of any individual dictator, but that of a whole class, the class of the producers, carried out, on a democratic basis, against the bourgeoisie and the big landowners.

"A recent editorial article in *Izvestya* (official organ of the Russian Government) declares: 'We who have been trained in the sublime teaching (Marxism) of Germany's greatest genius, consider all institutions to be provisional, and we know very well that even the Soviet Government is provisional. **The government by a Dictatorship of the Proletariat will later yield to a government by the whole Communistic Society, in which there shall be no division into classes, and in which a cast-iron dictatorship will therefore be unnecessary.**'"

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More About Klochak's Treatment of Jews

TREATMENT OF THE JEWS UNDER KOLCHAK

This letter is written by a man who left the United States to go to Siberia some time ago (apparently on business). It is taken from the Jewish Daily Forward, of New York, in which it appeared August 15, 1919.

Shanghai, July 5, 1919.

TO the Editor of the "Forward":

I take this opportunity of informing Jewish public opinion through the columns of your paper about the true state of affairs prevailing now in Siberia, and let no one dare go to Siberia if he wants to avoid untold misery and trouble. The frontiers of Siberia are closed; no one is permitted to enter Vladivostok or Harbin. Kolchak's domain has become a "holy land," and not every one is worthy of being admitted. And if one does succeed in entering his domain, to leave it is next to impossible. Besides, one may have the honor (for the privilege of entering) of being given a gun and sent to the front to fight against the Bolsheviks.

There is another object that I intend to attain with this letter: I want to inform the Jews of America of what is happening now in the land of the Kolchaks and to get them to lift their voices in protest; let American public opinion know the truth and everything that is taking place and being done by the one who pretends to bring democracy to Russia.

While Siberia was at one time one of the few places where the Jew was not persecuted as much as in Czarist Russia, the Kolchak régime now, however, has made the name of "Jew" the object of persecution and shame. There exists a strong pogrom agitation backed by the Kolchaks and all the dark forces centering around them; their propaganda is carried on in every part of Siberia.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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When I arrived in Yokohama on May 24th, I was wondering whether I was in a Japanese town or some town in Russia—the town was full of refugees and unfortunates who had succeeded in escaping from Kolchak's rule. Every Jew is a Bolshevik, according to Kolchak; Jews have never suffered so terribly as they are suffering now in Siberia. They are being robbed and murdered; Jewish property is being requisitioned. Hundreds of Jews are thrown into jail for no offense whatsoever, without any semblance of a trial; they are being shot and hung, and worse than that—flogged. It is enough if a drunken Ivan should point at a Jew and say that he is a speculator or a Bolshevik and immediately he is flogged. Not even in Kishineff were Jews subjected to such humiliation and shame.

Many victims told me that they would prefer a pogrom to being flogged by some drunken soldier. This humiliation is being practised only upon the Jews.

Therefore they leave home, property and everything to escape the humiliations of the Kolchak rule. And this kind of a Government is about to be recognized by your Government. Will you not raise your voice in protest against the recognition of this bloody régime? Will you not inform the American people that it would be the greatest scandal if free America were to accord recognition to a band of drunkards and degenerates of the Czarist régime, who are at present ruining Siberia? If Bolshevism has caused us a deal of suffering, surely the Kolchak régime is not only the greatest danger for the Jews, but also for the development of all Russia.

Owing to the fact that hindrances are placed in the way of Russians wishing to come to the United States, there are now thousands of Russians, many of them Jews, who have succeeded in escaping from Kolchak's rule, and who are waiting in Japan for permission from the State Department to come to the United States. Special permission seems to be necessary for this, and such can be obtained only through relatives in the United States.

BORIS KHAZIN.

(Continued from Page 13)

axes, 20,000 kilograms of various dyes, 500 hand sewing machines and various goods to be the value of 100,000 marks. The payment for these wares will be made at the Russian-German boundary upon the receipt of the freight by our agents as follows: 2 million roubles with German money ("ostas"), the rest with Russian paper money ("Duma"). The deal has only the character of a trial transaction, and in case it is successful, the trade with Saxony will be considerably extended.

BELA KUN AND LENIN

By P. H.

THE Budapest adventure has restored the confidence, hopes, and courage of a certain number of Kolchakists, Kolchako-maniacs, and Kolchakians in Paris and in London. The reactionary press of the two capitals and the newspapers of the Russian émigrés proceed along the following logical process: By expending a minimum of effort the Soviet régime has been overthrown in Hungary; with a minimum of effort it may be overthrown in Moscow. One hundred Communists were hanged on the first day of the imperialistic revenge on the Danube; keeping to the same ratio, you will have to hang 2,500 or 3,000 from the Volga to the Neva and the whole business will be done.

A very simple reasoning, and it is not certain that it is not deceiving those who follow it. The geographic condition of Russia is not that of Hungary. As soon as the Roumanians, the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Serbo-Croats-Slovenians, got together to assassinate the Hungarian revolution, the revolution was done for. The workers' movement was not powerful enough in any of the countries I have mentioned to hinder the governing class, and altogether, the coalition of forces presented a crushing superiority. But Russia is an entirely different matter. The Entente could not count either on Finland which has cast out Mannerheim, nor on Poland, nor on Ukraine, nor on Roumania, for all these are frightened by a centralized Kolchakism—none of them will aid in assailing Lenin. These various states are not ignorant of the fact that the Admiral's victory would be the death-sentence of their independence; they are nervous, or rather, their governing classes are concerned over the installation of communism at their very gates, but this proximity appears less dangerous to them than a restoration of Czarist bureaucracy. As for the Caucasian republics, the efforts of Denikin have sufficiently instructed them. The Entente, in order to put Lenin down as the Coblenzists of Paris would like to have it done, would have to depend on its own strength, and it is well-known that the resistance of the western proletariat, slight as it has been, has nevertheless been sufficient to suggest prudence to their governments.

The Russian revolution is furthermore defending itself very well on its own hook, as Kolchak's flight testifies,—it is quite impossible to find him on the map,—and likewise is the Yudenich disaster and the precipitated retreat of the Anglo-Kolchakists from Archangel.

And besides has not the archduke's coup d'état made anyone hesitate—among the Socialists, who in France as well as in England have been paralyzing the action of their parties and giving weapons to the bourgeois conspiracy?

(Le Populaire, August 11th.)

THE REPATRIATION OF RUSSIANS IN FRANCE

MANY Russian comrades are asking us for information on the conditions under which the repatriation of Russian citizens, now resident in France, is being carried out. We have attempted to gather the most definite possible data, but the matter is not an easy one. The French authorities consider it desirable to surround their acts with mystery, in this way rendering these acts very suspicious. Their procedure is simply imbecile and odious. The question of repatriation is one that requires public discussion, in order that no one who is concerned may lack the necessary information.

The French Red Cross, (rue du Colisée) is officially responsible for the repatriation of the Russians. A regular steamship service has been arranged for these troops from Marseilles to the Black Sea. The steamer Buenos Ayres, which carried the first shipment, we have reason to believe from private sources, discharged its passengers at Sebastopol where they were received with joy. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, when questioned by one of our friends among the deputies, stated that those repatriated would be taken to Soviet Russia, and that they need not fear being handed over to Denikin. For the present we must limit ourselves to recording this declaration. Persons wishing to go to Russia must therefore apply to the French Red Cross, which undertakes to pay transportation expenses.

We regret to say that the repatriation is being carried out so slowly and in such an arbitrary manner. In fact there are in France more than fifty thousand Russian soldiers who are demanding to be returned to their native country and demanding it in vain. What are we waiting for before satisfying the wishes of these soldiers, who have been suffering for five years and who are deprived of every contact with their parents, their friends, their country?

And how scandalous were the measures to which Russians were exposed in the camp of Précigné, who while en route for Russia were locked up at the Chateau d'If and at Frioul, two hundred of them, while their fellow-countrymen were leaving for Sebastopol!

What brutes ordered this iniquitous and cruel measure? Will any deputy rise to question the government on this subject? And why were Russians left on the Island of Groix, who like their comrades desire only to come back to Russia?

This shameful condition of affairs should end immediately. The sufferings inflicted on so many innocent people have lasted too long. We shall not cease raising our voice against these arbitrary government and police methods until our voice is fully heard.

(Le Populaire, July 13th, 1919.)

THE NEXT NUMBER (No. 15) OF
"SOVIET RUSSIA"
WILL BE OUT
September 13th,

and will contain, among other things, the following:

1. A New Military Map of Soviet Russia, based, not on Official Soviet Russian sources, but on Allied reports,—yet showing, in spite of the hostile source, how favorable the military situation is to Soviet Russia.
2. The second of Mr. Zippin's interesting Series on "Russian Ingrates."
3. A new article on the Czecho-Slovaks, by a Czecho-Slovak.
4. The latest official information, from Soviet sources, on Conditions in Russia.
5. Comments from the European Press.
6. Editorials.
7. Book Reviews:—Ransome's "Russia in 1919," Magnes' "Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk," Eastman's "Education and Art in Soviet Russia," and other new books.

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Soon coming:—An Article on the Military Situation in Siberia, with a large Map of Siberia, showing the numerous Fronts in that Country.

Contributions by Wilfred Humphries, Mrs. Gertrude Tobinon, John Reed, Bessie Beattie, Louise Bryant, Walter Mills Hinkle, not to mention numerous officials and supporters of the Russian Soviet Government.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
RUSSIAN INGRATES (Second Article)	1	EDITORIALS	8
<i>By Max M. Zippin</i>		"Law and Order" in Siberia	10
IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE SOVIET		LITERACY IN RUSSIA	11
GOVERNMENT, <i>By M. Kalinin</i>	5	THE JEWISH POLICY OF KOLCHAK'S GOVERNMENT	12
THE JEWS IN PETROGRAD	6	SOVIET OFFICIAL ON PROHIBITION	13
THE BLOCKADE AND AMERICAN EXPORTS TO RUSSIA	7	BOOK REVIEWS	14
SOVIET WIRELESS NOTES	7		

Russian Ingrates

By Max M. Zippin

(Second Article)

For some reason or other, it has lately become the fashion with some American newspapers to confess the hatred of all classes in Siberia for America. God knows why they are doing so just now. When one reads the elaborate article of Mr. Louis D. Kornfield in the *New York Times* of August 10, telling that nobody loves America in Siberia, and reads the next day, in the same newspaper, a rather tearful editorial telling why help should be hurried to Kolchak, and then again how help, in the form of hundreds of thousands of rifles, etc., is indeed being hurried to Kolchak, he is—well, he just feels like hurrying to an alienist or hurrying somebody else there.

But I want to say this much for the Russian liberals of Siberia—and in that term I include all the Socialists, except the Bolsheviks and the Social-Revolutionists of the left, that is, all except the true representatives of the Russian workers and peasants. The Russian liberals would never have acquiesced in intervention by the Allies had they known what it was primarily intended for; namely, what the Allies are pleased to call the suppression of Bolshevism in their country. As a matter of fact, they never invited intervention. They reluctantly acquiesced in it, believing as they did that Russia was menaced by German militarism, and that the Bolsheviks were either the agents of this militarism, or too weak to fight against its aggression. What they actually strove for at that time was, not the re-establishment of order on the Allied pattern in Russia—this they considered and still consider to be a purely Russian affair and no concern of anybody

else—but the re-establishment of the Russian front against Germany. And they rightly consider themselves as being fooled by the Allies, seeing as they do, that the democratic Allies are interfering in their affairs, with the purpose of fastening on them the old Tsarist order, and of parceling out Russia among themselves. That is their conviction, and so far nothing has as yet been done by the Allies, save to utter a few eloquent phrases, to prove to them that they were in the wrong.

I think I may be permitted to quote on this subject from an article of my own that appeared in the *Nation*, soon after the armistice was signed, in which I discussed the attitude of the Russian liberal or bourgeois element towards Allied intervention. I quoted in that article a number of speeches and declarations by Russian liberals to sustain my assertions. And it must be remembered that without the reluctant consent of the Russian liberals and that of the either degenerate or misguided Socialists of "Right" coloring, this flagrant and criminal intervention would never have come to pass.

"But how did it come about that a man like Avksentieff, although a member of the right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary party, and others like Zeninoff and Bichoffsky, should have joined with Semionov, Kolchak, Horvath, etc.; or that such coalition should have been able to call some of the people to arms against the Soviets, not enough, it is true, to make a showing on the fronts, but enough to enable the "representatives" of "Russia" in the Allied countries and the United States to ask for recognition and finan-

cial help? It was the words "German militarism" that did the trick. It was the insistence that the Bolsheviks were the hirelings of the Kaiser. It was the wide dissemination of the charge that Lenin and Trotzky were the agents of German Junkerism, that brought to the Kolchak standard some of the simple Russian people. It was the cry that Russia must be saved, and quickly, from the yoke of Germanism, that gathered some of the Socialists around this alliance. Now, with German militarism broken, the whole issue has collapsed. German monarchism has ceased to be a menace to Russia. Another menace has sprung up, a more visible and more realistic one, namely, the menace of Russian monarchism, and Social-Revolutionists or Mensheviks will never fight Russian monarchism in alliance with Russian monarchists.

"The self-constituted representatives of Russia who, for one reason or another, find it convenient to carry on their propaganda outside of the country rather than within it, are fond of dwelling upon the Bolshevik atrocities, knowing that this will be likely to make more effective their appeal for financial help. In Russia itself, on the other hand, they do not appear to have indulged very much in that sort of argument. I have before me a number of their reported speeches, declarations, appeals, orders, and resolutions, many of them widely published, publicly posted, and passed about among the masses; and in all of them the Bolshevik atrocities are mentioned only as a sort of secondary consideration. The great emphasis is always laid on the German enslavement of Russia, and the German part of the program is the main and, as a rule, the sole burden of their remarks. Now, with the main issue dead, with the much-heralded German enslavement plank battered, the whole platform has gone to pieces, and Avksentieff and others of the coalition have had to descend from the heights to the plain where ninety-five per cent of the Russian people are striving to order their lives on a foundation of equality and justice, trying to find some sort of safeguard against the return of the old order—a safeguard which, rightly or wrongly, they believe they have found in their new form of democracy—the Soviets."

Mistrust is certainly a bad way of paying for all the good and blessed things such democratic governments as that of Japan, England, America, and France have bestowed upon the Russian liberals, saving them from those "vicious" Bolsheviks, and cleaning up such a large country as Siberia for their "refuge." But in the Siberian press there appear now and then little news items of such nature that even the blue blood of a Russian liberal must turn red at reading them.

The liberals know how Kolchak is using the Allied and associated loans in his "kingdom." They know that most of it is spent for killing, flogging, and imprisoning everyone that would not hail Kolchak as the sole autocratic ruler, and the rest is pocketed by those parasites that have come running to Kolchak from all the four corners of Russia where parasites are put to work. And the Russian Telegraph Agency often brings them news like the following:

"Vladivostok, March 22.—A radio from Washington communicates that the Federal Treasury of the U. S. A. had announced a new loan to the Omsk Government to the amount of \$15,000,000. This brings the loans by America to the Omsk Government to a total of \$23,000,000."

Of course it may be one of those boastful little white lies in which the Kolchakists indulge more than often, but the Siberian liberals have always claimed that loans by their "government" should be incurred with the knowledge of the Russian people, since it will be the Russian people and not Kolchak that will have to pay them. And there comes the government of the most democratic people in the world and loans \$23,000,000 to Kolchak without asking the Russian people whether they want it or not. At least this is what Kolchak's Telegraph Agency tells them it did.

The liberals also feel that they have a right to know why and for what purpose the government of democratic America as well as the other governments lend large sums of money to Kolchak, and what they expect to get in return "to satisfy their governmental egotism." And there are entirely too many rumors and facts to convince them that while under those "traitorous" Bolsheviks Russia is being united into a great, powerful and truly free Federated Soviet Republic; Siberia, under Kolchak, is being sold out and pawned out to foreigners at wholesale and retail. In April a meeting of Russian business men, assembled at Chita for the purpose of devising means to combat the aggressive foreign capital, was dispersed by the "government" as a Bolshevik gathering. Almost all the larger buildings in the larger towns in the Amur region and in Trans-Baikal are already in the hands of Japanese or other like democrats—but mostly Japanese. And the same is true of the rich mines, and of the factories that were "denationalized" by Kolchak. The same is even told of the large tracts of land. And then—of Kolchak's land policy! Here is what they say about it in Siberia. When Kolchak calls to order his own, hand-picked Constituent Assembly, the Kolchak Minister of Agriculture who, we are told by Kolchak's apologists, is an honest-to-goodness Socialist, will read off a long list of tracts of land that have been sold to Japanese and others, and since it will be found that the whole of Siberia has "changed hands," the peasants will be asked to look for land in Moscow, where, it is hoped, Kolchak will be proclaimed All-Russian Supreme Ruler by the Allies at that time.

Here are only two news items picked at random from the *Manchurian Daily News*. One is dated March 12, and reads: "The term of the concession that Russia has acquired from China for building the railroad between Tzitzikhar and Sakhalin (Tzitzikhar is in Manchuria about half way between the Russian border and Harbin. Sakhalin is a Chinese town on the Amur just opposite Blagovieshtchensk) expires next year, and the American Government has decided to get it from Russia. The American Government is also working towards getting a concession from Russia to build a railroad between Aliksyevsk and Nickolayevsk on the

Amur. It has also decided to acquire the gold mines of Nerchinsk."

The other is dated March 28, and reads: "Tokio, March 27.—According to well informed quarters, English and American capitalists granted a loan to the Omsk Government in February last, and each group has already deposited 500,000 dollars in the banks to the credit of that government. In return for the loan the Americans have acquired the right to exploit all the riches of Kamtchatka and the surrounding regions, while the Britishers have attained special privileges in Central Asia and Turkestan. Has decided, has acquired! From whom? That's what the Russian liberals would like to know.

So it is quite hard to condemn the Russian liberals of Siberia for all the harsh and bitter words they are saying about the Allied and Associated Governments. But then, they should be, in all fairness, subtracted, together with the workers and peasants, from the boastful assertion that "all elements of the Siberian population" look for assistance, etc. Not quite all.

Thus only one element, the real Kolchakist element, is apparently left, out of all the elements of the population, to look to the Allied and Associated Powers for assistance. One may dispute the right of this element, consisting mainly of holders of disreputable houses, food speculators, Monarchists, and unemployed bureaucrats, with the Chinese and nomadic robber bands in their employ, to represent the Russian people. But granted they do, their friendship, too, towards the Allies, and certainly for America, is indeed highly dubious.

We shall later see the specific treatment the Kolchak organs accord America and the way the American boys, exiled to Siberia no one knows why, get along with this particular element, the only one left after our calculation, to support the Allies, and to be assisted by them in turn. Meanwhile, in order not to weary the reader with too many quotations from the Kolchak press, dealing with this subject, I shall relate here one definite instance.

On April 18 a conference in connection with the depreciation of the Russian ruble was held at Harbin, other like conferences being held in other parts of Siberia, and a resolution was unanimously passed at the conference to abstain from buying foreign goods until the time the Allies, especially Japan, will stop playing with the Russian ruble. It was a real Kolchak gathering, the following taking part: the board of the Manchurian Bourse, the Director of the Russian-Asiatic Bank, members of all the business organizations, representatives of the Chinese Eastern railway, representatives of all the Russian banks, with the following especially invited guests: Chief Commander of the Russian military forces in Manchuria, Plieshkov; assistant manager of the Chinese Eastern Railway, General Afanasieff; the Russian Consul-General, Popov; the Special Representative of the Food Minister, A. W. Tzeklinski; and the Chief Commander of the Secret Police, General Samoilov.

One must know the kind of business done in Harbin to appreciate the kind of "representatives of all the business organizations" there. As to the specially invited guests, Dr. Rosette in his splendid article in the *New Republic* has already described what sort of a fellow the Special Representative of the Food Minister, Tzeklinsky, really is. Consul-General Popov is a prototype of our own "Ambassador" Bakhmetiev, representing the same "government," and employing identical means for his and his staff's support. Of the several Generals there is, indeed, not much to be said.

The resolution, after reciting a number of propositions to the "government" winds up with the following words: "And until that time, the conference calls upon all the Russian citizens to abstain from buying foreign goods, whether in foreign countries or here in Harbin, with the exception of articles of absolutely prime necessity, from the moment this resolution is published in the press."

The resolution, to be sure, is a pretty mild one in form, as would be expected of such a "decent" gathering. But it is nevertheless a boycott against all the Allies, and would hardly prove that even this element is looking for assistance to the United States.

A boycott it is. Here are quotations from the *Novosti Zhizni* of April 25, where the story of this conference and impressions of it are given.

"The conference on the exchange value of the Russian ruble has passed a resolution, unanimously carried, to abstain from buying foreign goods. But the most interesting side of this gathering was how every mention of the word "boycott," uttered by the speakers, was greeted with tremendous applause. The natural feeling of self-defence, as well as the natural feeling of injured self-respect have found their true expression in this applause. Indeed, the ruble was much higher in value when there was no army in Siberia and the country was ruled by un-recognized Bolsheviks; while now, no matter whether the Siberian army marches forward or not, whether it is victorious or not, the Russian ruble automatically falls in price. Even more so, the more we hear of exceptionally great victories by our armies, and the warmer are the words of sympathy by the Japanese statesmen, the deeper down dives the sorrowful ruble. When in the time of the Bolsheviks the yen (nominally a yen was a little less than a ruble) was less than three rubles; then, after the Bolsheviks were driven out of Siberia it jumped up to seven rubles; then, again inside of a few days, it jumped to ten, to twelve, and at midday the same day you were asked to pay for it 16.70 rubles, and in some places even 18 rubles, it has become apparent to every one that we are facing a condition in which there is the most malicious and the most criminal speculation with the very life of the Russians, and such speculation should meet the most energetic resistance. It is useless to appeal to the better feelings of the money sharks. They are as unmoral as are the lightnings, the hurricanes, the earthquakes. They are ready to exterminate millions of human lives by wars for their profits, and they would gladly create an earth-

quake for the same purpose, were it possible . . . Extreme means must be employed, and that is why Russian citizens were compelled to talk of such a hard and uncouth defensive measure as a boycott. But they were forced into it, since all the protestations and the vociferations of the robbed have brought no results. When one knows that in October 1917 (in the day of the Kerensky Government) the value of the yen was 7 rubles, and then in December (when the Soviets were in power at Siberia), it declined to 3 rubles, and again now (when the Kolchak "government" is so "powerful" that it is about to move to Moscow . . . by way of the United States, M. Z.), the yen has jumped to 18 rubles, one is forced into a conviction that what is going on is more ever than unbearable. . . . We are very well aware of the hardships and of the inconveniences this boycott will bring to ourselves. It is highly probable that we shall be able to accomplish it only partially. But we shall not let up, and inside of three years we shall achieve such complete results that not a foreign tooth-brush shall be found on the Russian markets."

One more instance should be mentioned in connection with this decision to boycott foreign goods.

At the conference mentioned above, one of the participants, a representative of the Food Ministerium, has made the sensational statement that the Peace Conference at Paris, or rather the Big Four, or Three, or probably One, have permitted the Japanese to speculate on, and with, the Russian ruble, in fact gave them the monopolistic right to do so. It was decided at Paris, it was stated, that in order to help out Russia no Allied country should be permitted to handle Russian currency. But, on the other hand, it was agreed that an exception is to be made for Japan, whose special interests in the Far East, evidently as far as Moscow, if Kolchak should ever reach that place, must be acknowledged. And the ungrateful Russians were quick to interpret it as a decision by the Big Four to deliver Russia, territory, population, and all to the Japanese, since that gave the Japanese another powerful weapon to conquer Russia and enslave the Russians, to "beat them," as the Russians say, "if his assertion this gentleman read before the assembled a statement by the manager of the Japanese not with the knout than with the ruble." To confirm

Matsuda Bank of Vladivostok, Mr. Motana, who in a conversation with a representative of the *Echo* has acknowledged this to be a fact, but pleaded the Japanese special interests as an excuse. Oh, yes, China, too, was among the "elected lucky" ones to get that "special permission" to speculate on the Russian ruble, but when mention of this fact was made at that gathering "the walls have begun to jolt from the roar of laughter," as the reporter would have it. Why, this impudent ingrate had even the audacity to insinuate that the name of China was put in just to befog the issue, since China is as much in the sphere of Japan's "special interests" as Siberia is to be turned into by Kolchak, with the evident approval and help of the Allies. Besides the Chinese had already had their boycott against Japan well under way at that time, with Japanese men-of-war and armies trying to break it. For all we know, the Japanese may be running a similar "side show" in Siberia just now, with the Americans "not interfering" in these "Russian" affairs. The last Siberian newspapers on hand do mention somewhat vaguely of the spreading of the boycott movement, there, also of Japanese determined accomplishments in rooting out Bolshevism there. So it was Japan alone that was given the monopolistic right by the Big four to play with the Russian ruble, and drive into submission by starvation those Russians that would not be driven into it by Japanese, etc., bayonets.

These are not my words and not my assertions. They come from the lips of that element of the Russians who were singled out by the Allies to be the only Russian people, from the Russian monarchists and speculators. And it is about time the American Government should leave those ingrates to their fate and abandon them. That is what I would do, had I a say in the councils of the American Government.

Besides America is singled out by all the classes of Siberia, who are said to be all looking to her for assistance, for particular attacks and particular thrusts. Truly, America is the most hated nation in Siberia of all the Allies, because the Siberians have expected so much more from America than from the others. But we shall discuss this in our next article.

(Our map of the military situation in Russia, which was promised for this week, must, for technical reasons, be postponed to next week.)

Negotiations Between the Social Revolutionaries and the Soviet Government of the Ukraine

KIEV, May 13 (*Rakovski's Telegram*).—The negotiations between the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionaries and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Ukraine are completed and, as a result, the following three members of the Party of Social-Revolutionaries have entered the government: Lebedinetz as Commissary of Justice, Mikhalichenko as Commissary of Education, and Litvinenko as Commissary of Finance.

On May 12, at a session of the Central Executive

Committee of the Ukrainian Soviets the resolution introduced by the Communists, calling upon the people to fight against the Cossack chieftain Grigorieff who rose against the Soviets, was adopted by all the pro-Soviet parties of the Ukraine: the Left Wing Social-Revolutionists, the Minority Section of the Social-Revolutionists, the Left Wing Social-Democrats and the Jewish Communist Union (*Russian Telegraph Agency*).

—*Izvestia*, May 15, 1919.

The Immediate Economic Problems of the Soviet Government

The following statement from Chairman Kalinin of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets appeared in the "Economicheskaya Zhizn," the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy, of April 9, 1919

"All the economic values of the Soviet Republic are divided, from the standpoint of their exploitation, into two categories. The nationalized state property should be centralized in the Supreme Council of National Economy, and the branches of the latter should be entrusted with the execution of its plans. The provincial councils of national economy function as organs of the center and act as such under the directions of the latter. As to the non-nationalized production (small industry, small artisan co-operative production, etc.), it will remain in the charge of local communal organs. The small industry which exists over the whole territory of Russia should be absorbed with the greatest caution. We must reconcile ourselves for a time to the existence of handicrafts, as well as to the small artisan co-operative production (*kustari*), with private gardening industries, with bee-hives, etc., and under no circumstances must we bring all these backward forms of economy to ruin. Where we are not in a position to take over individual industries into our own hands we must willy-nilly show patience as regards the existence of small private proprietors. Only in cases in which the latter are not able to manage the business, may the local government, upon being convinced of the fact, take such industry under its direct charge."

As regards the nationalization of commerce, Comrade Kalinin indicated that part of the products of the small artisan co-operative industry and of small industry ought to be put up for free sale. Touching upon requisitions, Comrade Kalinin made the following statement:

"Let us take, for instance, the requisition of cows, practiced in some cities, for the purpose of endowing the communal farms with milk. I find that in such cases requisitions are inexpedient and centralization is useless. A cow in the experienced hands of a small proprietor who knows all her individual qualities will be utilized better, will give more milk, than when the cows are kept together on a large communal farm. In centers like Moscow or Petrograd, the communal farms must provide themselves with cattle not from the neighboring peasants, but from producing regions.

"It is impossible to make use at the present moment of the idea of organizing Soviet estates to a full extent. These estates, as I look at it, are divided into three groups. On a national scale should be organized the largest sugar beet plantations or, for instance, mass production of grain, in the province of Samara, where a steam plough can till many thousand *dessyatins* of land. The second group comprises smaller industries, which are organized and exploited by the local com-

munal organs, mostly in the interests of the population of that particular region. As regards the economies which cannot be exploited either by one or the other method, they ought to be left in charge of the peasants or given them on lease. Extreme care should be exercised with regard to the local peasantry when large Soviet landed estates are being put into order; the use of force must be absolutely avoided, and the implements of the peasants used only upon a voluntary mutual agreement. If such implements (harrows, ploughs, wheel-carts, etc.) are necessary for the peasant himself and depriving him of these would be equivalent to his ruin, they should under no circumstances be taken away. The Soviet estates must secure for themselves all necessary technical equipment through their own efforts.

"In reference to industry, it is necessary to say that its fate, of course, largely depends upon the lifting of the blockade. But this is a military matter which lies beyond our power; we in the rear must proceed on the basis of the actual conditions in which the country finds itself at the present moment and must build upon this foundation our plans and measures. The conclusion to be drawn therefrom is that those plants and factories which are consuming only local fuel should be the first to be operated, in order to relieve their dependence upon the exigencies of war and transport. All efforts must be directed towards obtaining local fuel, reducing all bureaucratic formalities to a minimum and completely eliminating red tape.

"In organizing the exploitation of natural resources, the central institutions must carefully weigh their resources and work out only such plans and as many of them as are within their power, avoiding the undertaking of plans which they could not successfully pursue. The rest will have to be entrusted for a time to individual economic initiative. The supreme law for us ought to be the most rational utilization of human labor. Take, for instance, timber cutting. In organizing it, we must not refuse to have recourse to the contracting system."

With regard to the question of foreign concessions, Comrade Kalinin said as follows:

"I consider the question of concessions a political one and not an economic. Its solution depends upon political conditions. As matters stand now, I consider them inexpedient. With the change in the international political situation, my opinion about concessions may change as well.

"As regards the severe and protracted food crisis, particularly in the large centers, we must confess that

we have omitted doing some things. A year ago, at Petrograd, I insisted on freeing the city from the non-laboring elements (inmates of asylums, almshouses, etc.). On the other hand, we put too great hopes in the aid of the peasants. Formerly, the peasants who were in need of money did not consume the products of their labor in full, but brought them to the market. At present it is impossible to outline the food policy of the Soviet power upon such a basis. Therefore, the cities must undertake with the utmost possible energy the utilization of suburban land lots and of the land in their vicinities, for the organization of their own agriculture, and particularly gardening. St. Petersburg has succeeded to a great extent in this regard. Last year there were grown in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg vegetables (the main occupation of the neighboring population) to an amount not less than before the war. This year it will be possible to do more. The city has worked 400 *dessyatins* (twice as much as the year before) by economic methods, and the rest is being received from the gardeners, small artisan co-operatives (*arteli*), communes, working under a control and delivering all their produce to the city. In St. Petersburg the *arteli* are well utilized as well as the communes and private proprietors (gardeners). One of the most distressing questions is the providing of the peasants with seeds. Vegetable seeds, for instance, had been delivered every year in tens of millions of roubles' worth from abroad; at present their importation is very difficult. In view of this situation, it is necessary to prepare at once the seeds for the next year (seedlings, etc.), for otherwise the peasantry will be without seeds in the fall, which may have a fatal influence on their work and consequently on the fate of the republic as well.

"On the whole I fully approve of the state monopoly of provisions, but nevertheless, for the purpose of reducing the acuteness of the crisis, the monopoly might be amended so as not to be too rigorous. As an instance I will mention the, in my opinion, too hasty closing of dry goods stores and tea rooms, which results only in irritation and discontent. Such measures cause considerable inconveniences to the masses of the population and are of no advantage to the state. We must beware of this. In Petrograd the dry goods trade has not yet been municipalized. Before the petty trade in products having a widespread demand is municipalized we must secure the possibility of obtaining a sufficient quantity of these products for the purpose of satisfying the constant need of them.

SOVIET MONEY FOR POGROM VICTIMS

The London correspondent of the New York Jewish daily *Forward*, cables to his paper under date of August 29:

"Before the Bolsheviks withdrew from Minsk they appropriated two million roubles for the victims of the pogroms in Ukraine." After the withdrawal of the Bolsheviks the Polish troops entered Minsk and inaugurated the Polish rule by a pogrom upon the Jews.

THE JEWS IN PETROGRAD

In the nineteenth number of *Yevreiskaya Zhizn* (Jewish life) of July 4th, which appears at Irkutsk, Siberia, under the editorship of Gitelson, Zipin and Skundin, there is a very interesting correspondence from Petrograd. In this correspondence are revealed the conditions under which the Jews in Petrograd live under the Soviet Government.

"Irrespective of our difficult conditions of life, we have at present an opportunity to develop the broad plans of our cultural work.

"We have here now the so-called 'Folk University' (*Yevreisky Narodny Universitet*). The leading spirits in this University are Professor S. Lazinsky, Dr. Brutzkus and Dr. Rubashev. Every day there lectures are delivered dealing with Jewish questions, literature, history and science. The greatest attention, however, is concentrated on questions of economics and social politics.

Among the professors at this University are Dubnoff, Lazinski, Dr. Brutzkus (lecturing on Jewish history and literature); Y. M. and M. D. Kulisher (on Hebrew Law and Ethics); M. I. Ginsberg and M. Mamon (on Hebrew Art); Dr. Aliashev and S. Epstein (on the modern Jewish literature). The University has a large number of students, and the lecture-halls are always crowded.

A serious problem presented itself to the Jewish population in the separation of the church from the state. As soon as the Soviet Government had issued this decree, all synagogues and synagogue organizations were compelled to separate themselves from the government, and there presented itself the serious problem of how to support them.

There began to come into existence special religious organizations composed of persons who felt the necessity of satisfying their religious needs. In accordance with the Soviet decree, all congregations, schools and universities came under the control of the Minister of Justice.

Since, in accordance with this decree, all religious edifices would be taken away by the Government, the heads of the Jewish Congregation appealed to the Minister of Justice, and the latter allotted a large number of buildings to them, in which the Jews were able to satisfy their religious needs.

—*Jewish Forward*, New York, August 27th.

BAILIS'S PROSECUTOR IN COURT

MOSCOW.—*Pravda* of June 11th states: On account of the absence of Commissaire Krilenko, the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal has postponed the celebrated trial of the former prosecutor Vieper for his activities in the Bailis affair.

—*Jewish Forward*, New York, August 27th.

The Blockade and American Exports to Russia

The June issue of the Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States contains very significant figures bearing upon the effect of the blockade of Russia on the American export trade. The exports from the United States to Russia in Europe for the years ending June 30, 1917, 1918, 1919, respectively, compared as follows:

Year	Value
1917.....	\$428,688,107
1918.....	116,705,346
1919.....	11,390,318

The exports to European Russia were evidently directed to the ports of Murmansk and Archangel.

Although Siberia was not included in the blockade, nevertheless the blockade of European Russia and the

operations of Kolchak and his allies and associates have had the same effect upon exports from the United States to Russia in Asia as that disclosed by the preceding figures. The exports from the United States to Russia in Asia for the twelve months ending June 30, 1917, 1918, 1919, respectively, compare as follows:

Year	Value
1917.....	\$130,206,338
1918.....	34,718,541
1919.....	41,455,457

Inquiry into the exports of the principal articles of merchandise shows which American industries have been most affected by the blockade of Russia. The figures are presented in the following table:

ARTICLES	—Quantity—			—Value—		
	1917	1918	1919	1917	1918	1919
<i>Russia in Europe—</i>						
Agricultural implements				\$2,176,705	\$3,386,216	\$.....
Automobiles (passenger)	1,733	406		5,428,979	1,562,303	
Cotton (bales)	46,566	15,000	300	4,202,247	1,872,078	52,705
Cordage (binder twine, lbs.).....	7,754,698	7,976,824		951,602	1,055,556	
Locomotives	89	157	20	2,353,800	4,481,289	265,065
Steel rails (tons).....	76,957	31,028	355	3,828,970	1,407,220	20,643
Metal working machinery.....				12,587,938	1,918,405	15,949
Typewriters				508,100	69,940	1,750
Wire (barbed, lbs.).....	78,702,748	21,593,503		2,853,236	1,067,599	
Other wire, lbs.....	10,398,917	1,790,962		523,121	103,820	
Sole leather (lbs.).....	12,260,023	4,551,122	1,008,000	4,802,040	2,427,294	493,500
Upper leather (sq. ft.).....	5,798,551	2,490,959		2,051,375	1,219,906	
<i>Russia in Asia—</i>						
Automobiles, commercial	515		16	1,662,144		22,000
Automobiles, passenger	1,072	5	41	1,324,060	8,425	39,679
Cotton (bales)	98,663			8,275,132		
Binder twine (lbs.).....	15,446,714	100,000	1,599,854	1,833,653	12,750	354,002
Metal working machinery.....				2,740,874	111,263	31,133
Railway cars			30	2,575,909		152,567
Steel rails (tons).....	40,620	16,263	9,589	1,858,435	742,090	577,235
Wire (lbs.)	13,853,157	992,532	15	557,488	57,106	4

Soviet Notes

(From Recent Petrograd Wireless Messages)

—The Provisions Section of the Moscow Soviet is preparing for the opening of twelve large public kitchens, each of which will be able to furnish 12,000 meals per day. The necessary constructions will be completed early in the fall. Each establishment will take care of its own section of the city. The meals will be delivered to the distributing centers in thermos receptacles.

—The statistics of the Financial Division of the Moscow Soviet Government show a much greater income for the past year in direct taxes than was the case for the years 1915 and 1916, which is particularly remarkable in view of the fact that all the great enterprises have been nationalized.

—The Bureau of the Supreme Council of National Economy has decided to take a register of all special-

ists in the field of surveying, such as engineers, surveyors, topographers and draftsmen, and to keep this register for future use.

—In the districts of Lubno and Piriatin, 5,600 children have arrived from the north, for whose entertainment considerable quantities of foodstuffs have been accumulated and one hundred kindergartens have been established.

—The Moscow Council of National Economy is organizing the production of soap in the principal nationalized factories of the city, by using a number of substitutes such as clay earth and certain naphtha products. The production of these factories will fill the needs of the population of Moscow.

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WHARVES and warehouses in northern European ports are glutted with foodstuffs stocked there by the speculators gambling on the needs of the people of Central Europe. But because these states are unable to buy, precious meats and fats and dairy products are spoiling. In explaining this situation, Mr. Hoover merely left unsaid the obvious word which would unlock those stores and send the idle, perishable foods flowing to their proper destination. Central Europe has neither cash nor credit with which to enter the market and the food rots for lack of buyers. But Russia has cash and has resources with which to establish unlimited credit. Russia has great need of these very foodstuffs and would gladly purchase them. Russia could pay in gold for that food and in raw materials more precious than gold; in hemp and hides and lumber and flax and platinum; in the very things which the world sorely needs to restore production and commerce to its normal rounds. Why did Mr. Hoover hesitate to speak the obvious word. Tell any man who wants to build a house or to buy a pair of shoes, that Russia has a vast surplus stock of timber and leather ready for sale; tell him that women and children are suffering in Russia for lack of those meats and fats and dairy products in the warehouses of northern Europe; tell him, then, that Russia will exchange her timber and leather for meat and milk; he will quickly enough say the word. Perhaps Mr. Hoover thought the common sense of the world would grasp at the obvious solution. It must be as clear to him as to any man that only the release of Russia from blockade and embargo will

restore the processes of trade and production. Whilst all Europe staggers between famine and insolvency, Russia alone is able to buy and sell. How much longer will the vain schemes of the reactionary statesmen stand between the interests of Italian workers who riot for cheaper shoes while leather lies idle in Petrograd, and Russian workers whose children pine for the fats wasting in northern warehouses?

* * *

WE are not fighting babies." These words, attributed to an American administrator, express the natural humanitarianism of the American people. Remote from events, deceived by censorships and propaganda, relatively few Americans are really aware that this sentiment does not cover the facts. Those who know the present state of affairs, and their number increases, have expressed their abhorrent repudiation of an irresponsible warfare upon babies.

"In several of the children's hospitals . . . the nurses complained bitterly about the lack of milk for the sick babies. I tried personally to secure a tin of milk for a three-months old English child and found that the representatives of the Danish and American Red Cross had none, nor had the city food-comptroller. The nurses stated that . . . their greatest handicap was the absolute impossibility of securing either fresh or tinned milk."

Mr. Walter W. Pettit, of the New York School of Philanthropy, who accompanied Mr. Bullitt to Russia last April, gives the above account of the effect of the blockade upon the infant population of Petrograd.

In our last issue we printed the story of the White Terror in Finland, by the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who gave the results of an incomplete official investigation regarding 12,240 orphans in Finland, "made up of 5,000 children whose fathers had been shot, 3,100 whose fathers had died in camps, 3,100 whose fathers had fallen in action, and 1,100 whose fathers had been murdered." This is what befell a part of the child population of Finland, whose fathers were set upon by the White Guards, first trained and officered by the Germans, later supported and subsidized by the Allies.

The ruthless business of orphaning the infant population of Russia and the border states goes on. The Finns are encouraged to further slaughter in a desperate effort to restore in Russia those very monarchical imperialist elements whose success would mean the extermination of every vestige of Finnish freedom. No wonder the Finns are reluctant in the enterprise. Petrograd might have been captured long ago, if the peoples of the surrounding nations had been less unwilling tools in the hands of the Paris baby-killers. They have ardent officers, to be sure, and borrowed tanks and poison gases, no doubt, and the support of the British navy—and still Petrograd holds out. Cer-

tainly not because Petrograd is impregnable, but because there is a limit beyond which the most diabolical schemes of the diplomatists cannot drive rebellious peoples. The peoples of England and France and Italy have unmistakably shown their determination not to engage in further attacks upon Russia, though they have been unable to restrain their rulers from lending munitions and money and other encouragement to whomsoever might still be induced to engage in the miserable business. And so, while the powers talked non-intervention and withdrawal to their home populations, they intrigued and cajoled the rulers of the small peoples on the Russian borders to take up the task. But the thing would not work. Every step exposed the intention to restore the old régime in Russia. Even among the "democratic" elements in Finland and Esthonia, who hate Soviet Russia, there are some who fear Czarist Russia more; and among the peoples there are none with anything but a desire to go home and save what may be out of a maimed and orphaned world. So recently, the representatives of the Esthonian, Lettonian and Lithuanian Republics in London addressed a letter to the British Parliament repudiating General Denikin's ambitious plan for a "powerful, united, indivisible Russia," and charged Denikin and his crew with not carrying out their promised "democratic program in the districts occupied by them."

There still remains the weapon of the blockade, with which to continue the slaughter of innocents. History will reveal the part which the Allied food control played in the infamous *coup d'état* in Hungary. But the Hungarian affair, though it may have encouraged its perpetrators with vain hopes of similar success in Russia, has exposed for all time the worth of the promises and guarantees of the great powers. Not so easily again will any people be tempted by soft words and false hopes. "We can afford to starve another year for the sake of the Revolution," were the last words that Arthur Ransome brought out of Russia. Whatever *can* be done is done to relieve the sufferings of the children, as witness the decree recently printed in SOVIET RUSSIA by which the food centers were ordered to give preference to the free distribution of food to all children up to fourteen years of age, regardless of class or parentage. There is relief ahead. Crops are reported good, and the steady military advance brings ever greater food areas within the control of the Soviet administration. The peoples of the world may awaken in horror any day and restrain the insensate lust of their rulers from further massacre of infants. Until that day comes, Soviet Russia will fight alone against all enemies, defending the Revolution and the children of the Revolution.

* * *

THE arrival in Berlin of a new commission from Soviet Russia has awakened much interest in Paris, where, according to recent press dispatches, "it is felt that it would be ruinous for the commercial blockade of the Allies against Soviet Russia if Germany should begin to send wares to Moscow in large quantities."

This question has been disturbing the Allied councils for some time. Although officials of the American State Department and of the British Foreign Office have declared that no blockade exists against Soviet Russia, they have insisted that it was physically impossible for supplies to reach the Soviet population. But the English especially have been aware that this artificial blockade did not maintain itself so easily. Early in August the Berlin correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* wrote:

"If Germany is to live she must have foodstuffs, raw materials, and markets. Russia, one of the world's greatest treasurehouses, and one of the greatest markets, is near at hand, and has all these things to offer. It is too much to expect a huge industrial population like that of Germany, frantic from lack of food and condemned to idleness from lack of raw material, not to turn its eyes eastwards."

Furthermore, as the *Guardian* pointed out in an article which we recently reprinted, the declaration of a state of peace between Russia and Esthonia opens the door to private trade with Soviet Russia. In an interview with an American newspaper man, a member of the English Parliament a few days ago emphasized the enormous loss sustained by England in letting the Russian market go by default to Germany and the neutral countries. He called attention to the fact that "a brisk trade" is going on between Sweden and Soviet Russia.

The Paris correspondent of the *Guardian* has also been concerning himself with this question. On August 1st he wrote:

"The position seems rapidly reaching a point at which even an illegal blockade is not going to help much. It is impossible to see how a prohibition of export to Russia is going to prevent Germany and Sweden, to name but two states, from selling goods of all sorts to their starving neighbor. If America will take a strong line, and refuse to support any such illegal and ineffective attempt to prevent Russia from taking its place in the world's activities and life again, the course of events which is the only real solution of the Russian difficulty will at any rate be hastened."

But whatever the attitude of America, concluded this correspondent, it is only a question of months, irrespective of the blockade, before the Russian question solves itself. He quotes an anti-Bolshevist Russian who told him: "Before winter Russia will again be alive."

* * *

WE hear it said often that it is impossible to get the "truth about Russia." Too often, we suspect, this complaint is merely an easy escape from the uncomfortable consequences of facing the too obvious truth. It is not lack of truth about Russia that confuses the minds of common-sense people, but the monstrous perversions of that truth in the hands of propagandists. It is the plain truth, for instance, that Russian industry is gravely impaired by lack of fuel and oil and transportation, that machinery is broken down and that

locomotives are worn out through lack of irreplaceable foreign-made parts; it is true that Russian agriculture is inefficient and wastefully under-developed, through ignorance of scientific methods and lack of machines and implements; it is true that Russian workers suffer from famine and disease through shortage of food and clothing and medicines; it is true that the sick babies of Petrograd and Moscow are under-nourished for lack of milk. No one denies these facts. They need not be demonstrated. Without one word of evidence from Russia, these things could be known to be inevitably true. Consider a country which has endured centuries of despotism and corruption, with all the ignorance and inefficiency which that entails. Consider that country passing through three years of devastating war, losing seven millions of its fittest men, and finally suffering defeat at the hands of a powerful enemy, aided by a venal monarchical bureaucracy which deliberately sold its people into useless slaughter. Then imagine revolution, inevitably disruptive in its very nature, followed by repeated attempts at counter-revolution and by desperate sabotage and destruction on the part of the dispossessed capitalist bureaucracy. Conceive of every nature of foreign intrigue and reactionary disorder, hampering each step of the new state in its first efforts to restore production and peaceful pursuits. Then finally imagine this country, with its revolution barely won, assailed on every border by foreign invaders and choked in the grasp of a remorseless blockade. You have there a true picture of Russia. What else could result from such events but disorganization of industry and transportation, with famine, disease and unmeasured suffering? Here is the truth about Russia. But consider the version of this story in the hands of those who fear the truth and hate Russia.

Many elements entered into the making of the present condition of Russia. The Revolution was one of them; but it was only one of them. Czarism and war, ages of corruption and blindness, preceded the revolution;

sabotage and deliberate destruction by the counter-revolutionists accompanied it; intervention and blockade followed it. The revolutionists will not fear to take their share of responsibility for what has happened. When a people summon courage and strength and ability to overthrow their oppressors, they do not shrink from the inevitable consequences of that act.

The Soviet Government has not concealed any of the facts concerning the condition of Russian industry and transportation and agriculture. On the contrary, the Government has said: We are badly in need of locomotives and rails, and wish to buy them abroad; we need new machines and tools and will pay cash for them, or give you raw materials in exchange; we need farm machinery and implements and will gladly buy the best; also we need engineers and experts to repair our locomotives and to reorganize our railroads, we need technicians to build up our industries, we are eager to engage the services of the best foreign specialists; we wish to buy text books in science, industry and agriculture, and will avail ourselves in every way of the assistance of the most advanced foreign technique; we should like to buy drugs and dressings and surgical implements for our suffering people; we should welcome the aid of foreign doctors and surgeons. What is the answer of the czarists and the capitalists and the counter-revolutionaries and the interventionists of the world to this frank appeal? No, they say, you have brought this all on yourselves. You have destroyed your government—meaning the czar. You have overturned law and order—meaning the capitalist bureaucracy. You have terrorized your population—meaning the counter-revolutionaries. You have refused our aid—meaning armed intervention. You have done all these things and you shall not have ploughs or looms or locomotives or milk or medicines or any kind of help, if we can prevent it. We shall continue to blockade you and we shall continue to fight you; and all the world will see what comes of revolution.

“Law and Order” in Siberia

The heavy hand of the old Czarist censorship has forced the revival of the so-called “Aesop language” in the Siberian press. The following editorial in the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie* (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, of July 1, is a typical sample of that style:

“The Supreme Ruler, Admiral Kolchak, told a delegation of the Siberian Union of Creamery Associations that ‘the fundamental task of the Government is to establish law and order.’

“The newly appointed Minister of Justice, Professor Telberg, also devoted his speech to the explanation and clarification of this statement. . . . In reality the principles proclaimed by the government are not practiced in many places. This fact has been corroborated both by the address of the delegation which called upon Kolchak, and by the press.

“This situation concerning the enforcement of law and order is noteworthy.

“The civil war which is going on throughout the vast areas of Siberia is a favorable condition for the enforcement of law and order. In civil war every participant exhibits his ‘individuality’ even where such exhibition is not in accord with accepted legal principles, and many representatives of the government act with greater independence from the central authority than they would under ordinary circumstances, resorting at times to such means as cannot possibly be harmonized with the idea of legality. Stability of law and order is conceivable only if our public life will be organized on such principles as will assure to the great masses of the people a share in the constructive work of the State and other agencies.”

Literacy in Russia

In a previous article attention was called to the wide-spread belief that 90% of the Russian people are illiterate. We showed by an analysis of Russian statistics that at the beginning of the Revolution more than one-half of the male population of European Russia under the age of 50 could read. In other words, the majority of the men in the most active period of life were able to read. In the incorporated cities the percentage of literacy was much higher, and even the majority of women under the age of 40 were able to read.

In the present article we propose to give an estimate of the degree of literacy of the whole population of the Russian Empire at the beginning of the Revolution in 1917, taking as a basis the census of 1897.

In the table next following the percentage of literacy in 1897 is shown for the Russian Empire, by sex and age.

Ratio of Literacy in the Russian Empire, by Age Groups, 1897

Age Groups	Male	Female
4- 9	8.4	4.9
10-19	45.5	21.8
20-29	44.9	19.5
30-39	39.5	15.7
40-49	33.2	12.6
50-59	26.5	11.1
60-69	22.4	10.2
70-79	18.6	9.6
80-89	13.0	7.6
90-99	8.6	5.1
100-109	5.9	3.4
110 and over	5.9	3.3

The percentage of children under the age of 10 able to read was very small. This is quite natural inasmuch as the bulk of them had evidently not reached the usual school age.

The next group, that between the ages of 10 and 19, shows the highest percentage of literacy. The ratio of literacy is gradually declining, however, for every succeeding age group. Persons 100 years of age, and over show a lower percentage of literacy than children under the age of 10. This decline of literacy with advancing age is readily accounted for by the fact that previous to the emancipation of the peasants in 1861 the bulk of the Russian people were serfs who were denied the opportunity to learn to read and write.

The percentage of literacy for the entire population above the age of 10, at the census of 1897, was as follows: Males, 38.7; females, 16.9; both sexes, 27.6.

It may safely be assumed that during the 20 years which elapsed between the census of 1897 and the present Revolution, the percentage of literacy must have increased. On the one hand the oldest generation which had grown up under serfdom had died out, whereas, on the other hand, the school opportunities for the generation born after the census of 1897 were at least as good as, and probably better than, those of that generation which was between the ages of 10 and 19 at the census of 1897.

If we assume that the age groups 10-19 years and 20-29 years in 1917 exhibited the same percentage of literacy as the age group which was between 10-19 in 1897—in other words, that no improvement in educational facilities was made within the 20 years next preceding the Revolution, our estimate of the ratio of literacy in 1917 will certainly not be exaggerated. The several age groups from 10 to 60, according to the census of 1897, were between the ages of 30 and 80 in 1917. We shall disregard the higher rate of mortality among the eldest and most illiterate age groups, which must also have affected the average percentage of literacy for the whole population between the ages of 30 and 80. We may safely omit persons of 80 years and over inasmuch as they constituted only 0.8% of the males above the age of 10, and 0.9% of the females above the age of 10.

In this manner we obtain a conservative estimate of the percentage of literacy for the population between the ages of 10 and 80 in 1917, i.e. for 99% of the population 10 years of age and over. The ratio of literacy at the beginning of the Revolution in 1917, was accordingly as follows: Males, 43.7%; females, 20.1%; both sexes, 31.8%.

It thus appears that at the most conservative estimate more than two-fifths of all males above the age of 10, and more than one-fifth of all the females above the age of 10 were able to read.

The ratio of literacy among the "rural estates," i.e. the peasantry, the Cossacks, and the nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, was lower than among other classes of the population; especially true was this in regard to women. Estimated percentages of literacy for persons of each sex and class who were between the ages of 10 and 80 in 1917 are presented in the following table:

Comparative Per Cent. Ratios of Literacy Among the Population of the Russian Empire 10 to 80 years of age in 1917

	Males	Females	Both Sexes
All Classes	43.7	20.1	31.8
Rural estates	42.7	15.6	29.6
All others	47.9	37.3	42.6

It appears from the preceding table that at the beginning of the Revolution nearly one-half of the whole non-peasant male population of the Empire could read; the ratio of literacy among the peasant men was but slightly lower. The bulk of illiteracy was found among the peasant women.

Yet, as the average peasant household consists of 5.7 persons of whom 4.1 are 10 years of age and over, it may be reasonably assumed that there is

at least one literate person in every household. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the peasants in Russia as a rule do not live on isolated homesteads as the American farmers. The rural population lives in towns in which neighbors are in daily intercourse. Under such conditions if every second man is able to read, the illiterate person who has no literate member in his own family gets his news from his neighbors.

The Jewish Policy of Kolchak's Government

Mr. Zippin, in "Der Yiddischer Kaempfer," of June 27, 1919, has compiled from the Siberian press a number of items on the persecution of the Jews by the so-called "All-Russian" Government.

The Harbin "Novosty Zhizny," of April 6, 1919, reprints the following from another Siberian paper:

"In Kustanay there has been found an apparent solution of the difficult housing problem, a simple and excellent solution. Its discoverer is second captain Kovalenko. The following order No. 22 was issued by him on February 25:

"'1. Taking into account that we are at present confronted by a difficult housing problem, I deem it necessary to send out from this city into the country a hundred miles from the railway line, all Jews and also all the mobilized recruits, regardless of nationality, within seven days.

"'2. An exception is to be made for all Jews as well as all the mobilized recruits, who are physicians or nurses, or who work at the electric power station or in drug stores.'"

The same paper reports further that a Jewish delegation visited "Supreme Ruler" Kolchak and asked him to recall this order, which he promised to do, adding that a despatch had already been sent to Kovalenko to the effect that his action was unlawful. Nevertheless, the expulsions continue as if nothing had happened. There were between 30 and 35 Jewish families in Kustanay, fairly well-to-do, all of them, and they had been residents for many years. Now they are forced to leave their homes in haste and to dispose of all their belongings at a great sacrifice, by which the village "fists" profited.

"Of course accidents will happen. But the trouble is that the poor captain, Kovalenko, has been libeled. He is not the author of the solution of the housing problem. It transpires that in the country which was 'liberated' by Kolchak there is, as in the days of Nicholas, a 'provisional rule' about a Jewish pale. Jews are forbidden to reside within a hundred versts of the military front."

In the issue of April 12, of this same paper, we find the following:

"The Supreme Ruler granted an audience to a special Jewish Committee delegated by the Jewish citizens. This committee called the attention of the Supreme Ruler to the restrictions which have been introduced in the front district, and also presented to his attention a great deal of material regarding brutalities against Jews, and the tortures to which they have recently been subjected. The Supreme Ruler promised the Jewish committee that he would take the matter into consideration, and incidentally said that the law forbidding Jews to reside within a hundred versts of the front is only provisional and will be abolished."

A Tomsk newspaper reports that the Omsk Jewish National Association sent a delegation composed of Messrs. Kadish, Shervensky and Rubanovsky to the Supreme Ruler, which was received by him with the same result—a promise "to investigate the matter."

Is not this a reminder of the days of Czarism? asks Mr. Zippin. A hundred versts from the front—in a country where every hamlet has its own front!

The "Nash Ural" contains a spirited article about proclamations which are distributed by Kolchak's officials among the soldiers of the Red Army.

"I have before me," says the article, "two proclamations which are being distributed at the front among the soldiers of the Red Army and which, I am told, are widely circulated there. Both proclamations are dated February 10. One of them is addressed to 'Red Army Men,' and the other to 'Brothers, Red Army Men.' The object of both proclamations was to convince the members of the Red Army that it would be much better for them if they would free themselves of the yoke of the commissars and join the 'people's army.'"

"Arguments? There is but one in these proclamations—the 'sheeny.' The authors of these proclamations got so entangled in this word that they cannot get out of it. Bolshevism is harmful because all commissars are Jews who robbed Russia of all its gold, and they may, very likely, run away with it, abroad. . . . In short, the only fault of Bolshevism consists of the fact that the Jews are its sole support. And, of course, the struggle against Bolshevism

is interpreted as the desire of the rulers to see to it that all Jews be driven out of Moscow; that no Jew dare put his dirty Jewish hand on an orthodox Christian, and so on, in the same manner and sense."

The "Trud" contains an even longer article on the same question. The article points out that in the "high spheres" of Kolchak's democratic saviours anti-Semitism has become so painfully evident that it could no longer be concealed from the world. It states further that while in the days of the Czar only the "Alliance of the Russian people" engaged in anti-Semitic agitation, this fine trade is now taken up by those who but yesterday were liberals, and who joined Kolchak's black gang. It mentions also that even such a paper as the "Otechestvennyia

Viedomosty" (formerly the "Russkya Viedomosty") which was politically clean until recently is now using such anti-Semitic expressions as would put to shame even Suvorin and Dubrovin.

"We are witnessing the creation of a very unhealthy condition, pregnant with threatening possibilities of brutal excesses, giving free expression to the bestial instincts of the lower sections of the people, and now, just as in the unforgettable days of Kishinev and Bialostok, somebody's expert hand is felt. . . ."

There is a rule in the army of Kolchak's fighters for democracy that no Jew in military service—and it must be remembered that they are conscripted—can become even a corporal, let alone an officer.

Soviet Official on Prohibition

ARVID HANSEN, in his new book on Russia, from which extracts have already appeared in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, reports a very interesting interview which he had with Bukharin, one of the most famous members of the Central Executive Committee. It is interesting to note that while the brewing and distilling of alcoholic liquors has been prohibited in Soviet Russia owing to the necessity of conserving grains, and also to the necessity of keeping the population sober, there is, nevertheless, on the part of the Soviet officials no apparent intention to carry out any bigoted or narrow-minded interference with the pleasures of the population.

Bukharin's words on the subject of the present prohibition are as follows:

"The prohibition of alcohol has been even sharpened. Transgressions of this rule are punished in the severest manner. There is no denying, however, that moon-shining still does go on in the country districts, but cases of intoxication in the cities themselves are becom-

ing rarer and rarer, and on the whole there are very few people who have any opportunity to obtain vodka under our government. In the first days after the November revolution, when the mob attacked the stocks of wine, we turned the machine guns on them without hesitation. The counter-revolutionary elements have expended large sums of money in order to give away cheap wines free both to soldiers and to others, for people are capable of doing anything when they are in an intoxicated condition.

"But the alcohol question is in our eyes one of altogether secondary importance. We consider prohibition to be a practical necessity in times like the present; self-discipline is a necessary condition for the political-economic dictatorship by the working class, but we do not aim at self-denial; we aim at enjoyment of life; our moral philosophy has far more in common with that of Epicurus than with that of St. Francis of Assisi. We are accustomed to sacrifices and to martyrdom in the struggle to bring about the new form of human society; but that does not mean that we are puritans; physical well-being is an important part of happiness and we hope for the time when we shall not need to feel the necessity of placing any restrictions upon the re-introduction of fine wines."

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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EXPECTED YIELD OF CROPS IN SIBERIA

LONDON, England (Monday).—A Moscow wireless message states that the crops in the recently occupied parts of Siberia are expected to yield hundreds of millions of pounds of cereals.

—*The Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 2, 1919.

THE DISINTEGRATION OF KOLCHAK'S POWER

POKROVSK, May 18.—Delegates who arrived from Samara state: "Disorganization in Kolchak's ranks is growing. During the last 6 days 11,000 men have deserted to the Red Army. They tell of fearful atrocities committed against the forcibly mobilized peasants. Workers are being shot by the hundreds. The people's wrath against Kolchak is growing."

Books on Soviet Russia

Russia in 1919, by Arthur Ransome. New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1919. Pp. 232. Price, \$1.50.

WOULD you like to take a trip to Russia? Would you like to get off a train somewhere in Finland and walk across a rickety bridge, and meet some Red Guards on the other side, and shake hands with a Bolshevik Commissar, and get on a train and ride to Petrograd, and go all over the city, and meet all the fellows who are running the country, and go down to Moscow and sit in at the gatherings and debates of the All-Russian Soviet Congress, and travel around from one office to another and have a chat with the heads of various departments who are organizing the first system of real industrial democracy in the history of mankind? You may have that experience for the sum of \$1.50, and if you can't afford that much money yourself, take my advice and go to the public library and "raise Cain," until they order *Russia in 1919*, by Arthur Ransome, published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

It is a small book, only two hundred and thirty-two pages, but I have no hesitation in calling it the most interesting book about Russia that I have read. It is so simple and unpretentious and so absolutely honest. You know that this man is telling you exactly what he saw; it is precisely the same as if you saw it yourself. And such a wonderful story! It makes you catch your breath in places. It seems as if the writer himself didn't realize the wonder of it. You get glimpses between the lines, the little things that sometimes mean so much.

We are starving Russia, you understand, strangling her by a blockade, using all the powers of all the governments of the world to prevent this new industrial democracy from surviving. We prevented shiploads of hospital supplies from going in from Sweden, supplies which the Russian Soviets had bought and paid for, consequently the hospitals have no antiseptics, and operations have to be performed without anesthetics. You get a little glimpse of what it means to perform operations without anesthetics.

Also you get a little glimpse of education in Russia, as conducted in mid-winter, when coal cannot be transported, because the Allies refuse to permit Russia to buy locomotives to replace those which the corrupt bureaucracy of the Tsar destroyed. Here is a glimpse:

"Then there are many classes for workingmen, designed to give the worker a general scientific knowledge of his own trade and so prevent him from being merely a machine carrying out a single uncomprehended process. Thus a boilermaker can attend a course on mechanical engineering, an electrical worker a course on electricity, and the best agricultural experts are being employed to give similar lectures to the peasants. The workmen crowd to these courses. One course, for example, is attended by a thousand men in spite of the appalling cold of the lecture rooms. The hands of the

science professors, as Pokrovsky told me, are frost-bitten from touching the icy metal of their instruments during demonstrations."

—UPTON SINCLAIR.

Russia and Germany at Brest-Litovsk. A Documentary History of the Peace Negotiations, by Judah L. Magnes. New York, The Rand School of Social Science, 1919. Pp. 192. Price, \$1 net.

THIS book is a necessary work of reference for the student of history, and has particular importance to the student of the Russian Revolution and its accomplishments. The plan of the work is the following: Each event in the seizure of power by the Soviet Government, beginning early in November, 1917, as well as all the important acts of that government, together with correspondence between it and the Allied and Central Powers, is recorded as a separate successively numbered item, which is given in more or less detail, with the appropriate date prefixed. It is perfectly clear to any reader who goes through this material conscientiously, that the object of the Soviet Government in continuing its peace negotiations with the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish Governments, after the Allied powers had refused to take part in the General Conference to which the Soviet Government had summoned all the Powers, to be held at Brest-Litovsk, was not to make a separate peace with Germany; it is clear, on the contrary, that what the Soviet Government wanted was universal peace, and there is hardly any doubt that to a great extent, the Soviet Government was successful in attaining this object. For, while the Austrian and German Governments entered the negotiations in bad faith, and professed

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assent to the principles of "no annexations and no indemnities," which had been proclaimed by the Soviet Government, without any intention on their part to comply with this principle, internal acts of the German people soon brought their government to a point where it was unable to continue its double-faced policy toward Russia, in fact, was unable even to continue defensive warfare against the Allies. To a very great extent, then, the Peace Program of the Russian Soviet Government, in so far as the Great Powers are concerned, was a success. And then began the saddest chapter in the War for Democracy; it turned out that the policy of the Allied Powers toward Russia was exactly what Germany's and Austria's had been; but then, that it is not the subject of the present book.

A. D.

Education and Art in Soviet Russia, in the Light of Official Decrees and Documents, with a Foreword by Max Eastman. The Socialist Publication Society, 15 Spruce Street, New York. 64 pp. Price, 15 cents.

THIS is the most complete collection of documents that has as yet appeared in connection with any single phase of the organizational activity of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. It presents thirty-four distinct documents of varying length, divided into the following seven general heads: I. The Organization of the Educational System; II. School Sanitation and General Hygiene; III. Art Education; IV. Preservation of Art Objects; V. The Theatre as a Means of Culture; VI. Music and Musical Training; VII. Public Intellectual Propaganda.

In these documents there is presented to us a reflex of the great change which is the Revolution, in the field in which its purest ideals find their best expression, namely, in the field of the education of the rising generation. But in view of the grim reality of the great task of organization that confronts the people of the Soviet Republic, we are not permitted for a moment to forget the graver aspects of the life of which education is one of the adornments. Each document has its unmistakable ideal message, and yet also states its connection with the concrete situation. Thus, Document No. 1 (Circular of the People's Commissaire of Education to All Regional Commissioners of Education) begins with the solemn words, reminiscent of the very footfalls of History: "On the 25th of October, 1917, the entire state power was taken over by the Government of Workers and Peasants. The latter has given over all the Ministries to the People's Commissaires." And so on.

Not all the papers are official documents, however; some are interesting articles taken from the official journal of the Commissariat of Education, "Narodnoye Prosvyeshchenye" (Popular Education). Document No. 10, for instance, is an article by A. Okunkoff, entitled: "The Workers' School and the School Servants," which is such an entrancing study of the relations between pupils, teachers, and even the janitorial help, with such reasonable suggestions for the carrying out of a school discipline that shall be useful to all and humiliating

to none, that we have been tempted to include it as one of the articles in the next issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA* (No. 16), where our readers will find it printed in full.

Under the General Head: "IV. Preservation of Art Objects," we are initiated into the elaborate administrative system introduced by the Soviets for the purpose of safeguarding the art treasures handed down from the past; thus, there is a special decree devoted to the famous Tretyakov Gallery at Moscow, one of the finest collections of modern paintings anywhere in Europe. Particularly interesting, in this connection, is the fact that the art objects seem to have needed protection, not so much against lawless or anarchistic elements, as against the bourgeoisie, which, in order to re-enforce its cash reserves, or its bank balances in foreign countries, had begun to sell some of the finest paintings to foreign purchasers and dealers. It is not surprising therefore, to find that considerable attention is devoted by the Soviet Government to the prevention of such export of art objects.

Altogether, this is a book that no one who is really interested in education, or art, or general administrative problems, can afford to be without.

B. C.

THE annual fair at Nizhni Novgorod, Russia, has just terminated. It is conservatively estimated that goods to the value of more than \$60,000,000 were purchased. This alone speaks well for the Russian's faith in the country's early return to normal business conditions. The fact, however, that foreign merchants—Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, English and Japanese—were eager to sell their wares is of far more importance, especially when one stops to consider that the terms granted were those in former use—namely, liquidation at the next fair—or, otherwise expressed, Russian buyers were given one year's credit.

The barometer of the business world is usually correct. It is therefore safe to assume that farseeing traders have already sighted peace for Russia, despite the general feeling that the country is still in a state of unrest. There are now in the United States many Russian buyers with ample letters of credit awaiting instructions from their principals to purchase American goods. Certainly there must be some substantial reason extant for this feeling of confidence in the commercial centres of Europe, America and Asia.

It is to be noted with regret that there was not one American present at this important trade gathering. And it is equally surprising to observe that more than one hundred Japanese salesmen were actually on the ground, taking orders and buying goods as well. As a consequence, large indents for toys, cosmetics, face powder, shoes, watches, jewelry, buttons, underwear, gloves, hosiery, fountain pens, perfume, hardware, talking machines, cooking utensils and even windmills were placed with the wily Nipponese, who are to be complimented for their vision. Undoubtedly the Japanese merchant will act as a middleman in many of these transactions and buy the goods to be shipped to Russia from manufacturers in the United States.—(From an article by Dr. W. E. Aughinbaugh, *Foreign Trade Expert*, New York Commercial, Sept. 9, 1919.)

THE NEXT NUMBER (No. 16) OF
"SOVIET RUSSIA"
WILL BE OUT
September 20th,

and Will Contain, Among Other Things, the Following
SPECIAL FEATURES:

1. A new Article by LENIN and MILYUTIN, entitled:
"Goods We Need and Goods We Have to Sell"
2. A Speech delivered some Months ago in London, by Israel
Zangwill:
"Hands off Russia"
a Copy of Which has just reached this Country.
3. The Third Article of Max M. Zippin's interesting Series:
"Russian Ingrates"
4. Official Correspondence between Finland and Soviet Russia,
showing the provocative nature of the Finnish Govern-
ment's Policy toward the Republic of the Russian
Workers.

Numerous other interesting things, such as editorials,
official news notes, clippings from Scandinavian news-
papers, etc.

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Soon coming:—An Article on the Military Situation in Siberia, with a large
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Bessie Beattie, Louise Bryant, Walter Mills Hinkle, not to mention
numerous officials and supporters of the Russian Soviet Government.



PRICE, TEN CENTS

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Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. I

New York, September 20, 1919

No. 16

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
GOODS WE NEED AND GOODS WE CAN SELL . . .	1	EDITORIALS	12
A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS	2	"HANDS OFF RUSSIA!" By Israel Zangwill . .	14
THE WORKERS' SCHOOL AND THE SCHOOL		LIFE IN PETROGRAD IN 1919	17
SERVANTS, By O. Okunkoff	3	THE KOLCHAKISTS AND THE LETTISH	
A PUTREFYING EXCRESCENCE, By Victor Ivanoff	5	NATIONALISTS, By O. Preedin	18
RUSSIAN INGRATES, Third Article,		FINNISH IMPERIALISM, By V. Vorovsky . . .	20
By Max M. Zippin	6	KOLCHAK THREATENED TO QUIT	22
THE MILITARY SITUATION IN EUROPEAN RUSSIA	9	THE PROPOSAL BY AMBASSADOR MORRIS . . .	23

Goods We Need and Goods We Can Sell

C. Y., a contributor to L'Humanité, of Paris, in a recent issue of that paper which has just reached this city, quotes a Russian Government wireless message that presents very interesting data on the materials that Soviet Russia needs, as well as on those she has to sell. The following is a correct translation of the message as it appears in L'Humanité.

(See also note at foot of page 4.)

THE war waged by the Allies has swallowed up an immense quantity of the living forces of the country. Their blockade separates the country from the entire world and condemns it to a lack of every kind of machinery and industrial products which are absolutely necessary for normal economic life. All the workers, all the peasants, clearly see that the victory of the counter-revolutionists can only aggravate the situation enormously, and add to the hunger and to the lack of everything, the anxiety of the White Terror and of political and economic reaction. It is on this feeling that the general action of the people is based at present.

The intervention of English imperialism in Turkestan and the resulting impossibility to export cotton, have ruined a cotton country which must be counted among the richest in the world. The irrigation in that country will soon be in such a wretched condition that the cultivation will become impossible; the case is similar in the Caucasus, where the petroleum industry has been ruined by the English. At Baku alone the petroleum stores amount to three million tons. Owing to the prohibition by the English of exportation, enormous quantities are being lost.

The Kolchak army, which we have beaten to a frazzle, in its retreat destroyed 219 vessels that had

fallen into their hands on the river Kama. In the Donetz basin the White Guards have flooded the mines. In spite of extremely unfavorable circumstances, in spite of the barbarous methods of the counter-revolutionists who are fighting us, the economic situation of Soviet Russia is sound. All hope of disposing of us by exhaustion is absolutely groundless. The war waged by the Allies against Russia and the economic blockade will not only inflict irremediable injuries on Russia, but also on all the other countries of Europe. Russia, which before the war was furnishing foreign countries with certain raw materials, has been accumulating, within the last year, important stores of such materials. Thus, more than 200,000 tons of flax, 100,000 tons of hemp, of the old harvest, are at the disposal of the economic organs of the Soviet Government. The new harvest promises to be superabundant and to afford an even greater surplus for exchanges with foreign countries.

There are still great quantities of leather, furs, bristles, metals, not to mention the wood which Europe so much needs for the reconstruction of edifices destroyed by the war. Soviet Russia firmly believes that the workers of European countries will find the necessary means to force their Governments to raise the blockade of Russia and to put a stop henceforth to

the anarchic destruction of her riches, as well as of those of the countries which are economically dependent on her.

At the end of this message, the Vice-President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Milyutin, has added a statement on the imports which Russia may require and of which the Soviet Government has made a summary.

The most important requirements are machines of all kinds, particularly agricultural implements. Although the industry of Soviet Russia is attempting to increase its production of agricultural implements and machines, 80 per cent of the number required may still be filled by importations from abroad.

On the other hand, the Government is at present concentrating in its hands three thousand factories selected from those which are most important, representing, from the point of view of production, 90 per cent. of the industry. These enterprises are in a sad state, as for instance, those of the electro-technical branches, the mines, and a number of textile combines, each including from 5 to 10 concerns. The national industry has in its possession a sufficient quantity of raw material

except in the matter of cotton. As far as the machines are concerned, as well as replacing detached parts and accessory materials, its needs according to the plan drawn up by the Supreme Council of National Economy, would amount to 25 milliards of rubles. The Russians also feel a lack of medicaments and of chemical products of other kinds, as well as of automobile motors. Thus Soviet Russia, with its centralized and organized national economy, offers an immense market for international exchange.

Our French source remarks on this subject:

These statements are just the evidence we need. At the moment that Europe, ruined by the war, is experiencing the greatest difficulty in coming to life, owing to the universal poverty, it is absolutely insane to renounce the natural resources of Russia. But our governing classes do not need to obey either the suggestions of common sense nor those of the public interests: they have proved this by the nonchalance with which they have permitted the ruin of the small holders of Russian loans, while they continue a policy solely devoted to the services of the big capitalists with investments in Russia.

C. Y.

A Statement Handed to The Press

By the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

ON September 13, which was the date of the last issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, but unfortunately too late to be included in that issue, the following statement was handed to the New York press by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. As not all of the newspapers printed this statement, and as it is of great importance in connection with the recent statement of Mr. Bullitt before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, we print it here in full:

Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, regarding the peace negotiations between the Soviet Government and the representatives of the Allied and American governments, coincide with the information in our possession. We have already made public the repeated offers of peace by Soviet Russia, which had been suppressed by the censorships. We have published the facts concerning the acceptance of the Prinkipo invitation, as well as the peace terms offered in response to Mr. Bullitt's proposal.

So far as our information goes, the Soviet Government is as ready today as ever to make peace upon the terms arranged with Mr. Bullitt.

A communication which we recently received from Litvinov, on behalf of the Commissaire of Foreign Affairs, outlined the policy of especial friendliness maintained by the Soviet Government towards America.

This communication from Moscow said:

"Throughout our entire foreign policy during the past year may be seen running as a red thread the indication of our inclination towards an agreement with America. Unfortunately America, while seeming to approach us in words, in fact had identified herself with the mad policy of Clemenceau and actually took part in all the military and diplomatic attacks against us on the part of the Entente, and in the economic blockade.

"After Litvinov had sent a note to President Wilson (in December, 1918) he was visited in Stockholm in January by the former secretary of the American Embassy in London, Mr. Buckler, with a message from President Wilson. As a result of this communication and the conversations ensuing therefrom, came the celebrated invitation to Prinkipo Island, and the Soviet Government gave an affirmative answer to that invitation. You know the results.

"In March, Mr. Bullitt came to Russia with a prepared proposition regarding an armistice and a new conference. According to Bullitt, the proposition was accepted by President Wilson (or Colonel House) and by Lloyd George. We made some amendments, and Bullitt returned to Paris planning to send an invitation to all the Russian governments. We have now published the full text of the proposition and we also gave it to Mr. Isaac Don Levine. We suppose you are familiar with this proposition. Apparently Clemenceau opposed it and President

Wilson yielded. As a result of intrigues on the part of reactionary circles in Versailles, the invitation to the conference was replaced by the ridiculous and clearly unacceptable Nansen proposition, according to which, in return for promises to deliver food-stuffs in Russia, we were asked to agree to the cessation of military activities and to stop our opposition to Kolchak and Denikin. We gave an affirmative answer to the proposal to supply Russia with food-stuffs, at the same time pointing out that the cessation of military activities should be binding on both sides, and that it should be made the subject of negotiations between all the interested parties.

"All such propositions on the part of the Allies had as their only aim to appease public opinion in the western countries and to camouflage the already

planned new intervention which is resulting in plans to attack Petrograd with the direct participation of British naval forces, and in the strengthening of the new military support of Denikin. So far we have not been able to establish to what extent America actually participated in this intrigue. Recently American cruisers have been visiting Archangel and Murmansk. It is not known to us whether they came for the removal of American troops or whether they brought fresh troops. We had in our hands a few American prisoners of war whom we have liberated without any reciprocities."

In another place the note says: "We never failed to emphasize our particular desire to enter into relations with America."

The Workers' School and The School Servants

By A. Okunkoff

An Article taken from "Education and Art in Soviet Russia," published by the Socialist Publication Society, New York, 1919.

The old school system, which is now departing into the sphere of oblivion, was a reflex of the dominant class relations and, therefore, the economic system of the school and, in particular, of the town school, even in its details, moved largely along the lines of the economic system of the present-day family institution. The contemporary middle bourgeois family of a city teaches a child, even from earliest infancy, to use paid services, the services of the domestic servants, the number of whom depends on the wealth of the parents. Nurses, maid-servants, dishwashers, porters, and all other kinds of domestic servants train the mind of the children, from the very cradle, to the stability and the righteousness of an order of life in which the exploitation of other people's work is considered the necessary and natural condition to the comforts of existence. The children, after leaving such a home environment for the school, find here the same ranks of servants performing almost the same duties as in the family circle. The porters undressing the children and keeping their coats and dresses, men servants and nurses cleaning the rooms, scrubbers looking after the cleanliness of the floors, couriers running on errands, janitors and stokers—all these people, who are working in the school, appear to the children to be the same necessary addition to the comforts of school life as the corresponding persons outside of the school. Hence, the children very naturally acquire the idea of the "common," "base" labor which is the lot of the "lower" classes of humanity, doomed by forces unknown to the child to be the natural and eternal slaves of his will and that of other privileged people. In this manner the school system has nursed in its pupils a contempt for physical work and a scornful attitude towards the mass of working people, on whom the bourgeois order has imposed all the hardship of this work. The bourgeois school makes of its pupils privileged idlers, people unable to work, and, very often, even exploiters. Heroic spiritual efforts were necessary later, a gigantic internal struggle, and a sharp revolution of viewpoints

and habits of mind, in order to rid oneself of this poisonous inoculation of the school and to overcome the immunity resulting from it. And in fact, only after a kind of psychological "illness," could a man brought up in the school of the past absolve himself from inherited ideas and attain a healthy balance and a healthy, sound view of the life surrounding him.

On the other hand, the school servants themselves, put in such a situation, developed and strengthened in themselves a feeling of injury and bitterness because of their fate and, as a natural consequence thereof, an unfriendly feeling towards the pupils of the school, to these "gentlefolk's children" and favorites of destiny. It is hardly worth mentioning besides, that, alongside of all this, there was some evidence of demoralization also.

The new Labor school, which the Soviet power is trying to create, must not, of course, permit such education. Its tasks are diametrically opposed to the tasks of a bourgeois school. In respect to physical work the new school sets as its aim the cultivation of a high regard for all lines of productive work, and of a profound esteem for the millions of the working masses. The productive work of men, creating new cultural values and freeing humanity from the former fetters, irrespective of the category of work—this is the fundamental idea which should be laid as a corner-stone for the education of the new labor school. The conclusion, then, follows of itself, that in the labor school—common to the teachers and the pupils should take upon themselves all those labors which the old school imposed upon the shoulders of others and that, out of an ideal inspiration, the physical work necessary for the school life should be equally divided among the participants of the school in accordance with the physical strength of the respective age groups.

Here we approach the question whether there exists a necessity for school servants altogether and, if such a necessity exists, what place in the school system should be set aside for the school servants. The answer

to this question is offered by the fundamental principle of the school system: the education of children in school must be in charge of no one else but those who are to be considered as instructors and, therefore, the instruction in the physical work necessary for the economic welfare of the school life must be in charge of persons who may be called pedagogues. Concrete instances will illustrate better the substance of this thesis. Let us assume that in the youngest group of children who have not yet the adequate habits or the physical strength to be entrusted with performing any physical work, for instance making the fires, or preparing meals, we should have to resort to the use of other people's work, let us even say, the work of school pupils of an older age group. In such case there would be still necessary in the school an instructor-stoker or an instructor-cook, who should be fully conscious of his educational duties and who, consequently, would have to attain a certain level of pedagogical development. The heating of furnaces and the preparation of food may then, under his leadership, change not only into a very important, though purely mechanical work, into a mechanical productive work having a very great educational value, too, but it may become a source for the education and mental development of the children. Yet the leader-pedagogue will necessarily be compelled to have by his side a helper not from the ranks of the pupils. The moral and mental development of this helper must correspond to the indicated tasks of work in school. Another instance. If a nurse is necessary for the care of the children in the younger age group, the role of such nurse should be at the same time an educational one, and such nurse should be fully aware of her responsibility before society and should clearly understand the importance of her duties. The work of a nurse, a floor-scrubber, a stoker, etc., if it should prove impossible to do without their help, should be to some extent an expert work, a work which has a pedagogical foundation. Under such circumstances the word "servants" will assume in the school an entirely different meaning: the school servants will become, in fact, the lower pedagogical personnel corresponding, as regards its value in school, to the value of a surgeon's assistants and nurses at the time of operations.

If we should turn to the present realities of life, we should, indeed, find such conditions nowhere in school. The moral and intellectual level of the school servants very often does not correspond to their task and is, one may state it, directly inverse to the level of the luxuriousness of the school environment. This is not the fault, of course, of the staff of the lower servants. For obvious reasons, the responsibility for this is also in this case directly inverse to the educational level of the school directors and is the result of the former economic order of life.

To what extent the leading circles ignored up to the time of the November revolution, the problem of the school servants, is manifest if only from the circumstances that the school registers did not even take cognizance of the numerical force of the lower servants.

Even if we omit the question of guilt, the problem still remains and it is left to the Soviet school policy to perform this task. And when, with this policy in

view, one reviews the ranks of the former school personnel, one can hardly find any personal points of support for a further movement. For that matter, however, a straight and honorable road is clearly indicated, along which not only will the movement not meet any obstacles, any differences, but not even a single contradiction. This road is the abolishment of the old and the preparation of a new working school army, with the improvement of its working conditions.

And indeed, if we examine into the school methods of hygiene and if we carry into execution the measures recommended by science, we cannot imagine that the work will be successful, if the executors of the first customary rules of health preservation will display a skeptical indifference toward them and if their existence will be surrounded by anti-hygienic conditions. When a helper, while opening ventilation or removing dust, or a nurse, while attending the children, will only care to execute these operations as an order, as a hard duty, and, while removing the dust, or touching the child will carry from the dark, damp, basement, which so often is used in schools for housing and crowding servant people in them, his or somebody else's germs and his anti-hygienic habits—then such help is directly dangerous for the school. The helper-servant must, to some little extent at least, be acquainted in a general way with the elementary rules of school hygiene. The same may be said of the helpers in any other household line. Thus the school is in need of qualified workers, instructors in school economy. The creation of an army of such instructors is rendered possible all the more, since the remuneration for school work is at present sufficiently high.

How, then, to create such an army? Up to the present there were conducted everywhere pedagogical and general educational courses for instructors of all school grades. Corresponding courses of school economy must be quickly organized in various localities for the school servants and for the instructors, and these courses must not be of a narrow technical scope but with a number of subjects of a general educational character. We may rest assured that the lower servants themselves, who undoubtedly aspire to education, will heartily respond to the idea of the courses and will lend their support to these tasks. Then we could cherish a hope for the creation of a new school army, where from young to old every one would be imbued with the common idea and where the difference between the old and young, between the "gentle" and the "common" work, would disappear. The union of the teachers-internationalists and its branches must pay special attention to this question and to advancing the problem, in co-operation with the labor union of the servants (along the lines of specialization), most decidedly and quickly. The working out of the program and the introduction of the courses on school economy—this is the immediate task of groups of idealists who are interested in the problem of education.

SOVIETS RECOVER COTTON LANDS

A Bolshevik wireless message says that through the union of the troops on the Turkestan front with those on the Tashkent front enormous territory has been added to Soviet Russia. This territory has rich stores of raw materials, food and cotton, of which 241,000 tons are available.—N. Y. "Times," Sept. 17th.

Soviet Russia Not Opposed To Peace

A RECENT Moscow wireless addressed by the Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to the workers' organizations of France, England, and Italy, says among other things:

In view of your declarations against the intervention in Russia and Hungary, projected by the Entente governments, we herewith affirm that the entire responsibility for the continuation of the war and of the blockade lies with our enemies. Since the signing of the peace with Germany even the earlier mendacious pretext that the war with Germany necessitated the continuation of the attack on Russia falls to the ground. Anyone can see that this attack is a violation pure and simple. Any declarations to the effect that we have aggressive intentions are likewise a malignant invention. For we have always done everything to attain peace. On August 5, 1918, we requested the American representative, Mr. Poole, to inform me what would be the eventual conditions of peace of the English government. When, later, the Norwegian delegates left Stockholm, we requested them to clear a path for our negotiations.

In the note addressed to Wilson on October 24, we again requested a statement of the conditions under which the blood-letting might be concluded. On November 3, we addressed a formal proposal for peace to the Entente representatives. On November 8, the Soviet Congress approached the Entente with a similar proposal for peace. On December 23, Litvinoff sent to the Entente representatives at Stockholm a circular letter of the same contents.

On January 12 we learned that the Chairman on Foreign Affairs in Washington had exposed the motives of America's participation in intervention. Thereupon we informed the American government that the motives assigned were no longer valid and that there was no further basis for the intervention.

On January 14, we again informed our representatives at Stockholm that we were ready at all times to enter into negotiations with the Entente. On January 17 we learned that the Fédération Générale du Travail and the Permanent Administrative Commission of the French Socialist Party had expressed satisfaction with the statements on the part of their government that it was about to relinquish its intervention in Russia. We requested the Entente governments for information as to when these intentions would be realized in fact. In its note of February 4, the standpoint of Soviet Russia was the same as it always had been. We declared ourselves ready as we had been before to cease hostilities and desired an abolition of the blockade. It is insane to attempt to put down the Russian people's Revolution by force. The continuation of the battle will bring new sacrifices and further economic disorganization, for Russia as well as for the other countries. We hope the workers' organizations of the Entente countries will force their governments to give up these attempts and to restore normal relations with Soviet Russia.

A Putrefying Excrescence

By Victor Ivanoff

LATELY the press has again taken up the question of measures to combat anti-Semitism, which has not yet lost its influence among the dark masses, in spite of the fact that the source of this putrefying excrescence on the body of the Russian people, the czaristic-capitalistic order, ceased to exist long ago. It is the last straw which the perishing bourgeoisie is grasping in an attempt to save itself. All the other means to combat the revolution have proven so futile that even Purishkevich ceased to dream about them... There remains yet a last, the very last means.

But who is now carrying out this last order of the counter-revolution? Whither should we turn our gaze? We must first of all turn our particular attention to our young army. The disgraceful part of the lower as well as the higher command and, in general, of all aristocratic officers, in the abominable campaign of slander against the Jews during the world slaughter is well known. All the accusations of alleged espionage on behalf of the adversary and all the fairy tales about wireless telephones found in large numbers in the

beards of aged Jews came exclusively from the commanding staff.

The last occurrences in Homel were arranged by the commanding staff. And submitting at the present time to the necessity of admitting the officers of the nobility into our proletarian army, we should, however, remember that the vast majority of them remain even now, "by inertia," rabid anti-Semites, and at the first opportunity they carry on in the Red army the most disgraceful anti-Jewish agitation, though they are, of course, very cautious. Many of the comrades who are connected with the army testify to this effect.

As to the rear, anti-Semitic agitation there is carried on by former czarist officials, policemen, gendarmes, priests, petty tradesmen, and other reactionaries, large numbers of whom have no doubt found their way even into Soviet institutions. It is necessary to mention once more the psychological factor,—the position taken by our so-called intelligentsia. Everyone remembers how "nobly" the intelligentsia had always protested against inciting one nationality against another. It is possible

that their indignation at that time was quite sincere. But this was before the class struggle became acute. It is significant that as soon as the intelligentsia found themselves in the camp of our enemies they were forced, perhaps without becoming aware of it, to resort to all those methods which are used by all reactionaries and counter-revolutionists, including even agitation aiming to incite one nationality against another. Not only the Constitutional-Democrats, who revealed their real countenance in the late National Duma when their leader, V. A. Maklakoff passed the famous project about county zemstvos, but even those who called themselves "Socialists," even they filled the columns of their party newspapers with pogrom articles. Everybody remembers the gems which daily adorned the *Dielo Naroda* of the Socialists-Revolutionists. Everybody remembers how the scribes of these newspapers repeatedly declined through all cases the literary pseudonyms of our leaders and the leaders of the world revolution, supplementing this, following the example of the "Rech," with ironical hints about the "semitic" origin of some of them,—thus, for instance, "Trotzky, alias Bronstein," "Zinoviev, alias Radomyslsky," "Kamenev, alias Rosenfeld," and so on. As long as the class antagonism was not clearly revealed the intelligentsia fought for the absolute "equality" of all nationalities. But as soon as the October wind was felt the intelligentsia proved to be a reactionary element. And, as I have already mentioned, even the intelligentsia which pretended to be "socialistic" was affected by this temptation. We might recall even the staff of the *Novaya Zhizn*. We might recall the impressions of the reporter of this paper, of the opening day of the Constituent Assembly. This "Internationalist" reporter artistically depicts how "a real workman with purely Russian features who was sitting among the public in the gallery," and an "indubitably Jewish type" sitting next to him were enthusiastically applauding comrade

Lenin. . . If you do not believe, read the *Novaya Zhizn* of January 7, 1918. It was in the days when the Bolshevik Party had arranged in Petrograd a number of protest meetings against the Jewish pogroms in Poland. The Petrograd Soviet, which was already composed of Bolsheviks, held a special meeting to express loud indignation against this disgraceful phenomenon of the "civilized non-Bolshevik West." At this meeting I had to quote the above mentioned article, which appeared "just in time" in the paper of the "super-internationalists." There clearly could be but one conclusion drawn from the "impressions" of the above mentioned reporter which I quoted: "Russian citizens, if you feel like lynching the Bolsheviks, remember that all Jews are Bolsheviks, and, vice versa. Should you happen to feel like rough-treating the Jews, then first of all, of course, come the Bolsheviks." That is how the struggle for existence confuses the human mind.

What measures then should we take to stop completely this man-hating agitation? In my opinion, there are only two cardinal measures at the present,—enlightenment and the . . . bullet. Many of our comrades naively propose measures which during a civil war are merely palliative. They forget that to fight class enemies with palliative measures by means of "explanations," as if we were dealing with deluded people, is a waste of effort. No, these scoundrels know only too well that they are everywhere sowing falsehood and lies, but they are doing this because it is a part of their "program" of action. And we must therefore fight this element only by the most severe measures, including annihilation as class enemies. . . But where there is still ground for delusion, there we should not, of course, resort to repressions, but should expose and explain and enlighten.

VICTOR IVANOFF.
Izvestia, May 27, 1918.

Russian Ingrates

By Max M. Zippin

Third Article

JUDGING by the American press, there is of late a predominating feeling of bitter disappointment among many Americans with the Siberian policy of the American Government. One can fully appreciate this disappointment. It is rather disgusting for an American to find out to his dismay, after so much gold spent by the American people for the purpose of "saving" the Russians, and after even American lives have been lost in Siberia in this God-knows-why war, that, contrary to official assertions, nobody in Siberia loves America. But then it is all their own fault. They could easily have saved themselves from this irritation, had they taken a little pains to study Russian conditions before going all the long way out to Siberia and undergoing such a truly unpleasant journey. All they had to do was to ask any Russian that had recently returned from "Kolchakia" and was unconnected with the Kolchak story-distribution bureau, and he would have put them wise.

Because no one ever loved America in Russia, although quite many Russians, at one time, did revere America in the abstract and believed it to be the one democratic nation of all the Allies. Up to June, 1918, the American representatives had not implicated themselves, at least openly, in all the disgraceful intrigues in which the French, the English, and the Japanese missions and officers had so flagrantly, and continuously indulged. The Russian workers and the Russian peasants doubted the "democratic" utterances of the Allies from the outset and suspected their intervention, whether Americans participated or not, to be a conspiracy to crush the proletarian revolution, *their* revolution, and, as a matter of fact, they have guessed right. The coming of Kolchak is vital proof of this. And as to the remaining eight per cent of the Russian population, neither did they ever expect America or the other Allies to be in Russia. The liberals as well as the reactionaries have always demanded the man-

agement of the intervention affair solely for themselves, that is every group for itself. Not being Bolsheviks, neither one of the groups planned to run the affair through a dictatorship of thirty-four, which is just thirty-four times as many as in many another country. The liberals contemplated managing it by a dictatorship of five men, while the reactionaries liked the one-man management best. The American and the other Allied Governments must, of course, send all the food necessary, all the men, arms, tanks, gold, particularly gold, since there are so many mercenaries to take care of, but they must never interfere in the management. And because the Allies did interfere, and because they busied themselves there in making and unmaking governments, it is obvious that they must be disliked in Siberia by everybody concerned. And because America was a partner to that highly democratic business, it must share the hatred that is the lot of all the Allies. It must share it to a far greater extent, because they had expected much more from America. The liberals have expected from America actions that would be a little more in conformity with words, while the reactionaries have expected more gold and more men. That more gold and more men sent to them by America would be a deviation from the American constitution—the reactionaries cared little about that. What's a constitution between friends? Besides there's always the alternative—Japan is nearer, and "friendlier." And so we behold now the following highly interesting spectacle: while the American Government is still continuing to send re-enforcements to Siberia and still furnishing with rifles and loans the Supreme Democrat Kolchak, Kolchak is of an open and unmistakably Japanese "orientation." And what is most peculiar about the whole affair is, that the American government is, evidently, helping the Japanese government to spread its "ideals" in Siberia.

Here is one manifest instance.

In February last the American Information Bureau closed up its offices in Siberia. This Bureau, according to the *Echo*, a newspaper friendly to the American "cause," and, as rumors have it, subsidized by that Bureau, has cost the American Government some five millions of dollars. That this enormous sum was spent for the purpose of making friends of the Russians goes without saying, and the closing up of the Bureau may be taken as a glaring confession of defeat. But this is not all.

"The most interesting thing about this decision of the American Government to close up its information Bureau," says the *Rodnaya Sibir*, is that it came just at the time when circumstances prove that another "friendly" power is trying to inaugurate an identical Bureau, a power whose identity of interests with that of the great Republic of the New World is very problematical."

And the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie* helps to understand the somewhat obscure language of the quoted item by the following information.

"In the Japanese publication *Ossaka Mayinichi*, of February 25, there appeared an interview with Mr. Motosaga Tsumoto, who accompanied General Takayagi to Vladivostok, and who returned to Japan on February 24th. He said: 'I went there for the purpose

of opening in Siberia an information bureau. The Japanese Government had decided to open such a bureau and I was delegated by the government to arrange it. We shall have it in working condition by the middle of March. Meanwhile our military intelligence department will take care of the informations that are to be given to the Siberian press.' And the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie* adds: 'The Rising Sun is to take the place of the Stars. The political orientation in the upper circles has already changed.'"

And the *Golos Primorya*, an official "government" organ has this to say about the affair in its issue of March 12th:

"For the last few weeks there has been a decided change for the worse in the relations between the Russians and the Americans. A rather short time ago we, the Russians inhabiting the Far East, no matter of what political party, were filled with the most friendly feelings of good wishes towards the great Democracy of America. But the insincere and tactless policies used in dealing with the Russian situation on the one hand, and the very unfortunate utterances of some prominent Americans over here, on the other hand have succeeded in the last few months, in sowing, in Russian society, the seeds of distrust, and augmenting the disenchantment with the flow of American phrases that were never accompanied by deeds; in a word, in undermining to a very great extent the prestige of the American Government in the eyes of the Russian people." That's is a fine "Thank You"! No wonder so many Americans that have come from Siberia are so bitterly disappointed.

As to the Siberian railroads. If Mr. Stevens is really bringing the roads into such splendid order, the Siberian people must have failed to notice it. In the first place, there is again the same distrust. A reporter of the *Novosti Zhizni* had a little talk with Mr. Stevens and related it to his readers. Mr. Stevens appears to be very optimistic in this interview, about the Siberian railroads, but not so the interviewer. This is how he winds up his talk with, as he calls him, "the biggest railroad brains in the New World." "All this is very encouraging. But there are so many 'buts' attached. And the main 'but' is that Mr. Stevens is not the one that constructs the Allied policies of control over the Russian railroads. This policy is made in those undemocratic cabinets, in the sincerity and the disinterestedness of which we have long lost faith."

Here is a direct thrust at Mr. Stevens himself. It comes from the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie*,—the issue of March 20th.

"We are constantly assured that foreign control over our railroads is already perfect, and that this control is reviving our railroad facilities, but we would suggest that this same control should take pains to see what is going on in its immediate neighborhood.

"On the Chinese Eastern railroad there is a painful shortage in cars, and this shortage is getting to be of a catastrophic nature. There are no cars even for the extra military use. Still —"

Here comes a description of great amounts of cars standing either idle, or else in the service of all kinds of Allied institutions near the Vladivostok station. It would be very tiresome for the reader were we to give

the account in full, dealing as it does with little stations, and places, and descriptions of the character of the cars. But I have counted them as they are given in the article, and found out the number of the idle cars reaching the total of 122 in or about Vladivostok alone. The *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie* relates the following interesting incident: "Furthermore, many of the cars of the Russian railroads, when once loaded with munitions by the Allies, are never returned to the Russian roads. They are renovated, an emblem of one of the Allied governments is put on them, and they thus became the property of that government."

I suppose it is being done, just as the iron ring of the blockade is being carried out, for the purpose of showing to the world what a totally helpless people the Russians are, and how they can not last a day without the help of the charitable Allies.

There are Americans and Americans. There are Americans that go to Siberia, take photographs of murdered bodies mutilated by Cossack bravados and bring them back home as proof of . . . Bolshevik atrocities. There are Americans that go and come for the sole purpose of whitewashing the unspeakable Kolchak and comparing him with George Washington. But there are others—and the American boys, exiled to Siberia, appear to abhor and detest even the sight of the Kolchakists. The Siberian newspapers are full of tales of clashes between the American boys and the Kolchakist officers and soldiers. Here American boys are "insulting" the Kolchak flag, as was the case at Chita. There an American boy used his fists in the real American fashion against some Cossack, and one Siberian newspaper even goes as far as to state that General Graves' admonition to the American soldiers that they must not interfere in the domestic affairs of the Russians, was really meant to impress them with the "policy" of not hurting the feelings of the Kolchakists, since these boys never did have any quarrel with the Russian masses and they do get along quite nicely with them. This is true not only of the rank and file, but of American officers as well. Here is a quotation from the Harbin *Novosti Zhizni*: "In the Khabarovsk newspapers there appeared the following item. 'For a considerable time of late there are taking place constant quarrels between the American officers and the officers of the Cossack detachments here, often assuming the character of armed clashes that greatly impede the work of restoring order in this city. The Japanese Headquarters have therefore arranged for meetings between the American and the Cossack officers, and the two groups send representatives to the Headquarters, who endeavor to find out the reasons for these quarrels and a way to eliminate their causes. The Japanese officers are very hopeful and expect more friendly relations between the American officers and those of the Cossack detachments in the near future.'"

Just think of Japanese officers taking upon themselves the role of mediators between Russians and Americans!

And American business men, evidently, have troubles of their own there. In a Vladivostok newspaper there is a story of how the American consul there addressed himself to the Kolchak authorities to find out whether

American business men can have any hopes of selling goods to the Russians. He states that he is in possession of numerous inquiries from American firms, ready to sell goods, but wishing to be assured beforehand that their goods will not be requisitioned on reaching Vladivostok. This would imply that American goods were requisitioned by the Kolchak authorities, and it appears that this was a fact. Furthermore, it seems that the Kolchak officers have not even paid for the American goods so requisitioned. He does say in his communication that "the American business men want to be assured that their goods will not be requisitioned on their arrival, and when they are, the Requisition Commission must see to it that they get the proper price and are paid for it, and that all the misunderstandings that have previously taken place are not repeated."

So all a Russian has to do, in order to be on a proper footing with the American Government, is to join the forces of Kolchak. You can requisition American goods, pay nothing for the goods you have requisitioned, and yet get honorable mention, not to mention actual help and loans, and then some more loans, from the American Government. No one has ever heard the American Government complain that the Kolchakists have done these things. No one has ever heard the Kolchakists called robbers, expropriators, and the like, over here.

There is a little story in the *Dalny Vostok*, that is significant in connection with a private letter I have received from the other side. The story in the newspaper mentioned is in the form of a copy of an official telegram, and reads: "*Chita, headquarters of the Special Eastern Siberian Army.* This day (apparently some time in the early part of April, since the clipping is dated April 12th), at the station of Sharasun, at the time when train No. 105 was being prepared for its departure westward, drunken soldiers of the American echelon came to the station, and began to ring the gong, after which they started towards the private homes of the railroad workers. In one of these homes the American soldiers approached the wife of the station guard Sopotieko and made offensive proposals to her. With some effort we succeeded in quieting them, but after a short time they appeared again, in far greater numbers, and fully armed, at the dwelling of Sopotieko. Finding the doors closed, the Americans broke the windows, and made a wreck of the house, while the rest of the American soldiers, remaining in the train, opened fire to scare away those that would have come to the aid of the unfortunates. Signed, General Shardin."

That is the story as told by a Kolchak general. But here is what actually happened there, according to the letter. The "Special Eastern Siberian Army" was in reality no army at all, but a punitive expedition, consisting mostly of officers, with some admixture of Chinese Chun-Chusers and Mongols. This "army" came there for no other purpose than to kill off as many workers as they could get to kill, and to flog the rest, the railroad workers then being on strike. And the guard Sopotieko, mentioned in the General's story, was a strike-breaker and a spy who had pointed out a

great number of workers to the Kolchak officers as Bolsheviks, whereupon they were either shot in the open or made to "disappear." So the American boys simply sided, in this case, as in many others, with the Russian workers who had been delivered into the hands of their enemies by the highly democratic Allies and actually outlawed. As to the wife of the spy, she has just passed her sixty-first birthday. Many an American boy, we are told, has degenerated in that Kolchak atmosphere to the point of madness, but we hope they have not become so perverse as all that.

The sum total is this: There is no one in Siberia that looks to America for relief. On the contrary, America is despised by each and every class in Siberia. By the workers and peasants, because Americans have

interfered in their affairs, and have forced upon them the old Czarist order, or have aided in doing so. By the liberal elements, because these doubt their motives and say so openly. And they are disliked by the reactionaries, probably because 23 millions of dollars is not enough to feed with champagne and vodka that big flock of Russian bureaucrats and monarchists that have come flying to Kolchak from all the four corners of Russia. Assuredly it isn't.

And so I can only repeat what I said at the start: Were I at the head of the Government of the American people, I should unhesitatingly withdraw every semblance of assistance from the Russians in Siberia. It's no use. They're the most ungrateful creatures.

The Military Situation in European Russia from the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to Date (Sept. 9, 1919)

IN a recent issue we published a map prepared on the basis of Colonel Roustam Bek's articles, which had appeared in various American and English newspapers and periodicals. (a) Colonel Roustam Bek enjoys an international reputation as a military expert. His map represented the military situation in the month of May. We noted on it the changes which had occurred up to the month of August.

In this issue we are presenting a map based upon anti-Soviet sources and brought up to date. In order to enable the reader to compare the results arrived at by Colonel Roustam Bek with anti-Bolshevik press reports, his front lines have been reproduced on this map.

The nucleus of the Soviet territory is represented by the Lebedev line. This is the boundary line described by a former member of the so-called "All-Russian Government," Colonel Lebedev, in "Struggling Russia" No. 18. According to him, the anti-Soviet forces have never set foot upon this territory. In a few points where the Czecho-Slovak, the Kolchak, the Finnish and the Estonian armies crossed over that boundary into Soviet territory, his line has been corrected by us to agree with anti-Bolshevik reports.

The Brest-Litovsk boundary line shows the territory left to Russia after the Brest-Litovsk peace. A glance at the map will show that the military operations since the armistice and the consequent withdrawal of the German troops from Russia, have been conducted in the west and in the south mainly on the territory which had been cut off from Russia by the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Large sections of this territory have, at one time or another, been regained by the Soviet Army and lost again to the Denikin and Petlura forces. The advance of the anti-Soviet forces within that area is represented by a broken

line. The authority of any government over the sections surrounded by that line is shifting. This doubtful territory is shaded on the map. The territory on the eastern front which has since last spring been regained by the Soviet forces is likewise indicated by shading on the map.

The tables below show the population of Soviet Russia within her present boundaries; the figures are those of the last Russian census, (1897).^{*} Where a boundary line cuts into a province it would be impracticable to ascertain the population of the sections held by the respective governments. In all such cases the whole population has been assigned to that power which holds the major part of the territory of the province. Territory which cannot be claimed by either side with assurance, as explained above, has not been included in the table.

The census population of European Russia and the Caucasus, exclusive of the territory cut off by the Brest-Litovsk treaty, but including the trans-Ural portions of the provinces of Perm and Orenburg, was 70,665,778. The census population which is, at this writing (Sept. 9), under the control of the Soviet Government is 57,187,667. This number does not include Siberian territory lately regained by the Soviet army. The Soviet Government is thus, at present, in control of 80 per cent of the population of European Russia and the Caucasus, within the boundaries of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, besides the portions of the Ukraine and Western Siberia regained by the Soviet army.

In the Caucasus the sections inhabited by non-Russian natives have seceded and formed independent republics. On the western boundary the Poles, with the approval of the Allies, have invaded portions of White Russia beyond the Brest-Litovsk boundary line.

(a) See Soviet Russia, No. 13.

^{*} It must be borne in mind that the census population of 1897, is far below the actual population of 1919. There are, however, no accurate data subsequent to the census.

The situation in Siberia and Central Asia will be considered in a separate article.

TABLE I.
EUROPEAN RUSSIA AND CAUCASUS AFTER
THE BREST-LITOVSK TREATY

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS	Population at the Census of 1897
European Russia, (exclusive of Poland) and Caucasus	102,732,228
Ceded by the Brest-Litovsk treaty.....	30,131,038
Baltic provinces	2,386,115
Provinces:	
Esthonia	412,716
Livonia	1,299,365
Courland	674,034
Lithuania and White Russia (a).....	6,886,801
Provinces:	
Kovno	1,544,564
Vilna	1,591,207
Grodno	1,603,409
Minsk	2,147,621
Ukrainia (b)	19,684,763
Provinces:	
Volhynia	2,989,482
Podolia	3,018,299
Kiev	3,559,229
Kherson	2,733,612
Ekaterinoslav	2,113,674
Poltava	2,778,151
Kharkov	2,492,316
Russian Armenia	1,173,359
Provinces:	
Erivan	829,556
Kars	290,654
Batum District	53,149
Bessarabia (c)	1,935,412
Soviet Russia after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty	70,665,718

TABLE II.
SOVIET RUSSIA AT PRESENT (a)

Provinces:	Population at the Census of 1897
1. Chernigov (b)	2,297,854
2. Kaluga	1,132,843
3. Kazan	2,170,665
4. Kostroma	1,387,015
5. Kursk, (c)	2,371,012
6. Moghilev	1,686,764
7. Moscow	2,430,581
8. Nijni-Novgorod	1,584,774
9. Novgorod	1,367,022
10. Olonetz	364,156
11. Orel	2,033,798
12. Orenburg	1,600,145
13. Penza	1,470,474
14. Perm	2,994,302

(a) Not including that part of the province of Vitebsk which was ceded under the treaty, it being impossible to ascertain the population of that part.

(b) Not including that part of the province of Chernigov which was ceded under the treaty, it being impossible to ascertain the population of that part.

(c) Although Bessarabia was not ceded under the express terms of the Brest-Litovsk treaty it is included here because it was invaded by the Roumanian army with the acquiescence of the German military command in Ukraina.

15. Petrograd, (d)	2,112,033
16. Pskov, (e)	1,122,317
17. Ryazan	1,802,196
18. Samara	2,751,336
19. Saratov, (f)	2,405,829
20. Simbirsk	1,527,848
21. Smolensk	1,525,279
22. Tambov	2,684,030
23. Tula	1,419,456
24. Tver	1,769,135
25. Ufa	2,196,642
26. Vyatka	3,030,831
27. Vitebsk	1,489,246
28. Vladimir	1,515,691
29. Vologda	1,341,785
30. Voronezh, (g)	2,531,253
31. Yaroslav	1,071,355
Total.....	57,187,667

STATISTICS OF LABOR UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

According to the figures of the All-Russian Trade Unions, published in the *Economicheskaya Zhizn*, the official organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy, labor unions of different types were as follows:

Textile workers	714,000
Railroad men	450,000
Metal workers	400,000
Tanners	225,000
Clerks	200,000
Water transportation	200,000
Needle trades	150,000
Food industry	140,000
Building trades	120,000
Postal and telegraph.....	100,000

The total number of workers organized in trade unions amounts to 3,442,000.

LICENSE FOR HOME DANCING PARTIES IN KOLCHAKIA

The "Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie" (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, July 9, 1919, reproduces an order of the Kurgan Chief of Police, from which the following paragraph is quoted:

"In the villages the young folk arrange entertainments which, being their sole recreation, may be permitted upon a license to be obtained from the nearest police officer."

(a) This table comprises only undisputed Soviet territory. The whole of the provinces of Vilna, Minsk, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, Kiev, Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Taurida, are excluded from Soviet Russia although large sections of that territory are actually under the Soviet government. The greater part of the province of Archangel is no longer under anti-Soviet occupation; nevertheless that province is not included in the table, neither is the whole province of Astrakhan which is treated as doubtful territory. On the other hand, however, the provinces of Petrograd, Pskov, Chernigov, Kursk, Voronezh, and Saratov, are included in the table, although a few districts within them are occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(b) Bakhmatch is occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(c) Bielgorod is occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(d) Gdov is occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(e) The western section is occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(f) Tzaritzin and Kalashov are occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

(g) Novokhopiorsk and Boguchari are occupied by anti-Soviet forces.

The Military Situation in European Russia from the Brest-Litovsk Treaty to Date (September 9, 1919)



- PRESENT FRONT. - - - - - THE FRONT IN MAY, 1919
 LINE OF THE FURTHEST ADVANCE OF ANTI-SOVIET FORCES.
 - - - - - LEBEDEV BOUNDARY LINE.
 - - - - - BOUNDARY LINE UNDER BREST-LITOVSK PEACE TERMS.
 [Diagonal Lines] TERRITORY REGAINED BY THE SOVIET FORCES. [Grid Pattern] DOUBTFUL TERRITORY.

Soviet Russia

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THE *Times* recently pondered the question, so perplexing to the *Times*, of the mystery of Bolshevik power. How do these leaders retain their power for so many months over an unwilling majority? There is the explanation that the population is terrorized. It does not fully explain. "Something more" said the *Times*, "is required to explain why an anti-Bolshevist majority in Russia so long not only allows itself to be ruled by Bolshevism, but does a lot of hard fighting in the Bolshevik armies." Truly a puzzling matter! There is the theory of the submissiveness of the Russian character. "The lower classes," avers the *Times*, have a firmly established habit of submission to constituted authority of a despotic kind. "And still," concludes the *Times* hopelessly, "something of mystery remains."

There is no explanation, if you pretend that Soviet Russia is the kind of place pictured in the mind of the *Times*. There is an explanation, however, for anyone who faces the facts squarely, as Senator Borah did recently when he said:

"It is a peculiar thing to me, Mr. President, if Lenin and Trotzky do not represent the great mass of the Russian people, why it is that Admiral Kolchak and others claiming to represent the Russian people can get no support from the Russian people themselves, but depend entirely for their support upon people from abroad? There are 180,000,000 people in Russia, and if the Lenin and Trotzky government is not representative of the masses, and if they are not in sympathy with it and do not believe in it, they would overthrow it and submerge it within a fortnight."

A WIRELESS dispatch from Moscow states that Kolchak has offered Japan the Russian portion of the Island of Saghalien and the rich Ussuri mining region on the Siberian mainland in return for further aid in his war upon the Russian people. Simultaneously a dispatch from Tokyo quotes a Japanese war office announcement that: "Far from considering the withdrawal of troops from Siberia, conditions there may necessitate the sending of reinforcements to that country." What will Americans, who imagine their troops are in Siberia to guard a railway, think of these facts in the light of Winston Churchill's recent statement in defense of England's Russian policy? "The war cabinet," said the British Minister, "have adopted that policy only in conformity with the United States, with France, with Italy, and with Japan."

The business of crushing the Russian Revolution and dividing the lands of the Russian people among foreign imperialists, which Mr. Churchill says is a concerted inter-allied policy, is later, according to this same statesman, to become the first function of the league of capitalist nations. "The first duty of the league," he said, "is the uplift of Russia." The "uplift," we understand, is to be accomplished by sending sufficient foreign troops into Russia to set up a government satisfactory to the powers and sympathetic with the imperialistic aims of Japan. Churchill agrees that Russia is the acid test. "The league of nations," he says, "is on trial in regard to Russia. If the league of nations cannot save Russia, Russia in her agony will destroy the league." Thomas Carlyle, writing of an earlier Revolution, supplies the comment upon this sort of verbal futility:

"A political party that knows not when it is beaten may become one of the fatallest of things, to itself, and all. Nothing will convince these men that they cannot scatter the Revolution at the first blast of their war trumpet."

* * *

THE interventionists protest that great difficulties impede the withdrawal of their troops from Russia. The mysteries of their strategy seem inevitably to require that the process of evacuation be accompanied by the dispatch of additional forces. The British, for instance, proclaim one day a policy of withdrawal from North Russia and the next day announce the bombardment of Russian towns by the British fleet. The attempt to justify the slaughter of an unaggressive people, without declaration of war, taxes the resources of the propagandists. They make much of the necessity of defending from the vengeance of the Red Army those local elements who have been bribed or coerced into counter-revolutionary activities. The speciousness of this pretence is fully exposed by the repeatedly expressed intention of the Soviet Government to grant, upon the cessation of foreign intervention, complete amnesty to all political opponents, soldiers included. This provision was included in the peace terms arranged with Mr. Bullitt.

The truth is that the problem of withdrawing the invading armies from Russia would be a simple matter, if it were proposed with any sincerity. The Soviets have already demonstrated their willingness to expedite

and protect any such movement with cordiality and dispatch. In one instance, at least, Soviet authorities took upon themselves the duties of a rear guard and protected the French in their withdrawal from Odessa last April. The circumstances are described in letters read before the French Chamber of Deputies from staff officers who took part in the evacuation. A French officer of artillery wrote:

"On Saturday, the 5th, the evening of our departure, bodies of Soviet workers were formed in the town who took arms and placed sentinels at the various points, and particularly in the barracks and quarters occupied by us, and prevented the pillage of the French Army's food supplies by the civilians. The guard in the artillery quarters was formed by a Workers' Soviet which prevented all disorder in our quarters."

Another staff officer wrote of the same events:

"They fill our heads with stories of what we may expect from these people if we fall into their hands as prisoners. Well, I have seen the Bolsheviks at Odessa. I've spoken to them in Russian. These people mounted guard over our barracks to prevent the non-Bolsheviks pillaging our supplies which we had left there for want of transport. They maintained order in our barracks. . . . What tales they manufacture in order to make us turn the batteries of 75's and 65's against the Bolsheviks! Is there any need to fight them? Let them settle things themselves with the other Russians. The Eastern Army is no longer necessary in Russia and they ought to withdraw it. Leave the diplomats there, if you like, but withdraw the guns. Besides, it was so impossible to deny the help which the local Soviets gave, that General Anselme left them the commissariat's provisions as a recompense for their good services."

And still the interventionists attempt to conceal their real purpose by pretending that the withdrawal of their forces is a matter of extreme difficulty and danger.

* * *

NEGOTIATIONS for a loan of six million pounds by British bankers to the Finnish Government have been suspended because of the unfavorable military and political developments in North Russia. General Denikin, according to an Ekaterinodar paper, has protested against the recognition of Finland's independence by England and the United States. Denikin expresses sympathy with Finland's aspirations; but he is quoted as saying that the Finnish question must be settled with regard to Russia's vital political and military interests. This jealous regard, exhibited by Kolchak and Denikin, for Russia's vital political and military interests—the customary camouflage for all imperialist ambitions—is the secret of those developments which upset the plans of the British bankers. The *cordon sanitaire*, with its foster child, the concerted attack upon Petrograd, have gone the way of all other plans for the destruction of the workers' republic. The Estonian Foreign Minister has repudiated the offensive against Petrograd. "We are too weak to take part in any such risky adventure," he says. The reluctance of Esthonia to continue cats-pawing for the great powers, is determined by the sentiment of the Esthonian workers, by the resentment against British designs in

the Baltic, and by the knowledge that the future security of Esthonia, guaranteed by Soviet Russia, is perilously threatened by the ambitions of the Kolchak-Denikin imperialism. The powers at Paris, in a vain search for tools in their Russian enterprise, rely upon the nature of the present Polish Government. But Polish newspapers of all shades unite in distrust of the military imperialism of Sazonoff and Kolchak. The *Warsaw Courier*, a nationalist organ, says: "Sazonoff invites us to help him take Moscow, Kholm, and Grodno." The *Polish Gazette* calls participation in the campaign against Moscow a "senseless and dangerous adventure, which may signify the beginning of the end of Polish independence." Other Polish papers are even more outspoken in declaring that the interests of Poland are absolutely opposed to the designs of the Entente. Even General Yudenitch's White Guards and Baltic junkers are becoming down-hearted and hesitant; suspicious of the sincerity of the powers' avowed interest in their affairs. Meanwhile Winston Churchill hastens to assert that the British will have nothing to do with the operations against Petrograd. "In brief," says the correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, "the much advertised united front and concentrated attack upon Soviet Russia is breaking down." General Maurice, the British military expert, admits that as a result of the year's campaign the military situation of Soviet Russia will be considerably stronger than it was in the spring. "Lives, money, and material," writes this English soldier, "have been wasted on useless enterprises."

* * *

LET me stop a moment on the words 'external aggression.' Why were they put in? Because every man who sat at that board held that the right of revolution was sacred and must not be interfered with. Any kind of a row can happen inside and it is nobody's right to interfere.

"The only thing that there's any right to object to or interfere with is external aggression by some outside power undertaking to take a piece of territory or to interfere with the internal political arrangements of the country which is suffering from the aggressions; because territorial integrity does not mean that you cannot invade another country."—*From a speech delivered by President Wilson at St. Louis, Mo., September 5, 1919.*

A NEW BOLSHEVIK ATROCITY

HELSINGFORS, Aug. 20.—It is announced from Petrograd that the Soviet Government has ordered a registration of all illiterates with the object of aiding in the enforcement of the Compulsory Education Law.

AIDING POGROM SUFFERERS

The Copenhagen correspondent of the anti-Bolshevik Jewish Daily, *The Day*, of New York, cables under the date of August 30, that "The Bolshevik Government has appropriated 200,000,000 roubles for the relief of the families of the victims of the pogroms in Ukraine."

“Hands Off Russia”

Speech by Mr. Israel Zangwill

At the Albert Hall, London, February 8th, 1919

TO avoid obtaining applause under false pretences, let me confess at once that I speak as a bourgeois with hard-earned savings and not as a Bolshevik. Bolshevik, I understand, means one of the majority, and that is, alas! a position I have never had the comfort to occupy. I speak from your platform because you have offered me it, and I would as cheerfully hold forth in the House of Lords if they gave me facilities. I do not belong to the Red Army, unless you will spell it “Read.”

Do not despise that “Read” Army—Lenin himself compares newspapers to bombs and guns, and thought it so dangerous that no Government in the world dares leave it uncensored. Even he has suppressed the opposition press, I am sorry to say. But I was relieved to find the suppression described as a temporary and extraordinary measure till the new order was firmly in the saddle. But he would have done better to leave the press free, especially as the Russian masses cannot read.

It is *our* press that is Lenin’s real danger. A Muscovite when he reads that the gutters of Moscow run blood, knows whether the blood is really there, or only invented by the gutter-journalists. But we over here in the fog of peace, can never be absolutely sure that our journals are lying. The other day, I saw an article headed “Russian Dangers.” On looking more closely I saw it was only “Russian Dancers.” But so hypnotised was my brain by the popular chorus: “Hush, hush, hush, here comes the Bolshevik,” that I read it even into a eulogy of the only good thing now admitted to come out of Russia—its ballet.

What a difference from the beginning of the war! Then, when I read about Archangel, I thought it was the Czar. Those were the days of Stephen Graham and ‘Holy Russia’ and Russian Supplements of *The Times*. On the first anniversary of the war, Count Benckendorff, the Russian Ambassador, emphasized on behalf of Czar and people “the hearty and constant union of views between Russia and Great Britain and the continued confidence and faith which each has in the other.” In those days, for saying a word against Russia I was denounced as a pro-German. Now the danger is to say a word *for* Russia.

This is in one way a blessing: for now that Russia has taken the place of Germany as the enemy of the human race, now that Bolshevism is, in the language of Lord Denbigh, “a curse in comparison with which German militarism would have been a blessing,” now that at Riga the Eighth German Army has actually co-operated with our troops against the Bolsheviks, there has been a relaxation in our iniquitous blockade against Germany. Just as the Bolsheviks, by undermining German *morale*, helped to save us from Prussian militarism, so they are now helping to save us from ourselves.

Moreover, they have so frightened Capital that everywhere wages are rising—even in the Army and Navy,

hours of work are falling, and the Peace Conference is offering Labor an international charter. The fear of Bolshevism is the beginning of wisdom. Bolshevism may be a curse, but its evil is by no means unmixed.

But is Bolshevism a curse? Well, we must distinguish between Bolshevism in itself and the violence with which it has been established. As a conscientious objector to violence of every species, I do not believe that revolutions can be made only with blood, I believe they can be made with ink, or with electric light. But revolution with blood is not unknown even in English history and violence in Russia is not confined to the Bolsheviks. In recording the court-martialing and shooting of 17 Bolsheviks near Omsk, *The Times* remarked recently: “These prompt measures have made a good impression.” But you cannot in the same breath praise violence and abuse it.

It is impossible to whitewash the Bolsheviks, but I have no doubt that the bloodiness of their régime has been exaggerated as its bankruptcy. If the possessing classes in England were suddenly deprived by the masses of their lands and factories, and even turned out of their homes, I should not go to them for an impartial view of the situation, nor expect them to recognize that, once things had settled down, Britain as a whole might really be better off. When Mr. Lloyd George was denounced for “robbing hen-roosts,” I did not accept that as a complete account of his politics. Lord Milner prates of “the unspeakable horrors of Bolshevik rule,” but I was not so ready to believe all that the Boers said about his concentration camps. Quite a number of those murdered by the Bolsheviks seem to pop up again.

But when all is said, it is unquestionable that infinite injustice and brutality have marked the Bolshevik as every other revolution, including the revolution against the Czar, which the British Government endorsed. I do not doubt that the same Russian hooligans who carried out the brutalities of the army in Galicia, or the Jewish pogroms against which the British Government refused to intervene, profited by their new and rich opportunities to carry out those horrors against which the British Government has been so anxious to intervene: horrors which for the most part, indeed, were the very result of our intervention. Had we recognized Lenin’s Government as we recognized Kerensky’s, instead of trying both secretly and openly to subvert it, Bolshevism would have been comparatively bloodless. But it was forced to stand with its back to the wall against the whole world. This animal, as Buffon puts it, is very spiteful: when you attack it, it defends itself.

The latest excuse for intervention is that Bolshevism has replaced Prussianism in aggressive and invasive militarism. But, as the books of strategy teach, attack is often the best form of defence. In the classic language of Barney Barnato, when you see a man about to hit you, you hit him first. But Russia must be saved from the Bolsheviks, the defeated Russian parties tell

us. "For reasons of high morality," cries M. Savinkoff, the head of the Omsk military mission to Paris, "it is an international duty to put an end to the odious massacres which mark the Red Terror." Who is this M. Savinkoff, this preacher of high morality, now in such high honor in Paris? The man who, according to his own 'Confessions,' recently published in Bourzef's organ *Biloie*, was, together with the *provocateur* Aseff, at the head of the Terrorist branch of the Social Revolutionaries; the man who, though at one with Lenin in his land policy, would have none of Lenin's constitutional methods; the man who in 1908 took part in an attempt to assassinate the Czar, and who actually handed the bomb which killed the Grand Duke Sergius. This is indeed an example of Satan rebuking sin.

As for the Great Powers that M. Savinkoff exhorts to intervene against Bolshevik violence, why even the greatest and noblest of them, President Wilson, has preached: "Force, force without stint, force to the utmost limit." Though he now sits high on the fence, smiling like Sunny Jim, force is the food that raised up him. When I last stood on this platform, nearly two years ago, it was to complain that a mass of men just about equal to the audience in this vast hall was being murdered and mutilated every day, and that this incredible Red Terror had been going on for nigh a thousand days. Nevertheless it went on for another five hundred days, and Lord Curzon has regretted it did not go on a little longer. Those who objected to taking a hand in it were put away and tortured like John Maclean. Therefore, pacifist though I am, I feel that when the Allies presume to lecture Trotsky and Lenin, these men are entitled to reply: "Mind your own bloody business."

The truth is we wanted more bloodshed, not less, and if the Bolsheviks instead of nobly proposing an all-round peace with "no annexations, no indemnities," had continued the war, we should have swallowed our objections to their doctrine, and even if to raise the sinews of war they had expropriated every rouble in Russia, we should have applauded the patriotic dictation of the proletariat. The Peace Conference, which is now pulling the leg of nations, the Peace Conference with its President whose nickname of the Tiger preserves the law of the jungle, would have welcomed Lenin and Trotsky to its table. Now they are told to go to Prinkipo.

We must do Lloyd George the justice to admit it was not he who wanted them to wait on the mat. Perhaps he has had his lesson. 'Through Terror to Triumph' was the name of a collection of his speeches. Perhaps he has come now 'Through Triumph to Terror.' For the Knock-out Blow he insisted on has been given—but by Russia. Whoever meddles with Russia seems to catch a Tartar. Russia baffled Napoleon by a new tactic and she may yet baffle Foch. For she has transformed the strife of nations into a conflict of classes and the war that was won horizontally may be lost perpendicularly.

The whole social order is rocking from China to Peru. But if our politicians didn't want the world's foundations to shake, why did they stake all its fortunes on the Knock-out Blow? They knew how the Napo-

leonic wars had left all Europe rumbling with revolution. Why did they gag and blind us, stifle every gleam of reason and every impulse of humanity, set black and yellow against white, refusing to look beyond the murderous moment, abandoning the planet for five years to blood-lust, frenzy, and famine?

Victory covers a multitude of sins, but it cannot avert their consequences. You cannot sow the wind and reap the doldrums. Bolshevism followed as naturally from that saturnalia of savagery and that agony of starvation as the Black Death, camouflaged as Spanish influenza, rose from the myriads of putrefying corpses. "Comrades," cried a simple Russian soldier back from the front, "I bring you greetings from the spot where men are digging their own graves and call them trenches." The Russian soldiers wanted peace, the peasants land, the citizens bread. It was an irresistible triad.

I regret their methods. I would not have raised a finger to help them. But now that they have helped themselves, I would not undo their work. That would be a waste of the blood already shed, the destruction of a precious social experiment, an experiment moreover made not upon us but on the vile body of Russia. Bolshevism must be let alone. If it is a curse let it go home to roost. If it is a blessing, let the whole world enjoy it. If Trotsky is a greater tyrant than the Czar, let him meet a similar doom; if Lenin is worse than Wilhelm, let the Russians deport him.

If, as Sasanoff tells us, all the shops of Moscow are empty and all the prisons full; if the peasants complain they are worse off under the tyranny of the committees than under the single employer of yore; if, as the Swiss pamphleteers inform us, Bolshevism has meant the blind destruction of forests, crops, raw materials, and a calamitous exodus from the cities; if under the Soviets Russia is without bread, commerce, manufactures, or freedom, what an invaluable lesson for other would-be Bolsheviks!

Why intervene to destroy what is destroying itself? Why, like Gilbert's Mikado, make suicide a capital offence? To destroy Bolshevism from without would only destroy the value of this awful warning. For Bolsheviks would then always say it died of violence, not of its own rotteness.

As it is, they say it has not had a fair chance, that the experiment was made in a country already ruined by the capitalists and their war, a famished country, a country now isolated politically and boycotted economically. They say it was not Bolshevism that brought the bankruptcy of Russia, but the bankruptcy of Russia that brought Bolshevism. And as a matter of fact what is the use of pointing to Russia's disorganization and destitution? The whole Continent groaneth and travaileth. You cannot spend £40,000,000,000 to destroy another £40,000,000,000, and denude Europe of ten million able-bodied producers and then have peace and plenty.

According to Gorki, whose slow conversion to Bolshevism makes his evidence all the more valuable, Bolshevism is not the scourge it first seemed, but a sincere striving for "the freedom and beauty of life." And so it is. Who can object to a Constitution, one of whose

first articles declares that "He who will not work shall not eat"? True, there seems a somewhat crude interpretation of work. I have spent weeks of study to find out the truth about Bolshevism. Is not that work—and useful work?

The Bolsheviks, it appears, set artists to clean out lavatories: still we sent Epstein to the trenches. They despise professors and set up street universities in the shape of posters of information. A crazy idea! say the critics. I am inclined to think it an improvement on the posters of our picture palaces.

I am far from supposing Bolshevism was born perfect; in fact, it is still in travail, a revolution still in evolution, a birth that is half an abortion, a chaos of capitalism and socialism, of idealism and materialism, of wisdom and folly. But the same study that convinces me of its crudities and cruelties convinces me also that by its heroic attempt to make bread and education as common as air, by its aspiration for a world brotherhood and a world peace, by its repudiation of the imperialism that is based on the exploitation of colored races, by its grand gesture of restoring to China and Persia the territories grabbed by the old Russia, it is the first attempt in history to create a model Commonwealth.

It is true that in attempting to set up by force this kingdom of peace and good will, Bolshevism has fallen into the paradox of all military crusades. It is true that to destroy poverty it has ruthlessly impoverished the rich. But just as after five years of world slaughter my dulled nerves can no longer be shocked by Bolshevik bloodshed, so after my own Government has taken annually a fourth of my income, forcibly borrowed my stocks, commandeered without compensation hotels in which I might have had a share, threatened through Bonar Law a levy on my capital, nationalized railways and shipping, and told me through Mr. Winston Churchill that the achievements of the Ministry of Munitions constitute the greatest argument for State Socialism that has ever been produced, I cannot pump up any horror at a Government which goes a little further and demands to utilize for life and construction, the forces we have devoted so successfully to destruction and death.

The British Government is only Bolshevism in embryo, and Bolshevism is only Socialism in a hurry, Socialism while you won't wait. America, going one better, has Bolshevised the drink trade at one blow. It is a recognition that not property but society is sacred.

Fun has been made of the unceasing flow of Bolshevik decrees, but can they compare with the innumerable progeny of D.O.R.A. who had the indecent fertility of a cod-fish, and is still spawning? My refugee Russian friends try to make my flesh creep by telling me what "the dictation of the proletariat" will be like. But I say, my dear friends, as a free-lance I shall assuredly not relish it. But I am broken in. I have lived under the British War Government, subject to provisional arrest without reason given; subject, had I been a C.O., to court-martial five times over for the same offence; my correspondence censored, articles and plays of mine forbidden, my journeys impeded by procrastinated passports, or even liable to pro-

hibition by the Soviet of Sailors headed by Mr. Have-lock Wilson.

That Soviet now presumes to threaten the Peace Conference itself, if any food is shipped to enemy countries against its views. But the Government cannot tolerate lawlessness when that happens to be on its side, and exclaim against anarchy when the forces it has unloosed turn against it. And now that a Soviet of dockers in Bristol has retorted in kind by refusing to load up munitions destined for use against Russia, perhaps the Government may perceive that two can play at that game.

But, plead the interventionists, we do not propose to undo the main work of Bolshevism. We know the peasants will never give back the land nor take back a Czar. Only the Black Hundreds still hope for that. And these do not demand Allied help, for they fear the Peace Conference would not give them the Russia they want. That is the most flattering thing I have heard about the Peace Conference. But if Bolshevism is thus admitted to be so largely sound and irrevocable, the case for intervention becomes still weaker.

Milner pretends we must remain in Russia to protect those who fought on our side. As if the Bolsheviks would be so foolish as to refuse them an amnesty, if we consented to clear out! The only plausible plea for intervention put forward in any respectable quarter is *The New Europe's* plea that the Peace Conference would be false to its function if it left so large an area of the world a prey to chaos and disorder. But is Paris itself so free from unrest, Paris where prices go up daily and soldiers are forbidden to enter for fear of riots, as they are equally forbidden in Lyons and Marseilles? Only on one condition could the Peace Conference presume to interfere in internal politics—if it does so all round, in Egypt, say, or Ireland, or in the Southern States of America, where the negroes are terrorized from recording their votes. Hands off Russia therefore—until they are clean!

But even those who call on the Peace Conference to do its war-duty, no longer dare ask for military expeditions. They know that the peoples, so far from being ready to send fresh forces, are clamoring for the recall of their frozen troops, that we are ashamed of the French negroes in Odessa. The plan now put forward in *The Times* is to starve out the Bolsheviks, while encircling them with well-fed populations, the sight of whose pampered paunches would seduce them from the faith. It is like that ghastly story in Poe when the walls of a steel chamber close gradually upon their victim. Truly a Christian reply to "the horrors of Bolshevism!"

But whence comes this right to blockade Russia? When did we proclaim war on her? Why are we throwing her into the arms of Germany? A truce to this folly! Let us intervene in Russia not with arms or blockades, but with food and friendship! Let us leave Russia the right she has proclaimed for all—the right of self-determination.

The next issue of "Soviet Russia," will contain, among other things, an official correspondence between Soviet Russia and Finland, which could not be included in this issue because of Vorovsky's article on page 20.

Life in Petrograd in 1919

A Russian Soldier Returns to His Native Country

A Russian soldier sent to Russia from France in exchange for a Frenchman, gives the following description of life in Petrograd at the end of May:—

I HAVE been in Russia for three days. The voyage, instead of lasting eight days, as that brave citizen Bouisson promised, lasted 35 days. Pichon simply hunted us out of France to Finland just when there was war between her and Russia. And Finland kept us prisoners on board a French boat until she was able to obtain a double quantity of counter-revolutionaries in exchange for us. This is the way that the French Government has treated certain Russians, who are not even sentenced to expulsion; among them there are about 40 children under age. But what is even more "gracious" is the fate of a thousand Russian soldiers who composed part of our convoy. These soldiers, who fought for France, for "right and liberty," after so many sufferings, find themselves still in the black hands of the White Finns, who allowed only the civilians of the convoy to leave. They still keep the soldiers, and every day Finland becomes more exacting and demands quite impossible things in exchange for these soldiers. Further, I greatly fear that the Commander of the boat and the chief escort captain will be tempted to get rid of this prolonged and boring mission by some method of provocation, which may end for our soldiers in a bath of blood. In the grandiose tragedy of the time in which we live, the fate of 1,000 soldiers is evidently not of much account, but in this little fact the working-class can find a good lesson, if the Socialists take the trouble to make it generally known.

Everything is so original here that it would take a book to explain all that I have seen in the last three days, since my arrival.

All whom I have seen have absolute faith in the power of the régime and look upon the many events with perfect serenity. The reverses on the different fronts of the immense battle that is being waged here, do not trouble anybody, and have not stopped the feverish march of the internal life of the country. All these reverses are due to the betrayal by a few officers, and to some local misfortunes. The men in power are absolutely certain of re-establishing the military situation on the Petrograd front. And during the three days that I have been here I actually see the situation is improving. One has to bear in mind that the war is, to a certain extent, guerilla warfare, the fronts are neither stable nor continuous, and audacious, sudden attacks and individual betrayals have much less serious results. Here is an example: A White regiment of Finns and Estonians succeeded in pushing its way through a forest to Gatchina, where it found some patrols. It burnt the bridges, killed some men and women, and departed hastily. The telegraph communicated to the whole world the sensational news that the Whites had occupied Gatchina. Then a sufficiently armed force was sent from here, which even chased the Whites from their front position, and the situation

was not only re-established, but improved. That is only by way of an example of what happens. On the other hand people are quite accustomed to see reverses at first on all the new fronts, until the day when the distances of Russia and her poor means of communication permit them to concentrate on this new front sufficient forces, and especially trusted forces, or, as they are called here, Communist regiments. Because you must remember one essential feature of our military organization: the regiments where we have a sufficient number of Communist officers and men are really of remarkable strength. The regiments where the non-Communist elements and the old officers predominate, are not of much military value by themselves. The army, like everything else here, is in process of formation and in a constant state of being improved. The strength of the Soviet Régime is just in that state of elasticity, in that infinite capacity to transform itself, in improving and in awakening always new forces in the working masses.

Returning to the military situation, you know, probably through the newspapers, that there are sufficient Communist troops upon the Ural front. For the last month they have been repulsing Kolchak's armies, and we are once more in Orenburg and near Ufa, whose capture we await momentarily. We are masters of the situation in the Ukraine. We are threatened only on the Finnish and Estonian fronts. These events here are regarded with perfect serenity.

I assisted at the departure for the front of a regiment composed entirely (3,000) of pupils from our military schools, officers and soldiers. The authorities looked at them with an almost indifferent calmness. As for me, I was moved and overcome, seeing this regiment of Communists, composed of our Petrograd workers, marching past with its cavalry, artillery, convoy, ambulance, etc., to the tune of revolutionary songs. You must come here to see.

What strikes you in the streets here is that crowd, which is almost entirely composed of working people and the sight of their children, all shod, dressed, nourished and educated as nowhere else in the world, for here everything is for them. The youth of the workers is truly happy here.

Here are a few words on provisioning in Petrograd. All the dwelling houses have their committees, which are entrusted with feeding the tenants. It is through them that the bread is distributed and the various foods, by means of cards, as well as the clothing, heating, etc. In fact, more than 400,000 inhabitants receive meals (once a day) in the communal restaurants, with permission to take their meals home with them. The applicants are allocated in advance to the restaurants, where the prices are fixed in advance at 6 roubles (5.22 to take the meal away). At the present rate of exchange six roubles is worth two francs. They dis-

tribute 1 lb. of black bread a day per head, 2 lbs. to workmen, $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. to soldiers. Last year at the same period the ration received was only $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Therefore bread is not lacking. The Commune of the North *has reserves until the harvest*, if the military events do not recall too large a number of soldiers here. In these restaurants the meals, as well as the bread, are uniform for the whole of the Commune of the North: soup with meat, viands and vegetables, and a cup of tea. The children receive a hot meal free at their schools, crèches, children's gardens, etc. But as regards all the other products, they are distributed, very rarely, in absolutely insufficient quantities (except milk, which is given to the children up to three years of age and to invalids).

Many products are absolutely lacking. You have to wait your turn for clothing, footwear, or utensils, two, three or four months, and then you pay very reasonable prices. But as soon as you apply to the free and clandestine traders, you pay fabulous prices, surpassing all imagination.

The salaries and appointments are scheduled, the minimum is 800 roubles a month, the maximum 2,400 roubles, tariffs absolutely insufficient for the intellectuals, and for all the officials of the Soviets, from which an aggravation of lack of nourishment results. I saw numbers of those in high places; they are famished, but I have the impression that they do not even notice it in the whirl of formidable events.

The whole situation is dominated by the military intervention. All these counter-revolutionary armies could not hold out eight days without the help of the Allies, but the latter cause fresh fronts to spring up every day. Thus it is that they have forced Finland,

in exchange for its independence, to declare an open war after a non-official war, although one is as bloody as the other.

After superhuman efforts the economic life of the Northern Commune (Petrograd and a few neighboring departments) has been organized, to a certain extent; for a few months *most of our factories* have been working, the transport on the Neva has been very active. And now the Estonians and Finns, paid, nourished and supported by the Allies, begin to approach Petrograd; the workmen are being mobilized by closing a number of factories, by upsetting all the provisioning, transport, calculations, etc. And, especially, it is necessary to withdraw a quantity of men, vital for the economic life, to throw them on to the front as commissaries, propagandists and so forth. Many peasants are withdrawn from their work just when it is most urgently needed. And all this in a ruined country, at the time of a radical transformation. And after all this they will say that the Soviets are not capable of organizing life!

Dear friends, the campaign of the Socialists and Syndicalists against the intervention of the Allies, has forced the latter to give up open intervention. It is time to put in all seriousness before the workers the question of indirect intervention. Russia has been at war for five years; for 20 months the Soviets have been bled white by the Allies, whilst they have been starved as even Germany never was. It is evident that you can no longer protest against intervention by appealing to the right of the peoples to control their own destinies, or from reasons half patriotic, half sentimental. Now or never one must appeal to the good traditions of the workers.

The Kolchakists and the Lettish Nationalists

By O. Preedin

THERE is nothing surprising or incomprehensible in the fact that the Lettish nationalists looked upon Kolchak as their friend, and that the Lettish nationalist organizations of Siberia welcomed Kolchak and sent to him addresses wishing him success. The position of these Lettish "democrats" resembles in many points the position of the "democrat" Kolchak: all of them must establish their "democratic" order in opposition to the will of the vast majority of the population, and all of them must, therefore, rely in this attempt on an insignificant part of "their" people and must solicit support from the reactionary forces of other countries.

Many counter-revolutionists escaped from Soviet Russia and found refuge in Latvia. From their main headquarters in Libau and environs, they organized an army with the aid of the Allies for the purpose of carrying on an active fight against Soviet Russia. This army is under the command of Count Lieven and forms a part of the army of General Yudenitch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern front, and Kolchak is its Supreme Commander. According to the *Russkoye Slovo* of June 27, these forces of Count Yudenitch "have been taken under the protection of the Allies," and the "Bulletin" of the Lettish nationalists, which is published by their Information Bureau in Lon-

don, of August 1, remarks that "Count Lieven deemed it necessary to repeatedly assure that, while they remain within the borders of Latvia, his forces will not interfere in the internal affairs of the country," and the Bulletin notes with joy that "detachments of Count Lieven's troops are already being sent to the Petrograd front."

But in another part the conflicts between these friends, the Lettish nationalists and the Kolchakists, have taken more acute forms. Already before the war, Lettish peasants were forced to leave their country. The German barons, who controlled more than half of the total area of Latvia, have tried every means to colonize this region with Germans, and their efforts were supported by the German Government. Thus, between 1908 and 1913, about twenty thousand German farmers settled in Latvia.¹ Of course, almost as many Lettish peasants had to leave their settlements, and of them emigrated to Siberia. During the war, especially during the German occupation of Latvia, large numbers of Letts left their country. According to the latest data of the Lettish nationalists, there are about 3,000 Letts in the Archangel district, and about 200,000 in Siberia.

1. See the pamphlet "Vergesst nicht die deutschen Balten," by Dr. Heinrich Vogt. Wiesbaden, 1916, page 65.

In these districts the Lettish nationalists succeeded in creating organizations aiming to return the Letts to their country. The Allies supported their nationalist agitation, and in Siberia French officers helped to organize Lettish White Guard detachments consisting of elements who wanted "to return to Latvia to fight the Bolsheviks and the Germans."

But now the above mentioned Bulletin of the Lettish nationalists is complaining that the Letts in the Archangel district, under Tchaikovsky's rule, "are not faring well." And on their condition in Siberia under Kolchak, the Bulletin reports the following:

"The government of Kolchak in Siberia puts all possible obstacles in the way of the Lettish organizations. Kolchak is fighting all the aspirations of the Letts, and particularly the organized Lettish military units, accusing all the Letts of Bolshevism, despatching punitive expeditions to the older Lettish colonies in Siberia, and forbidding the use of the Lettish language in assemblies and meetings. On March 15, at the railway station of Bochkarevo (within 15 versts of Blagovieshensk), 32 Lettish volunteers from the Amur colony were executed. They were accused of being Bolsheviks by the officers and by a German inspector of Ataman Semyonov's militia."

In their aspirations these Lettish nationalists and their volunteers are not greater Bolsheviks than Kolchak himself. What then is the cause of the bloody quarrel between these friends? The Lettish nationalists mention as the principal cause the fact that the Kolchakists "cannot assimilate the idea of the self-determination of nations."

To what extent the Lettish nationalists themselves have assimilated this idea, may be seen from the fact that their representative Ullman travelled through many countries of Western Europe trying to raise an army which was to be used to determine the fate of the Lettish nation; that they establish *their* governments in Latvia almost exclusively with the support of foreign bayonets; that their "parties" meet in their "National Councils" at Riga under the protection of armed forces which are commanded by Major Dowley of the United States army. "Self-determination of nations" of *this kind* is not at all alien to Kolchak, but the truth is that precisely in *this form* this "idea" is extremely abhorrent and unacceptable to the Kolchakists.

The Kolchakists cannot agree to *such* self-determination of Latvia, not because they bear any particular hatred to the Letts, but because this small country adjoining the Gulf of Riga, occupies a geographical position which is extremely important for that Russia which the Kolchakists are trying to restore. The cities of Latvia—Riga, Libau, and Windau—are the most convenient harbors on the Baltic coast. Before the war *almost one-sixth of the total sea-trade of Russia was passing through Riga alone.*

Knowing the importance of its position, the German imperialists tried to seize this region. They admitted it openly. Thus, the above mentioned Dr. H. Vogt, in his pamphlet reminds the Germans that the cities of Latvia "durch ihre Lage berufen sind, die Ausfalls und Einfallsporten eines grossen Hinterlandes zu sein"

(thanks to their position are bound to become the import and export ports of a large part of the interior). The well known Pan-German, Paul Rohrbach, found the chief advantage of the occupation of Latvia in "die gesamte Kueste, die . . . den ganzen russischen Handel bis zum Ural und darueber hinaus in Deutschlands Schiffe bringt" (the entire coast line, which . . . will turn over to German ships the entire Russian commerce up to the Ural and beyond).²

This is also well known to the Russian imperialists, and this is why they cannot recognize the independence of Latvia. Hence the Kolchakists' hatred of the Lettish nationalists.

The conflicts between the Kolchakists and the Lettish nationalists not only serve as a vivid characterization of the former as "democrats" and "constitutionalists," but point to inevitable conflicts among the opponents of Soviet Russia on a large scale.

The Lettish nationalists, with their "government" of K. Ullman, are only a blind weapon in the hands of the Allies, chiefly of England. The existence of this "government" does not signify the foundation of an independent nation, but the transformation of Latvia into a dependency of one or several "great powers." Therefore the conflict between the Kolchakists and the Lettish nationalists is indirectly a serious conflict between the Kolchakists and the Allies.

Thanks to the fact that the forces of Kolchak are very weak and that he is absolutely dependent on the favor of the Allies, the latter can at present look upon these conflicts between the Kolchakists and Ullmanists as a hunter looks upon an accidental fight among his dogs. But the situation would be different if the ardent desire of the Allies, that Kolchak should be enthroned in Moscow, could be realized.

The main point of interest in this conflict is this: *it is not accidental, but has deep and permanent causes* in the very nature of the Kolchakist flock. Such phenomena will disappear only with the disappearance of Kolchakism, whose roots are not in Siberia, not in Archangel, and not in Latvia, but in those countries from which Kolchak gets his most essential support and protection.

DISILLUSIONMENT AMONG THE CZECHOSLOVAKS IN SIBERIA

The *Dalnevostochnoye Obozryeniye*, of Vladivostok, in its issue of July 1 discusses the address of the Czechoslovak leader, Dr. Girsu, at a special session of the city council, held to celebrate the overthrow of the Soviet Government by the Czechoslovak war prisoners in Siberia. "We intended our adventure," said Dr. Girsu in a spirit of disappointment, "for the benefit of the whole Russian people, but not of one portion of it." Commenting upon these words the paper says that the avowed aims of the leaders of the Czechoslovak adventure were belied by its consequences. "The conditions marking the close of this year, so significant in the history of Russia, are favorable to the political activity of only a portion of the Russian people, namely that portion whose political views do not approach the ideas of democracy."

2. Paul Rohrbach, "Russland und wir," Stuttgart, 1915, page 71.

Finnish Imperialism

By V. Vorovsky

Former Russian Soviet Representative in Stockholm, Sweden.

A COMMUNICATION has recently appeared in the press to the effect that an interpellation was made by the social-democrats in the Finnish Diet, with regard to the invasion of the Finnish detachments into Russian Karelia. Replying to the interpellation the Finnish Government declared that Finland "has no imperialistic tendencies." To be sure, if the term "imperialism" be understood in a scientific sense, that is, a special form of capitalism tending to a monopolistic centralization inside the country and to the exploitation of foreign markets, can be no serious talk of the "imperialism" of small Finland. But there exists a variety of imperialism or, more correctly, a substitute for it, which is easily adopted nowadays by small states, and expressed in the tendency to extend the state boundaries to the farthest possible limits, with the aim of creating a "great" power ("Greater Serbia," "Greater Poland," "Greater Finland"), creating organizations of the state and military apparatus on a large scale, and in attempts to an exit to the sea, i.e., world routes. Such only is the meaning of the word "imperialism" when that somewhat vague term is used in application to petty states. And the attacks of the Social-Democrats had at any rate in view the express tendency of the present bourgeois government of Finland to seize the provinces neighboring on Finland and to dress themselves in the costume of a "great" power, by taking advantage of the difficult situation of Russia.

Was it the truth which the Finnish Government stated when it declared that it had no such aspirations? Some materials relating to our attempts to come to an agreement with the White Government of Finland and to establish peaceful relations between our two countries may shed light upon this question. At the end of July of last year, the Soviet Government sent a delegation to Berlin for that purpose, where it sat with the Finnish delegation for three weeks without reaching any results. But the delegation was able to ascertain fully the aspirations of the Finnish Government.

Before the delegation started upon its work, there appeared in the German weekly "Deutsche Politik" (No. 31 of August 2, 1918), an article by Yalmar Prokope under the caption: "Finland and the Murman Question." The article set out to prove the necessity of uniting to Finland the whole of eastern Karelia with the peninsula of Kola "belonging to it." The reasons advanced for that cause may be reduced to three points: first, the moral obligation of Finland with regard to the Karelians who are waiting only, as it were, for the moment when they shall be united with white Finland; secondly, the necessity of putting up a barrier to the Russian social anarchy which is tending to spread westward; and, thirdly, the necessity of safeguarding the interests of Germany on the far North against the English invading the territory by way of Murman. For,

according to Mr. Prokope, by her sympathies, and owing to circumstances, Finland has become on the far North-East the corner stone of that powerful union of states which Germany had rallied around her." One should bear in mind that at the time Mr. Prokope was writing his article, the faith in the victory of Germany was very strong in the ranks of the Finnish White Guards, and he surely did not suspect that his government would have to change color so soon and become a friend of the Entente; otherwise he would undoubtedly have been more careful with his expressions.

The patch of land to which Mr. Prokope prefers his claims represents, according to his statement, an area of more than 200,000 square kilometers, covered by forests, lakes, swamps, and, in the northern part, by endless marshes. In the forests, in the powerful waterfalls, in the mineral earths, and partly also in the good arable land, there lies an immense wealth which the Russian government has not been able to utilize. Way up north by the Arctic Ocean, on the northern coast of the country—the now so often mentioned Murman—the sea is free of ice all year round. Here, at the farthestmost northern corner of Europe, lies the port of Alexandrovsk, to which, with the help of England, and under English management, Russia had laid during the war, a railroad track 2,000 kilometers in length, passing, from Petrograd through north-eastern Karelia and the cities of Petrozavodsk and Kem.

Precisely this attractive stretch of land, with rich natural resources, with non-freezing ports, with a ready-made railroad, is necessary for Finland, according to the opinion of Mr. Prokope, for the exclusive purpose of securing "peace and good neighborly relations with Russia." "One must undoubtedly be prepared for the fact"—he writes—"that sooner or later, and probably sooner than one is apt to think, Russia will become a power which one will have to reckon with." In order to prevent Russia from expanding in a north-westerly direction,—which would lead to creating here a centre of eternal collisions and hostility—it is necessary that Finland should possess "strategically satisfactory boundaries." But such a boundary must be short and must run through natural barriers, such as lakes, marches and unpopulated areas. On the basis of these indications, Mr. Prokope draws a boundary, a very short one and one very satisfactory for the Finns, as follows: the Ladoga and Onega Lakes, with the river Svir, and a straight line from Lake Onega to the White Sea. The Finnish boundary is shortened thus by two-thirds, whereas the area of Finland again is approximately enlarged by two-thirds, while Russia loses "only" her access to the non-freezing coast of the Arctic Ocean, the Murman railroad, the Murman fisheries, the enormous mineral resources on the Norwegian boundary, the Svir rapids; besides, she acquires a neighbor with a glut-

tonous appetite who would consider himself a great power and who would be compelled, in order to justify and to sustain this illusion, to conduct a provocative policy in regard to "anarchist and uncivilized" Russia.

It is true, Mr. Prokope wrote the above as a private individual,—and Lord knows what can occur to a mind of a private individual! When, at one of the sessions of the delegation, I pointed to the article of Mr. Prokope, which disclosed the bellicose significance of the extension of Finland's boundaries toward Russia, the delegates began to disclaim it, referring to the "private" character of the article. However, what was private in the articles of Mr. Prokope was only the fact that he naively divulged the secret thoughts of his government.

To begin with, this same Mr. Prokope was appointed as one of the secretaries of the Finnish delegation—from which it may be seen that the government considered him as a man of their own. But, in addition to this fact, it transpired during the labors of the conference, that the official Finnish delegation was advancing the same identical program as Mr. Prokope. At the first and only session of the territorial commission the Finnish delegation outlined a new boundary with Russia which would be desirable for Finland. The Chairman of that commission, Senator Rautape, set forth two principles as the basis upon which the boundary lines ought to be drawn: first, natural boundaries are to be used wherever possible; secondly, wherever that is not feasible, the boundary lines are to be drawn so as to secure in the best way the future safety of the state and good neighborly relations. Eastern Karelia represents all conditions for a favorable solution of that problem. The Ladoga and Onega Lakes and the River Svir, which unites them, represent natural boundaries; and to the north one could draw a line from the south-eastern corner of Lake Onega to the White Sea, where it will pass through deserted, thinly populated, economically little valuable places. And to the north, the boundary would be the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean. The appended chart shows how the Finnish delegation pictured the new Russian line and what part of Russia it was preparing to seize.

The reader may naturally ask: upon what right, upon what basis, for what services do the Finns expect to receive from Russia this vast territory, with rich natural resources and power-sources? This question has been put to them by us in just this form. Was not making a declaration of such claims on the part of a government which not long ago, had treacherously attacked our garrisons in Finland, which had seized many millions worth of Russian state property part of which they sold to the Germans, which had barbarously executed hundreds of Russian citizens, whose only guilt was that they were defenseless—was not the setting forth of such claims the height of impudence and shamefulness. To pay serious attention to these demands would mean to show the highest disrespect for oneself. The report of Mr. Rautape ended, therefore, with the following essentially humorous dialogue:

Rautape (finishing the report): Such are, in rough outline, our desiderata, against the realization of which there will be, I hope, no objections on the part of the Russian delegation. We are basing our desires on the principle of the self-determination of peoples. The wishes of the Karelian population were expressed not once and we, generally speaking, did not conceal these wishes.

I: Can't you tell us how large, in square kilometers, is the area which you claim? Is it approximately as large as Finland?

Rautape: No, not so large.

I: Possibly as large as half?

Rautape: If you like, somewhat larger than half.

I: May I ask what is Finland prepared to offer to Russia in exchange for that?

Rautape: Properly speaking, according to my opinion, there can be no question of exchange, as our desires, demands and claims are based on the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination. We are not ready either to buy or to exchange this province but simply to include it in Finland by virtue of the principle which the Russian government has made its political program.

I: As may be seen from the explanations of the chairman, Finland wishes neither to buy nor to exchange this vast territory which would constitute more than half of Finland but should like to receive it, so to say, "as a gift."

This whole dialogue had as its aim, so far as our side was concerned, the reduction of the "principles" of the Finnish delegation to absurdity. The government of white Finland, which itself does not recognize the principle of self-determination of peoples, which is persecuting the inhabitants of the Aland Islands, because they want to separate themselves from Finland, which brutally suppresses in its own country all attempts to overthrow the class dominion of the bourgeoisie,—suddenly accepted the "Soviet platform" in the question of the right of the peoples to self-determination. What tolerance! What breadth of mind! What revolutionary élan! Not in vain did Alexis Tolstoi write that "even the

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devil may quote Scripture"; but, of course, only in case he expects to profit much in that process.

It is self-understood that our conversation with Mr. Rautape was very brief, in fact, the session opened at 4 o'clock and been closed at 4.45, not to be reopened again.

The official proposals of the Finnish delegation and the private article of Mr. Prokope, essentially in agreement with all of them, are mutually. The speeches of Mr. Rautape confirm that Mr. Prokope had expressed the views of official circles, while the article, on its part, divulges the secret motives for the demands of the government. A comparison of both of the documents shows us that while trying to utilize our slogan of the self-determination of peoples for the purpose of joining to Finland a vast territory situated to the east of it, the Finnish government had expressly in view the creation of a "Greater Finland," the cutting off of Russia from the non-freezing ports of the Arctic Ocean, and in alliance with Germany, and with the Baltic states

"liberated" by Germany, to stop her economic development and to reduce her to the level of a negligible state that would be afraid "even" of Finland.

These alluring plans fell like a house of cards. The German Empire, divided by a revolution, was definitely overthrown with the aid of American bayonets and by the hands of the German workers. Finland remained in a sad situation. But she was saved by the "bolshevism" itself. With the alertness of a lackey she leaped over to the Entente and offered it her services in the fight against the Soviet power. How and by what the new masters will repay her for these services—the future will show. But the Russian workers' democracy will hardly forget that the white government of Finland did all it could to harm them on all occasions, was in the service of all its enemies and that while it changed its political color like a chameleon, it remained steadfast on one point,—in its hatred of the Russia of the workers, in the desire to annihilate her. in the support of all of her enemies.

Kolchak Threatened to Quit; Allied Governments and the United States Induced Him to Stay by Making New Promises

"GOLOS PRIMORIA," a pro-Kolchak paper published at Vladivostok, in its issue of July 31, 1919, reprints the following communication from the *Russky Ekonomist* (Russian Economist):

"A few days ago a conference took place at Omsk; which was attended by all the representatives of the Allied powers who were present in that city, and, among others, by General Janin, Sir Elliott, the American Ambassador Morris, and other diplomats. Supreme Ruler Kolchak delivered to the conference a statement to the following effect:

"In an hour of trial the Admiral had taken upon himself the burden of supreme power. He did this

with the approval and advice of the Allies, who promised unlimited support in the struggle against the Bolshevik Government. Unfortunately, the period which has lapsed since then has demonstrated the assistance furnished by the Allies to have been inadequate, to say the least, compared with the scale required for the success of the struggle. Notwithstanding the very advantageous offers made to us recently, the Government of Admiral Kolchak has firmly and consistently remained faithful to one policy, namely, to all the Allies, and has not leaned toward any individual power, which might cause internal friction among the Allies. We have patiently waited for the active support of the Allies, which should have come long ago and at the right time, and then all would have been over. Now, in the face of threatening events, when, further hesitation is impossible, it is imperative to state with all sincerity and good will toward our friends, the Allies, that if this lingering and hesitating attitude toward the Government and its activity should continue, the Supreme Ruler will hold that he has no right to bear the heavy responsibility for the outcome and consequences of the struggle which is to decide the fate of Russia, and the question may arise whether it might not be advisable for him to delegate his authority to his recently appointed successor, General Denikin. In conclusion it was pointed out what the immediate aid must consist of. It comprises equipment, supplies, and finances.

"The representatives of Great Britain and France, in their replies, were in complete accord with all the propositions of the Admiral, agreeing also that further postponement was impossible. The representatives of the United States and Japan, after communicating with

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their Governments, deemed the declarations of the Supreme Ruler to be quite right and meriting full satisfaction.

"In conclusion the whole diplomatic corps, in behalf of their Governments, unanimously addressed an official note to the Supreme Ruler, expressing the ardent desire of all the powers to see Admiral Kolchak at the exalted post of the redeemer and builder of a new Russia who shall conquer Bolshevik tyranny.

"The Allied powers expressed their readiness immediately to increase the volume of all necessary supplies for the army and for the rear to the extent indicated in the Government's plan. The foreign ambassadors at Omsk immediately proceeded to frame the specific

terms of a money loan, which will probably be completed and approved within a few days."

SOVIET RUSSIA, in a recent issue, predicted that the recognition formerly intended for Kolchak would not be given to him, but would, in view of his failing fortunes, be accorded to Denikin, because of his temporary successes in Ukraine. But the above declaration would make it appear that instead of granting their recognition to Denikin, a "Supreme Ruler" to be defeated at a later date, after Kolchak is definitely disposed of, the Allies may after all prefer to grant their definite aid and approval to a "Supreme Ruler" already defeated. But of course, each "Supreme Ruler" may, perhaps, enjoy recognition in due turn.

The Proposal by Ambassador Morris

Before President Wilson left Paris and while the recognition of Admiral Kolchak's government was being strongly urged, he instructed Mr. Morris, ambassador to Japan, to go to Omsk and investigate the government there with special reference to the expediency of recognizing it. From Tokio to Omsk the distance is over 4000 miles, and conditions in Siberia are not such as to make it an easy matter to provide for the safe transportation of an ambassador. Thus it happened that Mr. Morris did not reach Omsk till the first days of August, when the check to Kolchak's offensive, which had been reported before he set out, had become a debacle; as he entered the city, refugees from the shattered front were already streaming in, and the question was no longer whether Kolchak could take Moscow but whether he would have to shift his capital to Irkutsk, 1500 miles farther east.

Under these conditions the task of Ambassador Morris, who had the benefit of the military advice of Gen. Graves, commander of the military forces in Siberia, who had accompanied him from Vladivostok, must have been even more difficult than had been looked for, though it may be suspected that much of the criticism of Mr. Wilson for declining to act till he had made an investigation was due to the fact that Kolchak's position was worse than the public had been allowed to know and that if recognition were postponed it might not be accorded at all. That the sudden pessimism in military circles at Washington a week or so ago was due to bad news from the mission at Omsk has been taken for granted; now we get, in what appears to be a semiofficial manner, what is said to be a summary of the findings of Ambassador Morris.

So far as present conditions are concerned it seems to be extremely discouraging, but it is amazing to find coupled to this report the recommendation that if the Kolchak government is able to survive 30 days longer it ought to be recognized. This is the more amazing because the report appears to recognize that the peril to the Omsk government arises not merely from the defeat of its armies which invaded Soviet Russia last spring, but to the unpopularity of the Kolchak régime in Siberia itself. The excuse is offered that the Admiral has been too busy with his military campaign to

be able to organize sufficiently the civil government in Siberia to keep the people contented, but this leaves wholly out of account the question whether government organized in his way is what the people want.

Quite as remarkable as the recommendation that the Kolchak government be recognized if it can escape annihilation just 30 days longer, is the statement that Mr. Morris urges that the United States government give assistance not merely with loans and munitions but by sending experts to "assist in the establishment and maintenance of civil government in the various sections of the country." This would be interfering with a vengeance in the internal affairs of Russia. Recognition of Kolchak seemed a dubious enough matter last spring, when we were assured that he would be at Moscow by mid-August and that Russia would acclaim him as liberator. It seems worse than dubious, now that European Russia has shown that it prefers Lenin to Kolchak, while Siberia is revealing an unmistakable drift in the same direction.

Mr. Morris is said to speak well of Admiral Kolchak, but however admirable his personal character may be, the essential question is whether Russia wants him and the clique which surrounds him to be its ruler. The evidence is all the other way; a government so unpopular that its ability to survive 30 days longer is in grave doubt is not a government for which we should incur costly and dangerous commitments from which it would be extremely difficult to withdraw. —*Springfield Republican*, August 24.

LENIN ON DENIKIN

In a message about Denikin, Lenin has stated: "I am confident that we shall in the Fall inflict upon Denikin a fate similar to that of Kolchak."

—*Le Populaire*, July 23.

See next page for list of important and interesting articles to appear in "Soviet Russia" next week. Order in Advance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE DEATH OF A RED REGIMENT	1	EDITORIALS	12
THREE DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS (SOVIET RUSSIA AND FINLAND)	2	RUSSIA A POTENTIAL CUSTOMER OF THE UNITED STATES, <i>By Julius B. Fox</i>	15
THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN KOLCHAK AND GERMANY IN ODESSA	5	A CZECHO-SLOVAK ON THE CZECHO-SLOVAK ADVENTURE	17
SUPPRESSION OF POGROMS BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	7	THE RUSSIAN WAR: HOW, WHY AND FOR WHOM?	18
THE WAR AGAINST AN IDEA, <i>By E. D. Morel</i>	8	THE FORESTS OF SOVIET RUSSIA	19
✓ THE NEW RUSSIA (FIRST INSTALMENT), <i>By Paul Birukoff</i>	9	PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF LENIN, <i>By Siegfried Bloch</i>	21
		BESTIALITIES OF THE POLISH WHITE GUARDS	22

The Death of a Red Regiment

THE strongly anti-Bolshevist Jewish daily *Der Tag*, in its issue of September 7, publishes a letter from its Copenhagen correspondent, Mr. N. Shiffrin, in which the latter reports his interview with the editor of the military paper of the Russian counter-revolutionary Northern army, who came to Copenhagen from the front. The editor began with stories about Red "atrocities," but he admitted that all these stories were based on what he had heard from others and not on his own observations. The correspondent then asked him to relate his personal experience and observations at the front. This request was met at first with surprise and suspicion: "But I could only see how we treated the Reds!" Mr. Shiffrin was, nevertheless, interested in the actual experience of the editor, and the latter's reluctance was overcome by the correspondent's introductory card from an anti-Bolshevist friend of the editor. Mr. Shiffrin assures the readers that he quotes the gruesome story that followed literally, word by word, as it was told by the editor.

"As you know, the Bolsheviks changed the names of the old regiments. The Moscow troops have on their shoulder-straps the initials of the martyr Karl Liebknecht. We captured one of the Karl Liebknecht regiments, and they were tried. The trial at the White front is brief: every soldier is examined, and if he admits that he is a communist he is immediately sentenced to death by hanging or shooting (we could not be better than the Reds!) And the Reds are well aware of this.

"Lieutenant K. approached the regiment and addressed them in a stern and cold manner: "Those of you who are true Communists, show yourselves to be courageous and step forward."

"A painfully oppressive interval. . . . The captives know what this means. And . . . slowly, in closed ranks, over half of the regiment steps forward.

"I had never before had the opportunity to witness the ceremony of passing such a death sentence. O, no! I forgot. I saw a captured Communist some time before this. He was granted the privilege to be shot in the back. With his back toward the rifles, he was shot and fell into the high growing grass.

"One more episode is impressed upon my mind: the death of General Nikolayev, one of the army commanders of Lev Davidovich Trotsky (the editor meaningly emphasizes the name Lev Davidovich). He was captured and confessed that he was a Communist. He was sentenced to hang himself. We prepared gallows for him at Yamburg, near the Karl Marx statue (a copy of the Moscow statue). Nikolayev was forced to end his life himself."

The conversation changed into a general discussion. The editor was carried away by the conversation and forgot the unfinished story about the captured regiment. I had to remind him.

"Well, then, about the regiment," continued the editor. "They were sentenced to be shot. But before being shot they had to dig their own graves.

"The execution of Communists usually takes place during sunset, on a field near a church. It is twilight. The air is full of the odor of fragrant northern flowers. The green dome of the village church is seen, surrounded by sleepy poplars, whose leaves are always restless in the daytime. But in the twilight, when there is not the slightest breeze, the poplars seem sorrowful, and stand motionless around the wooden crosses.

"A large number of onlookers have assembled on

the field; peasants, women, children, soldiers. They stand close together, as sheep during a storm. The condemned are first of all ordered to take off their clothes. (The front is poor, and their uniforms are badly needed. They are used by the White soldiers. In order to save the clothes from getting soiled with blood or torn by bullets, the Communists are ordered to undress before they are shot.)

"Slowly the condemned take off their shirts, and tying their clothes together into a bundle, they put them aside. It is very queer, one might think that they were getting ready to bathe!...

"They stand there in the field, freezing, and in the moonlight their skin appears extremely white, almost transparent. Each of them is given a pick-axe, and they begin digging large, common graves.

"I remember the first thought that came to my mind: it must be painful to press the cold iron of the pick-axe with one's naked feet. It must cut into flesh.

"It took some time before the Communists had dug out their own graves. After digging for a quarter of an hour the depth of only half a meter was reached.

"My fingers accidentally touch my suit. I feel that my clothes are thoroughly wet from the dew which is falling like a mild drizzle. The grass is covered with heavy drops. The field looks like a carpet of very small pansies with the colors of the pupil of the human eye. There is a tear in every eye. And the naked Communists keep on digging. And I was curious: how does the dew affect them?

"After half an hour had passed Lieutenant K. ordered his soldiers to help dig the graves. He is very nervous and seems to be pained. The digging, the waiting, the whole atmosphere is so painful! The soldiers take their places side by side with the condemned. It is getting darker and darker. Gradually it gets harder to distinguish the naked from the dressed, there is a chaos of restlessly moving limbs. Lieutenant K. and myself approach nearer to them. Only now am I enabled to observe them individually. Here are three or four

digging a common grave. I can see only their shoulders, their bodies are hidden in the ditch.

"At last the graves have already the necessary depth. The condemned sigh from weariness. Many of them throw themselves on the soft, wet ground, and rest. It is their last repose. Only now I notice that many of them have their feet bandaged. They have already been wounded in the struggle.

"Nervously and incoherently, as if he were stuttering, Lieutenant K. asks them to state their last wish. Two take thin rings off their fingers and give them to the Lieutenant. He takes their addresses. Both of them are from Petrograd. One of them has a family residing on the Aptekarsky Island, the other leaves a wife, residing on Gorokhovaya. The others have no wishes to make, although every one of them has a home, a wife, children, relatives. They feel as if they had been dead long ago. I cannot explain otherwise their absolute calmness and indifference, a typically Russian indifference.

"I ask one of them what made a Communist of you? In a peculiarly cold and stiff manner he replies: 'The accursed life! The world needs happiness!'

"The soldiers are holding their rifles, ready to shoot. The naked communists take their positions close to one another, forming a white wall in the moonlight . . . A command is heard, followed by a flash and the sound of shooting. . . . The Communists are still standing erect.

"A second volley is heard. The bullets strike some into their hearts. Thick blood streams leap into space. But most are only slightly wounded. And in the fraction of a second, before the soldiers shoot again, I hear deep sickly sighs. Volleys follow one after another. They become less and less. Now those who are still alive cry out: 'Hey, there, take better aim!' Some point to their heart: aim here. . . . And blood is flowing.

"Finally, all are dead. Some are lying near the edges of the graves, the others have already fallen into the ditches. It is all over. Nothing disturbs the quiet."

Three Diplomatic Documents

The last of these three items of correspondence between the Soviet Government and the Finnish Government is unfortunately not an official document

I.

WIRELESS NOTE OF THE FINNISH MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MAY 25, 1919, FROM HELSINGFORS

To the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, Moscow.

The note of the Russian Soviet Government in which that Government protests against the imaginary attacks on the part of the Finnish armies is mendacious, and the accusation against the Finnish Government is not correct. Not one shot was discharged either on May 17 or 18 by our batteries against Russian territory or against the ships of the Soviet Government outside Finnish territorial waters. On the contrary, it was precisely the Krass-

naya Gorka batteries and the Russian ships, which, without any cause, fired at the Finnish fortifications, for not one regular Finnish army was making attempts to land upon the Russian shore. The Finnish Government none the less desires to inform the Soviet Government that every battleship which may appear in the Finnish territorial waters without the consent of the Finnish Government will be subject to the fire from our batteries. Likewise it is altogether untrue that the Finnish armies took any part in the Olonetz incidents. The Finnish Government is compelled, to its sorrow, to warn the Soviet Government that if the latter should not order the cessation of the savage cruelties committed by hordes acting in the name of the Soviet Government against the peoples neighboring on Finland

and akin to the Finnish people—the Finnish Government in such case may soon consider itself compelled to take appropriate measures in order to stop these occurrences. Assertions of good will towards Finland on the part of the Soviet Government cannot be sincere so long as the Soviet Government is not only giving shelter in their country to traitors and rebels and is permitting them to prepare rebellions in Finland, but is even aiding them in various ways in all their schemes and is itself participating in them.

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

EHRNROOT.

II.

WIRELESS NOTE OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAIRE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OF MAY 26, 1919.

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helsingfors.

The Russian Soviet Government understands and recognizes the difficulties of the paradoxical situation in which the present Finnish Government finds itself because of its dependent position with regard to the imperialistic governments of the "Entente," whose dishonest policy is compelling the Finnish Government to go against the wishes and the interests of a great majority of the Finnish people, and to hurl itself into adventures fatal to Finland which are directed against the Russian territory and against the Russian Government. It is well known that not only are the masses of the Finnish people unconditionally hostile to the bellicose policy of the Finnish Government, which is aiding the intrigues of the imperialist governments of the "Entente" in their endeavor to annihilate Soviet Russia, and in general, the designs of the international counter-revolution, but even within the Diet this policy is meeting with energetic opposition. In order to execute the orders of those who are in fact the real masters of Finland, the Finnish Government, which is merely their agent, is compelled to resort to a systematic campaign of lies and provocations with regard to the Soviet Government and to the getting up of ludicrous quasi-popular demonstrations which have nothing behind them. When the Finnish batteries are directing their shells at our ships and at our shores, and are compelling our batteries to respond, the latter, having only self-defense as their aim—the Finnish Government wants to convince us that the shots received by us were not actually discharged. When a band of white guardist assassins, supported—as is proven by irrefutable evidence—by regular detachments of the Finnish army, invades the Olonetz Province, sheds streams of the people's blood, commits bestial acts against the local inhabitants, shoots and beats even sick people, and subjects to persecutions and torture all who are suspected of revolutionary ideas—all documentary proofs of these facts are in our hands together with names and dates and places—the Finnish Government attempts to convince us that these invaders, who are arousing the hatred of the popular masses of Olonetz, are in reality their liberators. It desires at the same time to impart to

us the idea that the people of Olonetz, who in reality had received with enthusiasm our red armies that liberated them from the presence of bandits, desires, as a matter of fact, to remain under the yoke of those who were committing constant murders in that country. The Finnish Government is making up quasi-deputations of inhabitants of Olonetz, which are composed in reality only of local exploiters and speculators who are despised and hated by the people—the Finnish Government being desirous to create a semblance of a popular movement in its favor in a place, where the masses of the people are in reality inspired with the sole idea of remaining at peace with the liberator of the working people, the Soviet Republic. The Finnish Government, which is fabricating accusations against the Soviet Government and its army, which are devoid of any foundation, is trying thus to delude its own people and to inspire it with militant inclinations that are foreign to it. Lastly, while revealing its character, which is despotic and hostile to the working people of Finland, the Finnish Government wishes that the Soviet Government should break, in its favor, the law of right of asylum, solemnly proclaimed by the Soviet Government for all who are persecuted for advocating in a popular cause, and that it should cease giving refuge to revolutionary champions and fighters for the Finnish popular cause, who, in view of the bloody repressions and innumerable cruelties of the Finnish Government, were compelled to seek refuge on Russian soil. The Russian Government is aware of its duty as a representative of the Russian popular masses defended by their glorious red army against the incessant attacks of the counter-revolution in which, evidently, the Finnish Government should like to take an active part. The Russian Soviet Government knows that it is at the same time the actual defender of the interests of the Finnish masses at well, whose best champions the present Finnish Government is persecuting trying to embroil in a silly adventure, in order to do service to the international counter-revolution. While it sees clearly that no arguments will have the power to put an end to the complex and pre-determined opinions adopted by the Finnish Government with the conscious aim of concealing its attack upon the Soviet Government and while it declares that the argument of arms, the only one comprehensible to the present Finnish Government will be used by the workers' and peasants' red armies against the invaders of Soviet Russia, in defense of the territory of the Republic and of the cause of the Revolution, the Soviet Government at the same time declares once again, as it has done before, that all attempts at provocations on the part of the Finnish Government will remain without result and will never force it to abandon its firm and tranquil stand. Defending without wavering the cause of the Russian popular masses, the Soviet Government remains, as ever, far from any hostile and aggressive intentions with regard to Finland.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs,

CHICHERIN.

III.

The following account of the most recent official Soviet action that has reached here, concerning Finland, is taken from a recent issue of the *Manchester Guardian*:

An extraordinary meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, held on Monday, Sept. 16, according to a Bolshevik wireless message, was addressed by Trotsky, who made a report on the military situation. Trotsky dwelt fully on the state of the western front, "which up till now has been of secondary importance." "After crushing Kolchak and dealing with Denikin, whose army already shows signs of dissolution," said Trotsky, "we shall concentrate our forces and deal with our enemies in turn. There is on the west, however, one sector where we cannot retreat an inch. On the Petrograd front we must stand proudly and impregnably. There are some signs that an advance is intended against us. But similar concentrations have already taken place, and how have they ended?"

"We cannot permit Finland, which received her independence owing to the October revolution, to remain a permanent threat to us, to make constant raids, or to collect hostile forces on her territory, which is a home for all our counter-revolutionaries. We must declare that we will not permit such provocation on the Petrograd sector. We are well informed of what is being done in Finland. We are aware of their secret plans and ideas. We declare to Finland that we do not desire to attack Finland's independence. If we are given real guarantees of Finland's sincerity and cessation of further provocation not one of our soldiers will cross the Finnish frontier."

"If this be not forthcoming we shall make every preparation for an overwhelming advance into Finland. Let the Finnish bourgeoisie know that the road which leads from Helsingfors to Viborg, and from there to Petrograd, is the same one that leads from Petrograd to Viborg and Helsingfors. We have been sufficiently long suffering and have not answered these provocative actions, but an end must be made now. We shall make every Finnish bourgeois responsible for the attacks which are being made by Finland against our Red capital."

The following resolution was unanimously passed:—"The Petrograd Soviet approves of the offer of peace made by the Soviet of People's Commissaries to the present Government of Esthonia. At the same time the Petrograd Soviet declares that it is more ready than ever to defend Red Petrograd. If the Esthonian and Finnish bourgeoisie obey the directions of the Anglo-French Imperialists and advance against Petrograd, we shall answer with a counter-advance against Reval and Helsingfors, and together with the Esthonian and Finnish workers we shall not rest till we destroy the entire Finnish and Esthonian bourgeoisie."—*Wireless Press*.

KOLCHAK OUTLAWED

(Text of an Official Soviet Publication)

HELSINGFORS, Aug. 23.—The Council of People's Commissaires has published and posted publicly the following measures which are to be enforced in the regions abandoned by Admiral Kolchak:

1. Kolchak, the former Czar's admiral, who calls himself "supreme ruler," and who has under his orders a council of ministers, is declared to be an enemy of the people and beyond the pale of the law;

2. The proclamations or laws, the decrees or *prikaz*, emanating from Kolchak or from his lieutenants are annulled;

3. All deeds of sale or purchase, contracts or treaties, all concessions signed by Kolchak, his ministers or lieutenants, are annulled;

4. Similarly, all treaties, agreements, concessions, or contracts concluded between Kolchak and the governments of foreign powers, desiring to enrich themselves at the expense of the Russian people, are declared null and void;

5. The rights of the various populations are not in any way to be curtailed; the land and all properties shall pass to the community;

6. The money issued by the Soviet Government will have the same value as in European Russia;

7. The various peoples of Siberia may dispose of themselves and undertake the discharge of their internal and foreign affairs, as has been already done by the Ukrainians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the inhabitants of White Russia, the Tartars, the Bushkirs, the Kalmuks, and the other peoples of Russia.

The President of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee,
KALININ.

THE CZECH PROLETARIAT AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

A Telegram to the *Populaire*

We have received—by mail—the text of the following telegram, which never reached us in the normal way, from the Czecho-Slovak socialist comrades of Brunn: *Populaire*, Paris.

Brunn, July 9.

The editors of the *Delnický Denník* of Brunn (Moravia), the organ of the Czecho-Slovak Social-Democratic Party of the Left, welcome the action of the French, English, and Italians in favor of the Russian Socialist Republic and wish the Allied proletariat a complete success.

We are going to propose to our Party to follow the example of the French, English, and Italian Comrades in the solidarity of the action of the Allied proletariats.

EDMOND BURIAN, R. MERTA,
Members of Parliament of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.
—*Populaire*, July 22, 1919.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER:—Pin a dollar bill to this advertisement, and write your name in the margin below, and we will send you, if you forward this Ad. and the dollar to us, SOVIET RUSSIA for the three months beginning October 1, 1919, and ending January 1, 1920.

Address:—"SOVIET RUSSIA," 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Alliance Between Kolchak and Germany

We print below an amazing article which appeared in a recent issue of "L'Europe Nouvelle," a French publication with principles thoroughly opposed to those of the Russia Soviet Government, and interested in championing the rights of small nations, particularly those new states which arose out of the war. This article gives the key to the recently announced negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states. It throws a vivid light on the insidious backstairs intrigue between Kolchak and Germany. Kolchak is the creature of the Allies, but this does not prevent him from playing the game of knifing the Allies in the back. The American press has given great credence to the reports of an entente between the Bolsheviks and Germany, and has suppressed all mention of the entente between Kolchak and Germany. The only sort of an agreement that Soviet Russia will enter with the present Germany is a strictly economic and commercial agreement on a cash for cash basis. There is not a particle of Soviet foreign negotiations that is not immediately sent out by wireless for publication all over the world. One cannot say the same of the intrigues of the Kolchak ring.

The mistaken politics of the Entente is beginning to bear its fruits. It is not alone the affair of Archduke Joseph which shows what a paradoxical situation can arise out of a policy where the mistrust of the spirit of the new world goes hand in hand with dark and most often little understood competition on the part of interested parties.

We recall the astonishment with which French opinion greeted the attitude of Von der Goltz in the Baltic province. We could not understand how this commissioner of the German General Staff could be tolerated so long after the armistice in a country where Germany has always tried to establish a footing. We could not understand especially how the English Government, to whom was principally assigned the maintenance of order in these provinces, could tolerate the politics of Von der Goltz. On several occasions, it is true, notes were sent, but never was his departure demanded in a categorical manner. Now, let us see what the Germany of Erzberger tried to do before quitting the Baltic provinces as a base.

I have several times pointed out the dangers in the Entente policy with regard to Kolchak. I made the remark, speaking from the point of view of the organization of order in Eastern Europe, what a serious blunder it was to lend support to an out-and-out, uncamouflaged representative of the ancient Czarist Russia. Kolchak is pursuing the same obsolete policy not only in internal affairs but in the domain of diplomacy as well. I foresaw then how fatally, sooner or later, a Germany of Erzberger and a Russia of Kolchak were bound to come to an agreement. The events which are occurring in the Baltic provinces and in Lithuania, until now occupied by the Germans, confirm my predictions in an astonishing manner.

Before enumerating these events I wish to point out how a policy of accord between the Germany of Erzberger and the Russia of Kolchak is dangerous for Poland and for the democratic policies of the Entente. It was one of the dogmas of the Germano-Russian policy of before the war that the Germano-Russian union could endure only so long as Poland submits to the yoke of the partitioning powers. The restored entente on the bases established by the diplomacy of Kolchak and Erzberger will sooner or later plan for the destruction of the reconstituted Polish state. I do not know which is more to be admired: the complete ignorance of the Entente's statesmen who do not understand that a Kolchak Russia is a *conditio sine qua non* for the

sabotage of democracy in Germany, or the criminal stupidity of certain Polish politicians who intrigued behind the scenes at Paris to persuade the Quai d'Orsay of the necessity of an accord with Kolchak.

The former labored effectively for the King of Prussia, and the latter prepared the tongs which will one day be able to menace again the very existence of their fatherland.

In the daily press the pretense has been kept up that M. Sazonoff had left for Berlin in order to negotiate with Germany. M. Sazonoff very prudently gave the lie to these statements: "At this moment," he said, "it is no longer a question for me of pour-parlers with Germany." What M. Sazonoff forgot to tell us is that by this time his emissaries (the emissaries of Kolchak) had come to a full understanding with the German Government. For several months previous the democratic Polish press, such as the *Gazeta Polska* of Warsaw, had been calling attention to these negotiations. In spite of this the statesmen of the Entente as well as the Polish politicians of the extreme right did not believe in the possibility of an accord of this kind. The Polish review, *Rząd i Wojsko* (Government and Army) several weeks ago pointed out the presence of Kolchak's emissaries at Berlin who were to conclude a definite agreement with the German Government. Although the German Government published a denial, a second conference took place at Mitau; this latter between the representatives of the German Government and the mandatories of Russian reaction, Prince Lvov, Count Keller, and third representative of Kolchak. This conference, which took place in the month of July, was a continuation of the entente concluded at Berlin.

The *Lietuva*, the Lithuanian Government organ published at Kovno, in its issue of August 6, gives full proofs of this. The Polish newspapers from August 15 on print similar evidence. The precise clauses of the accords reached between the German Government and Kolchak are not known, but later events allow us to guess their tenor. On July 26 of this year there arrived in the vicinity of Kurszany, situated in the district of Szawle (part of Lithuania previously occupied by the Germans) a detachment of Prince Lvov's army. It operated in complete accord with the German gendarmerie, who requisitioned in its name accommodations for the detachment. On July 29 other detachments of the same army commenced to arrive. In these detachments were noticeable a great number of former gen-

darmes and former German soldiers. The German officers confined themselves to wearing the Russian epaulets, the soldiers were satisfied with the Russian cocades, and as for the gendarmes, they kept their old German uniform with the inscription *Deutsche Verwaltung Litauen*. The Russians who were part of this army carried themselves with German bearing; only their caps carried the ancient insignia of Czarist Russia.

The German gendarmes and functionaries declared that outside of Kolchak they would recognize no government. They declared that they had the authorization to disarm the Lithuanians. They acted without bothering much with the Lithuanian Government. On July 30 another detachment of the same army entered Kurszany. They carried, and unfurled, the standards of the old Russia. The various officers declared point blank that they belonged to "the Czarist army," which is out for the unification and the re-establishment of the old Russia. They conducted themselves very brutally, and did not recognize the Lithuanian power, overthrowing the Lithuanian governmental institutions.

At Szawle another detachment of the Kolchak army arrived from Mitau. Among the officers were found numerous Germans. The uniform was Russian, and they were well armed. The officers wore the Russian epaulettes, and the soldiers Russian and German cocades. This exquisite symbol gives an example of the triumph of Allied diplomacy in Eastern Europe. This detachment declared to the Commandant at Szawle that

the little town was to provide lodging for a thousand soldiers from Kolchak's army and was to serve as a recruiting center for this army. The Commandant of the army likewise ignored the Lithuanian Government.

These two facts prove the substance of the accord between Kolchak and Germany. They explain also what became of the soldiers of Van der Goltz's army. The Polish press claims, moreover, that the pourparlers at Mitau had for its principal topic the taking of common action by Kolchak and Germany against Poland. It claims also that this agreement has already been concluded.

What is certain is that the attitude of the Allied Governments, their subventions granted to Kolchak, allow him not only to maintain a hand-to-mouth existence but even to intrigue with Germany against them. The attitude of the Polish Government which has de-ridered to send representatives to Kolchak is completely incomprehensible. On the part of the Entente, it is a sign of total diplomatic incapacity; on the part of Poland this attitude is equivalent to a desire for suicide.

As for Lithuania which Kolchak has never recognized, she can meditate upon the mistake of playing a Germanophile politics. At the present moment the army of Kolchak, seconded by Germany, is preparing to remove the *Taryba*. *The Entente powers can learn once more that it does not pay to support Czarist reactionaries of the Kolchak brand. They are adventurers without faith and without scruples.*

In Odessa

The Far Eastern Review, July 9, 1919.

The following article from a Siberian newspaper that is hostile to the Soviet Government shows that there are many bourgeois elements in Russia that are now opposed to such dictatorships as Denikin's and Kolchak's.

The Bureau of the Zemstvos and cities of South Russia states in its declaration that the Bureau of the Union of Zemstvos and Cities considers dictatorship ruinous for Russia. Military dictatorship can only rely on support from insignificant groups among the property-holding classes, whose interests it would have to promise to uphold. The masses of the people have justly seen that the dictatorship means a step towards the restoration of the pre-revolutionary régime; and even the moderate democratic circles will never be at peace with such a dictatorship. Notwithstanding the outward sign of full power, the dictatorship, isolated by all liberal society, would be powerless to solve the complex problems of the organization of normal order, which, more than anything else, demands the greatest activity on the part of society and the people. The bureau is against the position occupied by the National Center, and the Council of governmental union in the agrarian question. These organizations strive to include into the program of the Provisional South Russian Government the re-establishment and protection of private property rights to the land, and the Council of governmental union insists on the reimbursement of private landholders for the losses suffered by them during the revolution. Seeing in this a usurping re-establishment

of pre-revolutionary land laws, the Bureau of Zemstvos and Cities considers that it would be a new cause for civil war in the villages, for the sharpening of class hatred, and the further strengthening of Bolshevism. A government conducted exclusively by the interests of the agrarian class would, in the opinion of the bureau, be ruinous and anti-governmental. Agrarian reform, in the sense of the land passing to the peasants, is a necessary condition for the further peaceful development of Russia, and the future Constituent Assembly possesses the final say as to the forms of landownership and the use of the land, and also as to the manner in which the land is to pass from the landholders to the peasants. Because of this, the Bureau is also against the proposition of the property-holders to give landholders the right to sell their lands. Towards the end of its proclamation, the Bureau of Zemstvos and Cities states—"The South Russian Government must promise not to re-establish any pre-revolutionary land laws. The rebirth of Russia is only possible if its very foundation is democratized."

The National Center made the following declaration:

"It is the opinion of certain groups who took part in the conference that they differed with the national

center on the land question, and the question of the organization of a provisional government. These groups reproach the National Center with striving to strengthen the hold of the nobles on the land, and opposing verbally and in action the democratic foundations of Russia. Because of this, the representatives of the National Center find it necessary to proclaim that in their opinion this accusation does not coincide with the facts. The program declarations of the National Center on agrarian, labor and general political problems bear witness that the National Center does not think of the future Russia otherwise than as renewed in the spirit of democratic reconstruction and abolition of all distinctions, a Russia with deep reaching social reforms, and a broad decentralization of administration. The National Center wants the peasant to be taken care of with land. But the re-establishment of the private rights of landholders is a question of law and justice, a province that no pro-

visional government may invade. The provisional government must not only avoid new explosions of civil war and class vengeance,—it must re-establish legal organs that should consider fairly any land quarrels that might arise, not prejudging the question of the rights to the land, but leaving it entirely to the judgment of the coming Constituent Assembly. The National Center considers that disagreements with the other groups could not exist, because this question has not been threshed out to a finish. The only disputed question, as far as the National Center is concerned, is the question of the organization of the provisional government. The National Center thinks that the war with Bolshevism and anarchy necessitates strong military control. The military command must receive extraordinary powers for a short period of time. The National Center cannot take part in the organization of a coalition government, which cannot work out the salvation of Russia."

Suppression of Pogroms by the Soviet Government

"Struggling Russia," in its issue of September 6, quotes from an article by Vladimir Kossovsky, one of the leaders of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party, the "Bund," and the delegate of the "Bund" to the International Socialist Conference in Berne, in the September issue of the Jewish Socialist magazine "Die Zukunft," that there were outbreaks of anti-Jewish pogroms in Soviet Russia.

"Struggling Russia" omits, however, those portions of Mr. Kossovsky's article which show that stern and effective measures were adopted by the Soviet Government to put a stop to the pogroms. We reproduce here those portions of the article which have been omitted by the pro-Kolchak organ.

THE problem of combating anti-Jewish pogroms was taken up on April 11, 1918, at the meeting of the Supreme Bolshevik institution, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and it was decided to take energetic measures against pogroms. In connection with this meeting the Petrograd *Pravda*, the central organ of the Bolshevik party, in its issue of April 13th, came out with an article against pogroms. The article states that the pogrom epidemic which swept over a number of cities is even stronger than in 1905. And the paper expresses its confidence that the Soviets will curb the murderers of the Jewish people and will deliver them up to a stern revolutionary tribunal."

"In July the Council of People's Commissaries (the Bolshevik Government), found it necessary to address to the Soviets an appeal to combat anti-Jewish pogroms. This appeal of the Bolshevik Government points out that, according to reports received by it, in many cities a pogrom agitation is carried on, which has already led to excesses against the Jewish population in a number of cities; that the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie had thus picked up the weapon which had dropped out of the hands of the Czar. And all Soviets are called upon to take energetic measures to put an end to the anti-Semitic agitation."

"All the facts prove," concludes Mr. Kossovsky, "that the Bolshevik government is resolutely combating anti-Jewish pogroms, seeing in them the most dan-

gerous weapon of the monarchist—bourgeois reaction,—and is ready to resort to the most energetic measures against them."

The same conclusion is reached by Mr. Abraham Revootsky, the former Minister for Jewish Affairs in the Ukraine Government, in an article which appeared in the anti-Bolshevik Jewish *Day* of New York. Says Mr. Revootsky in the issue of September 10th:

"The Bolsheviks take every measure to combat the pogroms. Hundreds have been shot for making pogroms."

He comes back to the same subject in the issue of the following day where he says:

"I acknowledge with satisfaction that it is precisely the Bolsheviks who do everything possible in order to suppress pogroms."

On the other hand the same author expresses the belief that the success of the anti-Bolshevik elements must inevitably result in anti-Jewish pogroms. "Indirectly, the pogroms are strongly encouraged by the armed struggle against the Bolsheviks," says he. "A Socialist government which is conducting a military campaign against the Bolsheviks becomes utterly dependent upon the reactionary elements in the army, and the reaction in Eastern Europe goes hand in hand with hatred of the Jews. An armed struggle against the Bolsheviks is psychologically bound up with pogroms against the Jews."

The War Against An Idea

By E. D. Morel

"Leave Russia alone, remove the blockade, adopt a policy of Gallio-like impartiality to all factions. It may well be that the only ultimate hope of Russia is a sobered purified Soviet system; and that may be far better than the Tsarism to which our present policy seems inevitably tending."—General Smuts' Farewell Message to the British People.

Let us get down to the roots of this Russian business, and analyze the issues. Out of Russia, the most persecuted of all civilized lands for many centuries, has emerged the attempt to give to an Idea the actuality of a political institution. What is that Idea? Roughly, this. The divisions of humanity are not represented by the accidental boundaries of race, nor by the frequently arbitrary frontiers of nationality or political dominion. These divisions are artificial and mutable. The true division is class. Humanity is divided into two classes, the propertied and the non-propertied. For all practical purposes the destinies of the non-propertied class, which constitutes the vast majority of mankind, are determined by the propertied class. The latter's command of capital enables it to control the world's economy and to use the non-propertied class as mere machines for increasing capital, and as raw material for wars, the purpose of which is to add still further to capital through the acquisition of fresh territory for exploitation. The mass of the non-propertied class—the proletariat—has been induced hitherto to acquiesce, more or less apathetically, in this state of affairs, largely because the propertied class has succeeded in dividing the proletariat against itself by fostering the spirit of *nationalism*. But the last five years have revealed modern war to be a weapon of human destruction so potent that the proletariat must either destroy it, or itself be destroyed or enslaved by it beyond redemption. Now war cannot be destroyed unless the proletariat is able to exercise alike the spirit of nationalism and the economic conditions which are its true generators and which obtain because the mechanism of government, production, distribution, and propaganda, is in the hands of the propertied class. The propertied class must, therefore, be divested of this power which must pass into the hands of the proletariat exclusively, until such time as the propertied class recognize the inevitable, when class will disappear and human society will be composed of a single unit of workers by hand and brain having equal votes in the economic and political spheres. Mankind as a whole will then perceive that there are not many peoples but only one People; and the fundamental cause of war will have vanished from the face of the earth. In brief the conception of *Democracy* must be applied to economics as well as to politics, and wealth must, therefore, be socialized by the Democracy and for the Democracy.

The Idea may be wholly fallacious; if so it will perish. It may contain the germ of living truth: in which case the germ will fructify. The attempt to

give practical expression to it may be premature: if so it will collapse. Its promoters may have erred in supposing that it can be integrally and immediately applied: if so its substantial realization will be hastened or deferred in the measure in which they recognize, or fail to recognize, their error. Their revolutionary methods of imposing such a drastic economic change on the Russian social structure may have been unnecessary and unwarranted: if so the Idea, even if essentially sound and healthy, must be hindered in its application both to the Russian and other peoples, just as the advance of political democracy was hindered in France and other countries by the excesses of the French Revolution. But one thing is certain. Behind this Idea, and the effort to transmute it into the working life of the world, move vast and elemental forces of age-long accumulation. These forces are rooted in the same soil as Christianity itself: for if the essence of the religion of Christ be not the brotherhood of the varied peoples of the earth, and the gradual displacement of national ideas by international ideas—then Christianity has no significance whatever. The agony of the Great War, and the failure of the governing classes to provide safeguards against its repetition have infused these forces with an immense driving energy. Neither the Idea itself, nor the forces behind it, can be annihilated by mere violence. To suppose so is an absurdity.

Yet the men at present controlling the French and British people, with the half-hearted support of their associates in America and Italy, have apparently committed themselves to this absurdity. They are deliberately attempting to kill the Idea in Russia by pure force. If they have been hitherto restrained from doing so in Hungary with equal vigor it is because of considerations for their own political safety. This policy of warring against an Idea by violence takes three forms: (a) Furnishing the agents of the propertied class in Russia with men, arms, and money; (b) inciting, and to some extent assisting, Hungary's neighbors to attack her; (c) starving and destroying by disease—for even medical requirements are kept out—the people of Russia and Hungary, through the blockade.

They have pursued this policy for eight months. What are some of the results already achieved? Every political section in Russia except the remnants of the old Tsardom, has joined Lenin against the soldiers of fortune subsidized from abroad. Every border State within the boundaries of the old imperial Russia has rejected the claims of these soldiers of fortune to speak for it, and demands that its independence shall be recognized. Italian workmen in Italian ports have refused to load ships with material of war consigned to Russia. French sailors have mutinied in Russian ports and declined to fire on the Russian proletarian army. It is reported that the French are reduced to despatching black troops to assist in the coercion of

(Continued on page 23)

The New Russia

By Paul Birukoff

Foreword by Mrs. Philip Snowden.—During a recent visit to Geneva I met Mr. Paul Birukoff in his own home. He had just returned from Moscow whither he had been sent by the Swiss Red Cross in charge of four hundred Russian refugees who were being returned to their own country. His conversation about the present state of Russia was so interesting that it occurred to me that it would be very useful if his experience and knowledge of Russia could be made known in Great Britain. The fact that Mr. Birukoff is not a Bolshevik makes his impressions and statements all the more valuable.

The translation of Mr. Birukoff's manuscript has been made by Mr. Emile Burns, the Secretary of the Independent Labor Party Information Bureau, to whom I am very much indebted.

IN dealing with such a living and thrilling subject, I have first of all to tell you within what limits I shall speak. It may be that these limits will disappoint you. You must understand at once that I have nothing sensational to tell you. I have not come here to hurl thunderbolts against the Bolsheviks, who are used nowadays much as bugbears are used to frighten children. And again I am sorry not to be able to please those who came here to hear a Bolshevik, because I am not one, in spite of the rumors which have been put about.

I am speaking because I wish to let the truth be known, for the truth is dear to me. My noble master and friend, Leo Tolstoi, used to repeat a Russian proverb which ran something like this: "It is as undignified for an old man to lie as for a rich man to steal." Therefore my white hairs will compel me to tell the truth.

The New Russia. Does it exist or does it not? Yes. It does exist. It is shaping itself and rising from the chaos into which it had been plunged by the downfall of Czarism, by the war and the Revolution. But it is such an enormous and complicated subject, one so full of contradictions, that it is impossible to deal with it fully in a speech. It would need years of study and volumes of description to deal with it adequately. I have only been on a journey from Geneva to Moscow and back again during last winter. I stayed about three months in Moscow, and I must ask you to allow me to give you as exactly as possible the impressions I formed during that time. Do not expect me to give you scientific statements and do not be disappointed if my impressions are not the same as yours. I had the good fortune to be a Russian—that is to say, to be able to understand the psychology of the people, the psychology

of the time and the psychology of the movements which are now in progress within the heart of this great nation. And this *a priori* knowledge enabled me to keep my mind clear in spite of the pack of lies that the Press put about as to the condition and fate of present-day Russia. I was able quietly to digest the facts which came to my knowledge and to appreciate the degree of truth in news described as "authentic."

THE CAMPAIGN OF LIES

I have neither the time nor the wish to analyze and deny all the lies that have been heaped up about the present system in Russia. I shall merely take one or two examples and leave you to draw your own conclusions as to the rest.

Since Lenin appeared on the political stage he has been described as "in German pay." The basis for this was that he preached what is known as "Defeatism." Now there is no doubt that the Germans might have been able to derive advantage from this propaganda, but that was in no way Lenin's fault. His line of argument was perfectly correct, and it was based on the history of Russia. Looking at Russian history during the nineteenth century the student observes that every victorious war was followed by reaction, and every war in which Russia was defeated was followed by progress. The logical conclusion for any person who desired progress for his country was to hope that it would be defeated. This is what Lenin did. And in fact this historical law has once again been proved in the Russian defeat and in the Entente victory. However, the Brest-Litovsk Peace caused Lenin to be once more described as "in German pay"—quite unjustifiably, because there was no other alternative than this peace

Biographical Note on Paul Birukoff.—Paul Birukoff, an intimate friend and biographer of Leo Tolstoi, was born in 1867 at Kostroma in Russia. He studied first with the Corps of Pages, then at the School of Imperial Marine, and later after a cruise in the Mediterranean, went to the Marine Academy.

Feeling no vocation for a military career, he transferred his services to the Academy of Sciences, taking a post at the Central Observatory of Petrograd. The social and moral ideas which were then current in high society in Russia attracted him greatly, and he soon abandoned his scientific career and took to popular propaganda for Christian and democratic ideals. He was one of the founders of the publishing house, Posrednik, which soon became the principal medium of propaganda for Tolstoi's ideas. Becoming acquainted with Leo Tolstoi, Paul Birukoff soon became one of his intimate friends, and later an interpreter of his ideals. In 1897 he took an active part in the anti-militarist movement of the Doukhoborts, as a result of which he was exiled and deported to the Baltic Provinces near Mitau, where he had to spend a year under close police supervision. After that he was allowed to go abroad, and went first to England, then made a journey to Cyprus to establish there a colony of the Doukhoborts, and finally settled in Switzerland near Geneva. After the Russian Revolution of 1905 he was

able to return to Russia, but as he found his activities hampered by the last reactionary Czarist Government, he left Russia again and returned to Switzerland in 1912, and, believing that he would have to settle there forever, he was naturalized and became a citizen of Geneva. But at the end of the world war in November, 1918, being anxious to renew his literary relations with Russia, he took an engagement with the Swiss Red Cross, conducted a number of Russian emigrants from Switzerland to Moscow, and after a stay of three months in Moscow, returned to Geneva with the last trainload of Swiss subjects in March, 1919. In the brief account which follows he gives an impartial account of his impressions of his former Fatherland. His main works are:

- (1) *Tolstoi's Literary Life*. A biography in four volumes (two volumes already published, the third in the press, and the fourth in preparation. This has been translated into all European languages).
- (2) The French edition of Tolstoi's complete works, with preface and notes.
- (3) Edition, with notes, of *Leo Tolstoi's Journal*.
- (4) A large number of articles on the Tolstolian Movement in Russia, published in various papers and reviews.

open to Russia at that time, as her army had demobilized itself of its own accord. The next stage was the publication in America of authentic documents (although the so-called documents were only photographs) which showed beyond the possibility of doubt that Lenin had received German money. But this little mountain of lies tumbled down when Scheidemann, one of the supposed signatories to these authentic documents, publicly denied the authenticity of his signature.

There is one other subject of which I am well qualified to speak, and that is the Tolstoian Movement in Russia. There again a little mountain of lies has been built up. We were told in the Press that Tolstoi's home had been pillaged, and in spite of the formal denial by Tolstoi's secretary, which I published, this lie was repeated again and again, and it was added to by the story of the destruction of Tolstoi's tomb. Well, a few months later I went myself to Yasnaya Poliana and spent a few days in the hospitable house now inhabited by the widowed Countess, and I visited the tomb and found it intact in its imposing simplicity, just as I had left it five years before.

We have all probably heard the lie about the socialization of women, which on investigation proved to be based merely on a ridiculous manifesto of an anarchist group in the provinces; a manifesto which attracted so little notice in Russia that during my stay there last winter I never heard the subject even mentioned.

You can see from these examples what credit is to be placed in the news which appears in the European Press. It may be that terrible crimes have been committed by the Russian authorities; but they are certainly not guilty of the crimes of which they are accused by the Press. It was such considerations as these which gave me courage to go and take part in the new life which is being built up in Russia.

THE SOCIAL PYRAMIDS REVERSED

The reforms have been radical. Before the 1905 Revolution a print used to be in circulation in revolutionary Russian circles representing the social pyramid. At the top of the pyramid was the Czar, being blessed by the Holy Spirit, descending from Heaven. On the next stage were his ministers. After these came the intellectuals and the scholars, the bureaucrats, the artists, and then the merchants and business people. At the very bottom were the workers with bent backs supporting the whole weight of this social pyramid. The Revolution has turned this pyramid upside down. The classes which had been at the bottom straightened their backs and took into their hands the Government of the Russian State, and their rule is called the dictatorship of the proletariat. This complete reversal of things took place with comparative ease. There was very little resistance. The bourgeois class in Russia is estimated at ten per cent, or even less, of the population. It was quite unable to make any resistance, and as a matter of fact there was no "class war." All the incidents in which bloodshed occurred were the result of struggles between the political parties which were aiming at appropriating to themselves the power which the Communists had seized.

The working class thus summoned to the Government of the country was not ready for this most difficult

task. The whole giant mechanism of a State comprising 180,000,000 of people stood still for lack of food and for lack of trained mechanics who might have kept it going.

One section of the intellectuals, engineers, professors, doctors, artists, men of letters, all belonging to other political parties, feeling themselves no longer to take an active part in the struggle, went abroad or into the distant provinces, where opposition to the existing Government was concentrating. Their empty places had to be filled by newcomers, and these newcomers were not equal to the difficulties of their position. Hence errors were committed, and signs of the temporary disorganization of the great social organism became evident. But there was even worse to happen. The far-reaching ramifications of the new administrative mechanism suffered severely. The people in the provinces and in the country were at first hardly conscious of the nature of their new task, and it was with great difficulty that the personnel necessary to fill the vacant positions was found. But it was absolutely essential to set the machine going, and so the first comers had to be taken, although they were sometimes ex-convicts who brought discredit on their position.

THE TAMING OF THE BEAST

Meanwhile the counter-revolution was not asleep. Plots more or less well organized threatened the new régime, which resorted to the weapon of the Terror in self-defence. As a result of all the imperfections to which I have just alluded, the Terror in many cases took the form of murder and confused pillage in which innocent victims suffered. But this unhappy period has gone by.

The Red Terror was cruel, but not more cruel than the White Terror. Everywhere that the counter-revolution was triumphant, unheard of cruelties were perpetrated. Every government which is in course of setting up a new régime acts by terror, and liberal reforms come only when the people begin to get accustomed to being afraid. It is in just the same way that savage beasts are made gentle and docile, tamed by the red steel. The tamer is then able to embrace them in the cage, the public is astonished at the friendly relations between man and lion.

Before my departure from Moscow I read in a Soviet journal an article headed "The End of the Terror." In this article the author declared that the Russian Revolution was entering into its second period—a period of organization, of work, of legislation—as the Revolutionary Government had now become so strong that it need no longer rely on those extraordinary measures which had been inevitable at the beginning. The beast had been tamed. I may add that during my stay in Moscow I went out day and night into the streets of the capital and never met with the least interference.

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

We often read in the Press articles headed "The End of Bolshevism," "The Dying Struggles of the Present Régime in Russia," and so on. These articles have appeared from time to time during the whole period of nearly two years that this régime has been in existence, and yet in spite of these articles the Soviet Government is still alive and is growing stronger.

What then is the reason for its survival? We must first ask, why did it first succeed? The present Government overthrew the preceding Government at the moment of greatest chaos, resulting from the dethronement of the Czar, military defeat, the realization by the people that their hopes had been disappointed, and the general misery caused by the protracted war. Demobilization, or rather the dispersal of the army of its own accord, increased the disorder. The present Government, by its decrees, gave legal sanction to two of the people's aspirations—its desire for peace and its desire for land—and by doing this it won the people's confidence.

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE

The agrarian question had been raised during the Kerensky régime, but no solution had been found. That was the period of the greatest chaos and disorder, when the peasants, excited by Social Revolutionary agitators, pillaged the property of the landowners. Lenin's Government sanctioned the expropriation of land for the benefit of the people, and by this measure took upon itself the responsibility for pillages of which it had in no way been guilty. It is true that agrarian reform has not yet been finally settled. Land is divided out amongst the peasants, but the forms of possession, the conditions of use and development have not yet been determined.

The requisition by the people of the landed estates took place in many different ways. I knew well as great landowner, Prince Kudacheff, who was a revolutionary, and had been exiled in the time of the Czar. Set free by the Revolution, he returned to his estate, and calling together a meeting of the peasants who leased his land, he told them that, being a socialist, he could no longer recognize private property in land. He therefore gave the land to the peasants and suggested to them that they should organize themselves into a co-operative society to develop the land and the farm. The society was formed, and the former owner was elected president. He thus remains upon his estate, not as possessor-oppressor, but as a friend of the people. And I know of many similar cases in Russia. If, however, the landowner was not willing to give up his property he was warned that he must abandon it. If he was a landlord living on good terms with the people his private fortune was spared, he was allowed time to sell off his movable property, cattle and so forth, on good terms; he was given grain and other provisions, and then he was asked to go away. Those, however, who were known as exploiters of the people were ordered to leave immediately, and were allowed to take away nothing, being compelled to look for work elsewhere. In many cases there were families in which a division of opinion took place. The obstinate "possessors" were compelled to quit, but the younger generation, won over to the new ideas, were allowed to remain and to enter into friendly relations with the people.

ORGANIZING COMMUNISM

The political party now in power is called the Communist Party. Its aim is to introduce State Commu-

nism, not at all an easy task in a country of at least a hundred million people, the majority of whom are still illiterate. For this reason the Government first aimed at establishing model communist organizations, and gave these favorable opportunities for developing, with the aim of attracting the people towards them. This plan, however, has met with only partial success. Alongside of these official organizations there are a certain number of voluntary communist organizations, held together by moral and religious bonds, which are recognized by the State and given equally favorable chances for development. Some of these communes have grown considerably, such as, for example, the Commune of Abstainers, which lately sent an appeal to the Allies asking them to put an end to the Blockade and to stop armed intervention in Russia—that new war which in my opinion is doing irreparable harm to the Russian people. This appeal was published some time ago in the Swiss papers.

Apart from these Communist organizations the Co-operative movement contains the largest number of groupings in present-day Russia. There are a great many of these Co-operative organizations, both of consumers and of producers, and their machinery is of great value for the feeding of the population. Another kind of group is that of Trade Unions, which organize the placing of employees in different industries, domestic service, as well as the other kinds of employment.

TENANTS' COMMITTEES

Another most interesting group is that of the Tenants' Committees. Houses are nationalized. The General Assembly of Tenants elects a committee, a president and secretary. The committee concerns itself with all matters relating to tenants, and serves as a medium of communication between the local authorities and the people. The Committee distributes the food cards, and informs the people of the orders issued by the authorities. These organizations have contributed a great deal to unifying the interests of the individual citizens, have made the feeding of the people much easier, and have solved the question of housing. Independent life became more and more difficult in circumstances which almost compel collective living. Life in general is full of energy, and I shall attempt to sketch some of the aspects of this creative life which is working at the regeneration of the country.

LIVES LOST IN SIBERIA

The following news item, taken from a New Orleans paper, indicates that the activities of the insurgent population of Siberia are coming very close to Vladivostok.

23 AMERICANS ARE SLAIN IN SKIRMISH IN SIBERIA

(Special Cable to New Orleans States.)

London, Sept. 6.—Twenty-three Americans out of a detachment of 74 were killed in one of the many sporadic terrorist outbreaks in the hinterland of Vladivostok.

The force of 8,000 troops in that district is hopelessly inadequate if the populace should become generally hostile.

Soviet Russia

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About Russia**

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THE disintegration of the military campaign against the Soviets rushes on with such rapidity that any day may see the whole ramshackle political and military structure collapse about the ears of those who planned the destruction of the workers' republic. We cannot predict what will be their next resort; we may be sure they will not easily give up their ruthless designs; but it is plain that events are forcing a new alignment of interests and powers.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are negotiating for peace with Soviet Russia. Finland may be expected to follow suit. Finnish Socialists will not fight for Kolchak; Finnish Nationalists dare not. Kolchak's recruiting mission in Lithuania, which arrived at Kovno on September 8th, for the purpose of raising White Guards was promptly ordered to desist and leave the country. The Polish imperialists have been abruptly checked in their ambitious military excursion by the powers at Paris, who, it appears, have bluntly told them to go home and go to work. Kolchak continues to retreat. Denikin's "volunteers" are trembling on the edge of debacle. Denikin puts up a bold front to cover flanks perilously menaced, and a rear beset by revolt and deeply penetrated by hostile forces. His press agents boasted of the capture of Kiev, but the fact appears that when Denikin's troops entered that city they immediately attacked the Ukrainians under Petlura who had arrived first. While these friendly allies were thus slaughtering one another, the Soviet forces made a successful withdrawal, and straightway defeated Petlura at Radomysl to the west and

recaptured Borzna and Bakhmach from Denikin to the northeast. The Red Army has occupied Tobolsk and is proceeding eastward in Siberia. By the complete rout of Kolchak's southern army, the Soviet forces effected a juncture with Red troops on the Turkestan and Tashkent fronts, thus bringing a large territory, rich in stores of food and raw materials, into communication with Soviet Russia. Great numbers of Kolchak's southern troops and the Orenburg Cossacks are going over to the Soviet Army. Press reports state that the British are evacuating the Caucasus. Kolchak and his Parisian supporters may take what comfort they can from the too eager assistance of Van der Goltz and his German monarchist warriors. They bring more confusion into the councils than real military aid. Siberia grows in dread of the Japanese incubus. There is evidence that even Kolchak's former adherents are sickening of the intervention game.

Meanwhile Paris is rife with rumors of an impending re-orientation towards Russia. The inevitable logic of events can no longer be concealed. An English journalist suggests that it is probable that Estonia is to play the part of the fabled mouse and liberate the British lion from the meshes of the net in which the disastrous Russian policy has entangled it. But the desire of Estonia to come to peace with Soviet Russia is only symptomatic of a general condition. British labor spoke with authority at Glasgow and is not unheeded. There is everywhere hesitancy and equivocation among the rulers; everywhere plain words and determination among the peoples. The game is almost played out. The reactionary statesmen have over-reached themselves and created a situation which works irretrievably to their own defeat.

* * *

WE occasionally find persons who do not understand our continued protest against the blockade. They point to a very explicit statement of an American high official that there is no blockade of Soviet Russia. They point to an equally explicit statement of the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in England that there is no blockade. Well, perhaps it is technically true that there is no blockade of Russia. A blockade of a country with which you are not at war would be an illegal procedure, and, therefore, for the convenience of nice-minded statesmen, must be said not to exist. As we understand it, if an American ship, sailing to Petrograd, were to be intercepted by the armed vessel of some other power, that would not be the working of a blockade—it would be a plain act of piracy. It is perhaps just to avoid any such untoward incident that American ships are not allowed to load cargoes of food and clothing in New York for the suffering populations of Petrograd and Moscow. At least, the American business men who are eager to trade with Russia tell us that they are obstructed in their efforts by what is explained to them as a desire to avoid "international complications." Piracy is an unpleasant business. One might prefer not to provoke it.

We would remind those who are in a quandary over this thing which looks like a blockade and acts like a blockade, but is called something else, that these are days when things do not go by the general rule and when words have strange meanings, especially when you are dealing with Soviet Russia. War, for instance. Without a declaration of war, it is difficult to find a proper term for the slaughter and maiming of a people who have repeatedly asked you to make peace with them. The slaughter must go on; but it cannot be called war. It must be called "maintaining the front," or "guarding supplies," or "support of loyal elements." Of course it becomes exceedingly difficult when there is no longer any front, and when the supplies are not there, and when the loyal elements turn about and assault you. But it is not beyond the powers of political invention to find some other euphemism. The war must go on, but it must not be called a war. So with the blockade. It is not called a blockade, and, as we have admitted, it is not a blockade, but really something with an uglier name. Yet it acts like a blockade. The Russian people could tell you that. They know how it has acted. And there are many American business men who can tell you how it acts to prevent their goods from going to Russia. That is why we continue to protest the blockade.

* * *

THE conservative London *Morning Post* does not go out of its way to pay compliments to Moscow. So we may take as of especial weight and significance a recent tribute in the *Post* to the financial administration of the Soviet Republic. In a review of Russia's finances the *Post* recalls the prediction of Foreign Minister Shingarioff in Petrograd in April, 1917, that the Provisional Government would be unavoidably compelled to continue extensive issues of paper money. This prediction was fulfilled during the Lvoff and Kerensky administrations. "It follows," says the *Post*, "that among the Bolsheviks' numerous sins cannot be counted their paper money finance, which was a *damnosa hereditas* received by the Provisional Government from the autocracy, and by it in turn handed on. The amazing feature is rather that the Bolshevik Government has kept afloat for nearly two years in a bark, which even under Kerensky was falling to bits."

From a study of the available statistics, the *Post* discovers that the output of paper money is less than was imagined, and finds explanation for this in the Soviet method of payment with checks and in kind. "If the statistics are correct," says the *Post*, "this system seems to have been tried out with some success."

The recently published Soviet Budget for January to June, 1919, shows that despite the chaos inherited from its capitalist predecessors, despite the ruin of war and the structures of blockade, the Soviet Administration proceeds with its multifarious activities in the construction of the workers' republic. There is a huge deficit, to be sure. But that is a condition

which Soviet Russia shares with its capitalistic neighbors; and a deficit in a peoples' state, in full possession of all its vast natural resources, is a wholly different case from a deficit in states where income must be painfully exacted from workers toiling in privately exploited industries.

The Soviet authorities have not let any financial perplexities deter them from generous provision for the welfare of the population. The appropriation for the Commissariat of Public Instruction for the first six months of 1919, was 3,887,000,000 roubles; for Public Health 1,227,000,000 roubles; and for Social Welfare 1,619,000,000. The dark side of this picture is revealed in the appropriation for the Commissariat of War. Twelve billion roubles was the price the Russian people had to pay to defend themselves against foreign invaders in those six months. In striking contrast to this huge expenditure for war, is the relatively small appropriation to the Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution. It is deeply significant that in the same period the amount required to combat the internal enemies of the Government was less than three per cent of the sum needed for defense against foreign assaults. This is a fair index of the extent to which order and tranquility prevail within Soviet Russia today. It is evidence that the cessation of internal intrigue and counter-revolutionary uprising, has left the Government free to devote all its energies to the defense of the country against foreign attacks. The shocking thing is that these attacks make it necessary to waste in useless slaughter this great energy which should be applied to constructive and peaceful productivity.

We have looked in vain on the other side of the Soviet ledger for an item which should appear there. According to a statement issued by the Foreign Credit Division of the United States Treasury Department, foreign credits established by the American Government between November 11, 1918, and September 9, 1919, included the sum of \$187,729,750 given to "Russia." This item does not appear among the receipts of the Russian Government. To what representative of what Russia did the American people give this money?

* * *

WE hope that the press dispatches may soon clear up the mystery surrounding the recent visit to Soviet Russia of Mr. W. T. Goode, the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Goode set out from Revel on June 30 for Moscow and traveled through the lines of the Red Army. Describing conditions on the Soviet front, he wrote:

"The soldiers in this sector were mostly Communists and were in hard condition, well fed, equipped and armed. The officers of the outpost company and the brigade were men of the intellectual class. To us . . . they were kindly, even generous, and they were intensely amused at the opinion held of them by the Western world. . . . The railways are well managed, and the permanent way and stations are in good condition. The rolling stock and engines are worn, but carefully

mended and used. Military traffic amounts to 95 per cent of the whole. It is a triumph of organization, pointing to able and constructive administration both of the railways and the military."

At Veliki Luke, about 290 miles from Moscow, through some misunderstanding, Mr. Goode was held up and returned to Reval. Subsequently he was informed by the Soviet authorities that they would give him facilities to reach Moscow. On July 20th he again left Reval. There is reason to believe that he reached Moscow safely, remained there some time, and has since come out of Russia, although no further first-hand report of his experiences has come to hand. It is interesting to note, however, that on September 12 the *Daily Herald* of London said: "In well informed quarters in London it is generally believed that the Soviet Government has made a fresh peace offer to the Entente, and Lenin is said to have given these terms to a British journalist now en route home." It was reported that the journalist in question was Mr. Goode. The *Herald* warned the public against further attempts to suppress and deny the news of peace proposals from the Soviet Government. At the same time the *London Nation* said: "There is some reason to believe that Lenin has made fresh overtures of peace to the British Government. There is a further rumor that attempts have been made to intercept it. So it may be well for the public to keep both ears open." This warning came just in time. On September 13th a propagandist dispatch was sent out from Helsingfors attempting to discredit Mr. Goode in advance. A correspondent, claiming to have seen Mr. Goode in Reval after his return from Moscow, said that he had brought peace proposals to the Estonian Government, and denounced him as a "thorough-paced Bolshevik agent" who is "ready to vouch that everything in Moscow is the exact opposite of what it is painted."

Lacking all knowledge of Mr. Goode, or of his mission and experiences in Russia, except that he is an accredited correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, we merely bring these facts to the attention of our readers, in order that they may be guarded in the event of further developments in this connection. It is to be assumed, of course, that any one who returns from

Soviet Russia with a favorable report upon conditions there, will be attacked with unscrupulous fury in the capitalist press. We do not know what Mr. Goode may have to report about Moscow. It is interesting to observe, however, that the attack upon him has begun even in advance of his report.

* * *

THE reverses of the Kolchak forces on the Ural front have produced a change of public sentiment, even among those classes of the Siberian population which formerly acclaimed him as the saviour of the Russian state.

This change of heart is reflected in an editorial of the *Golos Primorya* (The Voice of the Slope), of July 29th, which we reproduce here in part.

"Fate has played a bad trick on the anti-Bolshevik forces, driving them to seek foreign help, which has dealt a deadly blow to the national self-respect of the masses. . . The Czar's Russia was thought to be under the sway of Imperial Germany. This contributed largely to its isolation from the masses of the people, ever suspicious of all foreign intervention. The fact that instead of the Germans, the Allies with the aid of the Russian classes, are now beginning to play a leading part in Russia, in no way changes the effect of such foreign intervention on the national feelings and national instincts of the masses. No government, whether democratic or of the 'mailed fist' variety can serve as a center of national unity so long as, in the opinion of the masses of the people, its power rests upon foreign forces. The weakness of the ideology of the conservative classes lay from the very first in their simultaneous appeal on the one hand to the national instinct, and on the other to the foreign powers, which was, in its essence, a repudiation of that instinct.

"It will be necessary to revise many principles of the political orientation by which a portion of the anti-Bolshevik public was guided in the beginning of 1918."

In conclusion the editorial mildly censures "excesses on the part of the authorities," the "lack of understanding of the psychology of the masses," the "tendency to underestimate the Bolshevik forces," and the "reliance upon the Allies, rather than upon the people," for the critical situation of the Kolchak government.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IN RUSSIA AGAINST INTERVENTION

THE *Nashe Dyelo*, a Right Menshevik paper of Irkutsk, in its issue of July 29, discusses editorially the public sentiment in Siberia on the intervention issue. According to that paper intervention is favored only by the Right (monarchist) parties. All Socialist and bourgeois liberal parties are at present opposed to intervention. The leading Cadet paper, the *Otyechestvennyy Vedomosti* (Fatherland Record) is outspoken in its opposition to foreign intervention. It is worthy of note that this paper is the organ of Mr. Byelorussov, who was appointed by Admiral Kolchak last May to head the commission for drafting an election law to the proposed All-Russian National Assembly. In a series of articles his paper has recently warned against inviting foreign military aid.

"It shows," says *Nashe Dyelo*, referring to these

articles, "that a government supported by foreign bayonets could not be a national government and could not lead in the regeneration of the nation; that such a government would be associated in the minds of the people with foreign invasion, the consequences of which would seriously affect the future of the nation; that even the capture of Moscow by the force of foreign bayonets would in no way guarantee the regeneration of the State, but that, on the contrary, the presence of an alien force would only strengthen the anarchy which would flare up immediately upon the withdrawal of the foreign troops. This very fact would tend to prolong the stay of the foreign troops in the country, and a prolonged stay of these troops and their use against Russian citizens could not help affecting the very being of the nation."

Russia a Potential Customer of the United States

By Julius B. Fox

(Mr. Fox, who contributed the following article to the "New York Commercial," was born in Russia and lived there for many years, but became an American citizen, although retaining his business connections with the land of his birth. He has traveled extensively through all

parts of Russia and Europe, knows business conditions and the trade demands of Russia. He is in New York temporarily, purchasing goods for his Russian stores, and his remarks on this little known country are worthy of serious consideration.)

All Americans who have recently been in Russia, as commercial representatives, soldiers or members of relief organizations, agree that Russia in her soil, her natural resources and her manpower, is the richest country in the world, and the one which offers the greatest possibility for foreign trade. England, France, Germany and Japan are well aware of these possibilities and are taking good care that, whatever befalls, they shall not lose their share. America, alone, seems in danger of letting the favorable moment slip by.

Before the war America supplied only an insignificant part of the \$700,000,000 worth of Russian imports. In 1913 exports direct from the United States to Russia totalled only \$25,000,000, and in 1914 only \$30,000,000. These figures, however, do not represent the total of American products which found their way into Russia. For instance, in the case of cotton, American figures for 1910 show the exportation of 84,941 bales to Russia, whereas Russian statistics for the same year show an importation of 568,500 bales of American cotton. The difference of 483,559 bales must have come through English and German intermediaries. Thus the English and German middleman managed to secure for themselves a good share of the profits of our scanty Russian trade.

The supremacy of England and Germany in the Russian market up to 1914 is conspicuously shown even in such products as agricultural machinery, in which America certainly should claim first place. The following table shows what a small proportion of the Russian market we had acquired in this distinctly American specialty:

Total imports of agricultural machinery to	1910	1911	1912
Russia	\$19,550,000	\$27,000,000	\$25,600,000
From U. S.	5,191,904	7,567,035	5,826,000

During the war, however, American exports to Russia increased enormously, and in 1917 we exported to European Russia alone goods worth \$397,598,911, not only in war materials, but also in vast quantities of such peaceful products as agricultural implements, automobiles, cotton, cordage, locomotives, typewriters, machinery and leather, showing conclusively that America was well able to cater to the Russian market.

Just as American exporters were beginning to develop the possibilities of this vast market, the blockade intervened. For the eleven months ending May 31, 1918, our exports to European Russia had fallen to \$116,705,345, and by May 1, 1919, to a trivial \$7,000,000. Nor has our trade with Asiatic Russia, which was not included in the blockade, compensated for this loss.

On the contrary, that, too, shows a great decline to wit, from \$126,744,179 in 1917 to \$34,718,541, and \$30,217,166 in the eleven months ending May 31, 1918, respectively.

What is the future of American manufacturers in the Russian market? The present relation of Russia to the rest of the world will not endure forever—indeed, it already shows signs of modification. The blockade will be lifted. Will American exporters regain the promising start they had attained in 1917 and develop the market to even greater possibilities, or shall they fall back to the pre-war insignificance, handicapped and out-manouvered at every turn by European competitors? The blockade itself has enormously increased Russia's requirements for foreign goods. Her machinery is worn out; her rolling stock dilapidated. She is urgently in need of great quantities of clothing, textiles, chemicals, tools, implements, foodstuffs, medicines, and all the basic necessities of modern industrial life. When the gates lift she will buy these things immediately wherever she can most conveniently secure them. And this first rush to supply her most urgent needs will largely determine the relative position of the world's merchants in the Russian market for the next century. A slow start will be an irretrievable handicap. The increase of our exports from \$25,000,000 in 1913 to nearly \$400,000,000 in 1917 showed us the possibilities. Can we afford to let the opportunity slip by?

It is plain enough that England and Germany and Scandinavia are stripping themselves for the race. Some weeks ago press dispatches stated that representatives of the great German trusts were in Moscow negotiating commercial arrangements with the Russian Government. The news did not pass unnoticed in England, where it was the subject of discussion in Parliament, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs replying that it was his belief that "the German Government is endeavoring to enter into trade relations with Soviet Russia and that a German industrial mission has visited or is about to visit Soviet Russia." It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that English firms are sending picked employees to special schools in London, where they are learning Russian history and commercial geography and taking courses in Russian economics, agrarian problems, the textile, mining and chemical industries, and studying the Russian language for commercial purposes. For the present British penetration of Russian markets is openly revealed in Archangel, in southeastern Russia and the northern Caucasus. The English Board of Trade War Risks insurance is giving able assistance to British exporters

for the insurance of inland risks upon goods imported into Russia, covering losses arising from riots, civil commotions and other contingencies. The machinery is all prepared for the immediate extension of these activities the moment the political situation is propitious.

News dispatches indicate that Swedish and Norwegian merchants are watching resumption of trade between Germany and Russia with careful attention and have been taking steps in their own interest. In 1918, before the intervention of the blockade, trade between Sweden and Petrograd had been increasing rapidly, consisting mainly of agricultural machinery in return for flax, hemp, metallic junk and mineral oil. A few days ago a press dispatch announced that a Swedish steamer, with hatchets, saws and other implements was unloading at Petrograd. Another dispatch quotes a Swedish merchant who recently visited Moscow and reported upon his return that the Russians intended to place an order for upwards of \$50,000,000 worth of books in Sweden.

England and Germany have seeming advantages of proximity, as well as the benefits of governmental aid and past experience, in the Russian market. But this advantage may well be on the other side, if American exporters do not wilfully neglect their opportunities. Our remoteness and our political isolation from Russia are distinct assets in our favor. Russia has already experienced German penetration, and there are indications that she did not relish the experience and does not care to repeat it either with Germany or any other European power.

Russia does not trust her nearby neighbors; she knows, too, that America alone is politically more disinterested in Russia than any of the other great powers.

The commercial representative of the Soviet Government recently announced that initial orders received from Moscow for purchases in the United States immediately upon the resumption of trade amounted to more than \$300,000,000, including \$150,000,000 for railway material; \$30,000,000 for agricultural implements; \$10,000,000 for machinery and tools; \$5,000,000 for hardware and metals; \$30,000,000 for boots and shoes; \$20,000,000 for textiles and dry goods; \$5,000,000 for paper, rubber, etc.; \$25,000,000 for cotton; \$25,000,000 for foodstuffs. Payment for these purchases is promised out of the Russian gold reserve, part of which has been placed to the credit of the commercial representatives of Moscow in New York, and out of the export of the stocks of raw materials which are being held ready for shipment in Russia. A recent official communication from Moscow stated that Russia has ready for shipment 432,000,000 pounds of flax, 216,000,000 pounds of hemp, and a great amount of furs, bristles, hides, seeds, platinum and unlimited amounts of lumber and other raw materials of which we are in need.

Mr. W. R. McGarry, international authority on Russian affairs, said recently:

"Russia does not display, even in her present misrepresented state, such an unattractive prospect to the aggressive foreign trader. Her resources are unlimited. She has gold by the ton securely in her vaults. Her

agricultural and industrial and banking organizations and co-operative agencies are incomprehensively rich.

"England recognizes this, and this very moment, although knee-deep in debt to America, is not bothering her head about the exchange value of the ruble, but is digging into that market as deeply as she can.

"France recognizes this, and notwithstanding her crippled condition and her inability to pay America a cent on what she owes, is right now plunging into Turkestan, the Caucasus and the rich fields of the Kurgan, and rushing breathlessly back to Marseilles and Lyons with mountains of silk and bristles and grain and fiber and wool to convert into fabrics and brushes and gew-gaws that Americans will ultimately absorb with the gusto and complacency of spendthrifts who rejoice in being fleeced.

"There is considerable art in this. Art always recognizes the good, the noble and the true. France gets the good wares of Russia, retails them to the noble men and women of America, the profitable probability in the present for the true reason that she recognizes organized incapacity of Americans to exercise the precautionary rudiments of international trade!

"The cry of 'Bolshevist' whenever the name of Russia is mentioned is very largely intended for American consumption. It has a decidedly foreign accent. It issues mainly from the countries that are already firmly established in China and is intended to dissuade Americans from contending for the unparalleled opportunities offered in Russia until such foreign traders are as firmly established there."

There is no logic in the present situation. The peoples of the world are not inclined to fight Russia. All the Powers, except Japan, have announced their intention of withdrawing their troops. Moreover, the humanitarian sentiment which opposed intervention, will soon become increasingly emphatic against the further blockade of a vast population of innocent men, women and children, suffering from hunger, disease and the complete disorganization of their industrial life. (In Petrograd today a can of condensed milk costs \$7.80.)

It is no answer to say that we cannot trade with Russia. As Oscar T. Crosby pointed out if we do not, others will. The opportunities of the Russian market weigh heavily in the minds of European exporters against the supposed instability of the Moscow government. It is plain that they consider it a risk at least worth a test. Moscow offers to make contracts and to fulfill its obligations. It offers to pay cash. It offers to deliver goods. These are the considerations that are influencing the merchants of Germany, England and Scandinavia in their present plans and undertakings.

Is it not time to prove the reliability or unreliability of these offers? We can never find out by theorizing about political principles. Let us apply the test. Open Russia to the world. We once thought it wise to send a squadron to open the ports of Japan to the commerce of nations. What is the present wisdom of blockading Russia at a time when all the world needs to shake itself free from the shackles of war-time embargoes and restrictions?

A Czecho-Slovak on the Czecho-Slovak Adventure

The following article is taken from "Shibenichky," a Czechic paper published in America. It gives interesting details of a deal made by the Czecho-Slovaks in Russia with the Germans.

More news is coming out of Russia. Our Legionaries who were in Russia during its transformation, are returning. These men are bringing reports. They are imparting to us their experience. Some look at it from one standpoint—from the standpoint which was inspired to them and everyone of them is clamoring that you should, in fact that you must, believe them, and for this you are disposed to ask the reason.

We have had occasion to talk with soldiers who stated to us one thing as the truth, and again we were told different things by officers, everyone of whom made claim that we should believe his statements and for this reason we have again to ask "Why?" Now there falls into our hands a little brochure entitled "The Russian Revolution and the Czecho-Slovak Movement in Russia," which was published by The Workmen's Circle in Chicago, and which is founded on the speech by Aloise Muna, delivered in the Workmen's Home in Kladno (Bohemia) on January 12, 1919 (Muna as is known to us spent time in a prisoners' camp in Russia). He immediately entered the Czecho-Slovak army, then being formed, but as a Socialist he remained, together with other Social-democrats, true to the workmen's side and felt it consequently to be his duty to sympathize with the Russian Bolsheviks. His views obviously, therefore, are nearer to us, because Muna has no axe to grind.

We believe that Muna has no reasons to get unduly excited about our Czech question and for this reason, he is more objective than some national chauvinists of whom there were quite a number in Russia and who, in a way, are sometimes quite ridiculous; thus, they were forcing chauvinism on people who for years were educated in the theories of Socialism. This same Muna, who is neither a partisan of Durich nor of Masaryk, speaking of Durich, says:

"For the purpose of conciliating the leaders of Bohemian affairs in Russia there was sent in the Fall of 1916 into Russia a member of the "National Councils" the deputy Durich. But he was not successful in adjusting differences. On the contrary, he was dragged into the controversy and remained in it to such an extent that in a short time he was deprived of his mandate and of his membership in the Council by the National Council in Paris. His greatest crime seemed to have been that he accepted money as a subsidy from the Russian Government and "betrayed" Bohemian interests.

The self-same Muna continues: "And in the meantime, while the badly organized sections of the Russian army, together with the weak divisions of our Bohemian comrades, were desperately defending every foothold of the Soviet Republic, our Czech legions, with music in the van, playing a festive march, were retreating through Kiev, leaving this city to the Germans without a single fight. This policy of the leaders of the Czech

army naturally provoked an alarm and a panic in the ranks of the Russians. The military mission was the first one to leave and one of the very first was Professor Masaryk.

In the meanwhile the German regiments were approaching Kiev by forced marches. In our army there was a fighting spirit. The men were burning with desire to fight the Germans; but opposed to this there were the leaders of the Czecho-Slovak army, who were under the influence of the French officers, then virtually the dictators. These prevailed upon the men to such an extent that the men consented that the city of Kiev should be surrendered to the Germans without a fight and that the Czech regiments should take the defensive behind the Dnieper. But in spite of that our soldiers were deserting their regiments by the dozens and were joining the guerilla groups or were themselves forming such groups in order to fight the Germans on their own hook."

That the Czecho-Slovak army in Kiev did not fight against the Germans was due to an agreement between the Germans and the Ukrainian army on one side and the army of Czecho-Slovaks on the other side. "In this agreement the Czecho-Slovak army binds itself not to fight against the Germans." This document is countersigned by a German major, whose signature is illegible, and by Gorelinkov, the Attaman of the Cossack force.

The only thing that remains to us now is to ask why did this happen; observe the following:

"We in Russia did not cause the execution of a single person. On the contrary, we gained many hundreds of former legionaries for our ideas and these are now fighting enthusiastically in the ranks of the Russian proletarian army for the victory of the social revolution. But, on the other hand, it is ascertained that the legionaries caused the execution of scores of our comrades. For instance, Major Serva, in conversation with the Social-democratic deputy Nemeš, confessed that in Yekaterinburg there were executed: Comrade Skotak, an officer of the Sick Benefit Fund from Blansko; the representative of the National Socialist Party, former president of the Divisional Committee Motl (these two were the witnesses of the transactions had in Kiev with the German command); Comrade Pospisil, a teacher from Plumlov; Jaroslav Hasek, a well-known Prague humorist and author; Wacław Smarka, a sculptor from Vienna, and a great number of others. A Bohemian Communist who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the soldiers of the Czecho-Slovak army was mercilessly executed. It was then also ascertained that there were cases where the dead bodies were afterwards mutilated." And all we can do is merely again to ask why.

This is the way they dealt with our countrymen. This is the way brothers killed brothers. That they did not deal with other of their enemies in a different manner

(of course we must not consider as their enemies the Germans but only the Bolsheviki) the following quotation will disclose:

"In Omsk itself there were executed by Bohemian soldiers 1,500 workmen; a great number were executed in Samara and Kazan. In behalf of these men the workmen revolted against the Czecho-Slovak military tyranny, because such as were not already executed were obliged to flee." We hold our breath and we ask: Can it be the truth that brother against brother, that workman against workman, did these things, and why?

This terrible question still remains on our lips and we are compelled to repeat it, constantly to repeat it, and we will repeat it until someone of the elect will be found who will answer it. It will not change the situation, no matter who is responsible.

Be it Benes, Pergler, Masaryk, or by whatever

name these leaders and lesser leaders might be called that is all the same to us. We have a right to know who gave a command to our legionaries that they should take this stand against our own people and who gave them the orders that they should in this manner act against the Russian proletariat. And on whom shall we fasten the responsibility for this action.

In the self-same manner in which Kramazh was removed from public life (and he had merely offered 200,000 Bohemian legionaries to the Allies for tranquilizing Russia), let that person be called to responsibility who gave these legionaries the orders which for ages will remain a blot on the escutcheon of the workers of Bohemia in the family of the workers of the world. Persons have been tied and condemned for trifling crimes against nations. Let there be no exception made in this appalling case! Or is an exception to be made?—and—why?

The Russian War: How, Why, And For Whom?

(From *Foreign Affairs*, London, August, 1919.)

Delicate Denikin, K. C. B.

When he occupied Rostov 23,000 workmen were executed. At Ekaterinoslav he ordered every Russian found in possession of Bolshevik literature to be shot. At another place every tenth workman was shot as an example to the rest.—*New Statesman*, February 1, 1919.

* * *

Buried 30 men alive leaving their heads projecting above the ground.—*Nation*, June 14, 1919.

* * *

Murderer Mannerheim

Acquired power with German assistance in April, 1918. Arrested 90,000 workers; 11,478 died in prison, mainly from starvation. Between 15,000 and 20,000 others shot without trial. All Socialists brutally persecuted ever since.—*New Statesman*, April 19, and *Manchester Guardian*, July 14, 1919.

* * *

Cultured Kolchak

"Bluntly Kolchak is a 'terror' . . . even as a middy he was dreaded by his men, for he was an officer who swore by the knout and the knock-down blow."

—*Graphic*, June 14, 1919.

* * *

Grigorieff the Ghoul

The *Times* for June 14, stated that he was "ravaging the country." During late April and May, he sacked five towns killing "Reds" and "Whites" impartially. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, June 30, he now kills Bolsheviks only, and the Allies are therefore helping him. It is estimated that he has murdered nearly 100,000 Jews.

Why Workmen Pay Income Tax

To help the above-named scoundrels our Government has sent nearly 100,000 troops, 500,000 rifles, 500,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 200 light guns, 150 heavy guns, 150 tanks, and 400,000 uniforms, for which the British taxpayer pays.

* * *

Why?

"What we are witnessing now in Russia is the opening of a great struggle for her immeasurable raw materials.—*Russia*, the magazine of Anglo-Russian Finance, April-May, 1918.

* * *

"In the City it is realized that events are shaping more and more towards an international suzerainty over Russia modelled on the British surveillance of Egypt. Such an event would transform Russian bonds into the cream of the international market."—*Financial News*, November 20, 1918.

* * *

For Whom?

"It is estimated that there is today invested in Russia, £1,600 millions of European capital. Most of it is British. . . Not one of the men whose names I have here—I have the names of 1,500 British shareholders in Russia—has volunteered to go to Russia to fight for his investments there."—Mr. Neil McLean in the House of Commons, May 29, 1919.

List of names furnished in article by Mr. J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A., in *Labor Leader*, July 17, 1919.

KOLCHAK'S ROUBLE AND THE YEN

The *Priamurye* of Khabarovsk, in its issue of July 26, reproduces a special article from the *Russian Economist*, discussing the effect of the Kolchak defeat upon the rate of exchange, in eastern Siberia.

The loss of Perm, and other military defeats, as well as the railway strike, produced a panic at the Vladivostok Exchange. The fear that the Omsk government currency may eventually be repudiated has resulted in

an increased demand for Japanese yen. For several days banks refused to deal in exchange, and suspended the publication of their daily bulletins. The value of the yen fluctuated between 14½ and 17 roubles, and one bank sold large quantities of yen at 28 roubles. One yen is worth one rouble in gold (in other words, the "mint par" of the yen is about the same as that of the rouble).

The Forests of Soviet Russia

Economic Life, February 8, 1919.

(Economic Life is the official statistical and industrial organ of the Russian Soviet Government.)

The forests of Russia occupy an immense territory, equal to 400 million dessyatins, that is, 4 million square versts. More than 6/7 of this tremendous sea of trees belong to the nation. The largest part is in Siberia, but in European Russia, in the narrowest sense of the term (that is, excluding the Caucasus and the Polish Kingdom), there are about 140 million dessyatins of national forests, and more than 30 million dessyatins belonging to private individuals, the lion's share of which, nearly 84 million dessyatins is in the northern district. (The northern district includes the governments of Archangel, Vologda, Olonetz, Novgorod, Petersburg and Pskov.) The next in order is the government of Perm (11 million dessyatins), Viatka (5 million dessyatins), Kostroma (3.5 million dessyatins), Orenburg (2.5 million dessyatins), Ufa (1.7 million dessyatins), Kazan (1.7 million dessyatins), Nizhni Novgorod (1.5 million dessyatins), etc. The forests of the western district are much smaller in extent, and even in the most thickly grown regions do not amount to more than about one million dessyatins per government, with the one exception of Minsk, where the forest area amounted to 3.2 million dessyatins in 1911. The last figure may be colossal in itself but sinks to insignificance when compared to the 44 million dessyatins of Archangel or the 29 million dessyatins of Vologda.

If the rather sparsely forested sections of the three governments of the South West (2.9 million dessyatins) be left out of consideration, the rest of the forests of the north belonged to the nation, and their exploitation was conducted more or less in the self-same manner, and the general impression of the conduct of these incomparable mines of wealth, which possessed not merely a district value, but one that was national, is truly sad.

Almost one-half of the forests of Archangel and Vologda have not yet been explored, and the so-called explored forests compose a ridiculously small part of the total. In the government of Archangel there are 43 million dessyatins of national forests—only 5 million dessyatins have been explored; in Vologda, out of a total of 24 million dessyatins, only 1.8 million have been explored and surveyed. The words "explored" and "surveyed" must not be taken at their full value; their meaning is to be taken rather in a primitive manner, for the strength of the few people who have "explored" them was not equal to the colossal forces of nature and the absence of the necessary number of guards and foresters. Just what has been done, only in a small measure, to build roads and other means of communication, without which no serious and intensive work in the forests is possible, can be seen from the appended table:

In 1913 new roads were built in the forests of—			
Archangel	Vologda	Olonetz	
32 versts	62 versts	37 versts	
Their cost was....13,000 r.	4,485 r.	6,000 r.	

	Archangel	Vologda	Olonetz
Roads rebuilt.....	280 versts	363 versts	265 versts
Their cost was....	38,000 r.	17,000 r.	11,000 r.
Float ways			
improved	9 versts	265 versts	79 versts
Their cost was....	90 r.	3,762 r.	3,849 r.

The ridiculous expenditure of 90 r. in the government of Archangel for the improvement of 9 versts of float-ways characterizes our forest economy more than a dozen serious articles could.

It is true that in 1912-1916 the Duma demanded 1,459,000 r. for the improvement of the forest roads in the above mentioned government, but we know nothing of the fate of the money, and even this sum, amounting to about 300,000 r. in round numbers, per year, is insignificant in comparison with the size of the problem faced.

All the other phases of forestry are practically in the same condition as that expressed in the above table.

The utter insignificance of our lumber industry has often been treated in our press. For instance, in 1908, in the governments of the northern district, there were 164 sawmills (53 of them in the government of Petersburg) while in the central industrial district there were 222, and in the central agricultural district 230. Out of the total of 55 wood and celluloid factories, there was not a single one in the governments of Archangel and Vologda, and only 3 in the government of Olonetz, that is, the same number as in Volhynia, and less than in Livonia or the government of Vilna, or even little Esthonia, etc., etc., etc. Even in the confines of the northern district, where natural conditions favor the larger forests nearest the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea, the exploitation of lumber was conducted chiefly in the vicinity of Petersburg and the Finnish Gulf rather than in the governments of Archangel and Vologda. This was true not only in the case of Petersburg, which is a large lumber-using center, but also in the case of export. In 1911, 66 million pouds of finished and unfinished lumber were exported from Archangel and all the ports of the White Sea, while 78 million pouds were exported from Petrograd and Kronstadt. But conditions have suffered a sharp change. The amount of lumber in the well inhabited sections has fallen lately, and the development of all the creative forces of the district is being moved forward rapidly by all the circumstances of the moment. What may we not expect from the limitless forests of Archangel, Vologda, Olonetz, or even from those of Novgorod?

The yearly addition to the growth of the forests, thanks to the soil and the climate, is not large, and many experts have reckoned that it amounted to 40 cubic feet per dessyatin per year for the three northern governments, that is, 1.5 times less than in Sweden and Norway; only in the southern governments does it assume the slightly larger figure of 70 cubic feet. All

these are negative qualities which one must not forget, but nevertheless, our northern forests represent untold wealth, and are able, under full exploitation, to give the following amount of wood each year, without at all suffering in consequence:

(In thousands of sazhen)

In 3 Northern Governments—

Large Logs	3,339
Needle Forest—Medium Logs	3,309
Fuel	4,452
Deciduous—Workable	424
Fuel	851
Total	12,375

In 3 Southern Governments—

Large Logs	200
Needle Forest—Medium Logs	1,000
Fuel	800
Deciduous—Workable	312
Fuel	624
Total	2,936

The total is almost 15.5 million sazhen, and also, for many years to come, about 6.5 million sazhen of dead wood for fuel.

In order that our northern forests may cease to be lost mines of wealth, it is necessary to create means of communication in the north, beginning with railroads and ending with the Belomere-Onega and Pechora-Kamsk canals, the damming of the Sukhona and Upper North Dvina, etc.

There are also problems that bear on the well-being of the forests themselves, and the improvement of all the conditions under which they are being exploited which depend in a large measure on the refinancing of the lumber and forest industries, a change in forestry education, and many other changes not quite so important as those mentioned, but still necessary.

CONFLICT WITH THE BAKU PRESS

BAKU.—Much noise has been aroused here by here by a sharp letter written by the English Colonel Sparks to the representatives of the workmen's party, which was provoked by criticism of the English command. Because of this letter, a delegation of the workmen's conference visited Gen. Thomson, who expressed regret at the fact that the letter had caused so much trouble. Stressing that the press is free, and that he would willingly listen to criticism, much of which is true, Gen. Thomson expressed dissatisfaction with several individually sharp expressions, and the publication of unindorsed facts in some instances. Gen. Thomson was much hurt by the fact that he was compared with the régime of the old generals in the newspapers. The representatives of the workmen answered that in view of the fact that they could not accept the tone of the colonel's letter, they were thoroughly satisfied with the answer to it printed in the newspapers *Iskra* and the *Flag of Labor*.

The Far Eastern Review, July 9, 1919.

PROCLAMATION SPREAD BY BRITISH

THE *Chernomorski Mayak* (Black Sea Beacon) of May 11, 1919, prints an interesting proclamation circulated by British aviators in Astrakhan. Our readers will hardly believe the exaggerated protestations that "we are not counter-revolutionists," and the statement that "the Bolsheviki are not true Russians" is no doubt coupled with assertions in other proclamations dropped by the same aviators, to the effect that they are Jews. Our readers will recall the anti-Semitic proclamation printed in English by the Archangel Government, and distributed to intervening troops, which we reproduced in a recent issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*. The text of this amusing declaration is as follows:

Citizens!

The war has come to an end.

The Allies—truest democrats—have conquered the German absolutism. Now over the whole world there is peace and quiet—save in Russia!

In Russia there is no peace.

Why?

There is only one answer to that—thanks to Bolshevism!

Where there is Bolshevism there can never be peace. Bolshevism means anarchy, fratricidal war, chaos, famine and death.

The war is over, but the Russians, nevertheless, are dying by the thousands. Why?—Thanks to Bolshevism!

In other countries there is rejoicing—in Russia there is crying and groaning. Why so? All thanks to Bolshevism.

In other countries there is peace and plenty for all; in Russia, you are starving. Why so? Again, thanks to Bolshevism.

Bolshevism is a lie! The leaders of Bolshevism deceived you. The leaders of Bolshevism have sold Russia and you for German gold. The leaders of the Bolsheviki are rich—but you are poor.

The leaders of the Bolsheviki eat and drink well. But you are starving. The leaders of the Bolsheviki are not true Russians!

Down with them!

England, France, and America are your true friends, and the Allies come to your help, bringing with them bread and clothing and money.

Save, then, Russia and yourself. Help us deliver you from the plague of Bolshevism.

We are not counter-revolutionists! We are simply—counter-anarchists.

THE TRAGIC CONDITION OF THE UKRAINIANS

Panic rules on all the stations that are being evacuated by the Ukrainians. The first to run away are the military and civil authorities. The Cossacks, incited by their command, often shoot at the trains that contain these men.

If a soldier or civilian shows himself on the streets of the village after 8 P. M., he is liable to be executed on the spot by a firing squad. The robberies and massacres in Birzula have stopped.

The Far Eastern Review, July 9, 1919.

Personal Recollections of Lenin

By Siegfried Bloch (of Zurich)

WHEN the Central Office for Socialist Literature in Switzerland still had a modest home in Zurich, on Seilergraben, No. 31 (the library since April 1st, of this year has been located at Predigerplatz, No. 35, Zurich 1), it was often visited during the years 1916-17 by men who played an important role in the Socialist International. One of these was Lenin. The leader of the Left Wing of the Russian Social Democracy, Comrade Lenin, who is now the talk of the world, spent a considerable time in Switzerland. He was one of the most distinguished and educated of the emigrés. His personal manner was modest; he was importunate with no one. His life belonged to the Party and to it he sacrificed all his powers. When he approached any Socialistic question, he attempted always to examine it from all sides before expressing himself on it. He does not like compromises. He demands the whole loaf for the working-class. He maintained always that the greatest suspicion was in place with regard to the paid agents of financial and industrial capital. Lenin hates the bourgeoisie as much as he loves his Socialistic ideal. He hated particularly the so-called social-patriots who proclaimed a Burgfrieden when the war broke out. According to Lenin, the working class must not only organize well and march to the left, but the armed power of the proletariat must always be ready to oppose the police and the military forces of the bourgeoisie. The growing power of the proletariat must be resolutely and ruthlessly directed against the bourgeois policy of violence, and exploitation which, according to Lenin, does not hesitate to shed proletarian blood for its own private interests, as well as for the interests of foreign bourgeoisies. It will not be possible to avoid actions on a large scale if the proletariat is finally to free itself from its torturers and is to postpone forever the realization of their aims. Purposeful, clearly-judged mass actions will strengthen the power of the proletarian will and action and weaken the capitalist order of society.

As a companion, Lenin is extremely amiable. He writes smoothly; he speaks several languages. His favorite is the literature of the "Internationale," in which he is versed as very few others are. The Swiss Party Congress held about that time, was more or less of a nuisance to Lenin who followed it closely, because the Congress did not consciously move to the Left. Opportunistic resolutions are an abomination to Lenin. They prevent, retard, and obscure the planful rise of the proletariat on a basis of conscious principle. Lenin wanted Left radical wings to be formed within the unions and parties, in order to resist the bureaucratic character of these organizations. Read for example, Lenin's essay, which appeared about that time, entitled, "Opportunism and the Collapse of the Second International" (printed in *Der Vorbote*, No. 1, Unionsdruckerei, Berne, 1916), if you would understand how seriously Lenin took the necessity of proceeding along straight lines.

Lenin spent four hours daily in the reading room of the Central Office for Socialist literature, two in the

morning and two in the afternoon. He studied the international literature with interest and took great pains to become initiated in the mental products of the Swiss Socialist movement also. But the only object of these studies was to arrive at a definite attitude with regard to economic or political questions.

At Zurich, Lenin lived under the name of Vladimir Ulytnof in Spiegelgasse, No. 14, one flight up, a house with extremely primitive furnishings. Once, when he was about to deliver a lecture, he gave me the manuscript to look through. It was weakly constructed and written in good German. The subject was the historical development of the Russian revolution of 1905 and its teachings. Lenin was on intimate terms with only a few of the members of the Party, but I obtained the impression that his views, which were entirely directed toward the Left, were shared by no one else, at least, as far as the Zurich emigrés were concerned. Ryazanov and Bronski for instance, seemed conservative Marxists as compared with Lenin, who laughed at all illusionists. He considered it ridiculous to suppose that the liberation of the working class could be put through without revolution, since the bourgeoisie would not capitulate voluntarily. He considered it contrary to all historical experience to believe that an ancient class would be inclined to yield its privileges without compulsion, and it was one of the chief tasks of the workers' party to communicate this knowledge to the proletariat, which would have to assume leadership in the social revolution.

With few exceptions, the Swiss Socialist leaders paid little attention to Lenin, since he was not close to them, and little known to them. Most of the leaders of the Swiss workers movement did not recognize the importance of this man when he lived in Zurich, and being entirely preoccupied with the cares of their own little country, paid very little attention to him. The greater number of trade organizations ignored Lenin's very existence. They might have learned much from him, without necessarily sharing his views in all respects.

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Bestialities of the Polish White Guards

Izvestia, May 27, 9118.

A radio-telegram from the chairman of the Lithuanian-White-Russian Government to the Polish Government in Warsaw.

May 26.—The Polish Government, in its radio dated May 20, and signed by its Minister of Foreign Affairs, Vrublevsky, accuses the Soviet Government of barbarian conduct towards Polish citizens and of taking children as hostages. The Soviet Government of Lithuania and White Russia brands this as a falsehood, and places the responsibility for taking hostages entirely on the Polish Government. The Soviet Government of Lithuania and White Russia often warned the Polish Government that in answer to the torture of our comrades who fell into the hands of its servants, in answer to the pogroms and bestialities committed by its "glorious" warriors, the Soviet Government would be forced to the last means of defense—to take hostages from the Polish bourgeoisie and nobility who were in close relation with the counter-revolutionists of Poland, and that in answer to the torture and death inflicted on our comrades, in answer to the murders of the innocent, we would be forced to shoot the hostages taken. Notwithstanding this warning, the tortures, murders and pogroms continued. Our comrades in the Belostok prison, Zeiger, Mimukh and others, were beaten, their bodies burned with candles, and their fingers crushed by doors. After pogroms in the villages of the government of Grodno, which were reported even by the Warsaw papers, pogroms also took place in Pinsk, where several dozen innocent people were shot. Then there were pogroms in Lida, which claimed hundreds of victims, and pogroms in Vilna, where there were nearly two thousand victims. The Jewish Community of Vilna published a proclamation in the Vilna papers: many innocent Jews who had absolutely nothing to do with the struggle between the Poles and the Bolsheviks, were beaten without any investigation or court proceeding; hundreds of Jews

of the sexes being spared; thousands of Jewish apartments were beaten in their homes and on the streets, neither men nor women were robbed and the larger part of the Jewish population entirely ruined; thousands of innocent Jews, among them many well known men and famous social workers, were arrested without any cause whatsoever, beaten and imprisoned, starved and insulted. These events did not cease even when the representatives of the Jews reported what had taken place in the city to the authorities. The same things happened in Lida. The communists, or those suspected of communism received treatment that was even worse than that meted out to the Jews. In the light of day the marauders entered houses to make "searches," took away everything they could lay their hands on, then shot their victims, or capturing those whom they suspected on the streets, flogged them with knouts, took them to the suburbs, forced them to dig their own graves, and then shot them, or at best sent them, tortured and naked, to the prisons, where they were again mercilessly beaten and starved. They beat the People's Vice-Commissar of Education, Vaclav Birzsezska, and many others. The prisons were packed. Sick red guards were driven into the prisons from the hospitals. The returned nobles flog the village workmen and poor peasants. In answer to all these bestialities, the Soviet Government was forced to take hostages, and it again loudly proclaims: that it will answer the white terror of the bourgeoisie with the red terror of the revolution. Let the workingmen of the whole world know that the Polish bourgeois Government lies when it talks of the limitless barbarism of the Soviet Power, let them know that it is only trying to distract their eyes from its own unspeakable crimes. During its entire residence in Vilna, the Soviet Government of Lithuania and White Russia has not shot a single one of its opponents in principle, even from the camp of actual counter-revolutionists, but in view of the above mentioned bestialities committed by the Polish white guards, it is forced to resort to punitive measures. The Soviet Government of Lithuania and White Russia informs the Polish Government of this decision and warns it. It demands the immediate stopping of torture, pogroms and murders on the part of the Polish counter-revolutionists, and if this demand is granted, expresses its readiness to exchange hostages with the Polish Government. It proposes that lists be made of the hostages in the prisons of both countries, the Bolsheviks in Poland, and the Polish hostages taken on the territory of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania and White Russia.

MICKEVICZ-KAPSUKAS,

*Chairman of the Soviet of Peoples Commissars
of Lithuania and White Russia.*

Minsk, May 25, 1919.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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An Englishman's Impressions of Russia

The Manchester Guardian, in its issue of August 29th, prints the following interesting impressions of an Englishman who had just arrived from Soviet Russia:

Mr. E. St. John Catchpool, who has been doing relief work in various parts of Russia since 1916 and has now returned to this country, yesterday gave a representative of the *Manchester Guardian* a summary of his impressions. Mr. Catchpool was a representative of the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee and also a delegate of the Lord Mayor of London's Committee for the Relief of Armenian Refugees. He was in Soviet Russia during the summer of 1918, and then became convinced that while from a democratic point of view the Bolshevik Government might well be considered bad, mainly on account of its tendencies to throw government into the hands of a proletariat dictator, yet when one considered Russian government as it had been carried on during the last few centuries, with its tyrannies over the peasant classes, one could not help feeling that it was the best government that Russia had ever enjoyed. It was, indeed, extraordinary that the Bolshevik leaders had been able, with their country ringed by foreign armies, to restrain their followers from repeating the worst horrors of the French Revolution. More striking than anything else in the Bolshevik administration was the manifest desire to help forward all educational institutions. In some of the towns which Mr. Catchpool visited the schools to which peasant children might go had been more than trebled. The Bolshevik administrators had also made it easier for elementary school children to proceed to the universities. Undoubtedly members of the aristocracy had suffered under the Bolshevik régime, especially those who were not doing useful work, but quite a number of aristocrats, joining the Bolsheviks in some capacity or other, had been exempt from harm. Generally speaking, it might be said that an aristocrat was left practically unmolested unless discovered to have been deliberately plotting against the new powers. Probably Lenin would be the first to admit that his

policy of suppression was most undesirable, but he would add that surrounded by foes who were seeking to strangle the life out of Soviet Russia it was inevitable. There had been a great deal of bloodshed under the Bolshevik régime, but much less, Mr. Catchpool thought, than under the old government of the Czar.

THE KOLCHAK ARMY

Experience of Siberia under Kolchak showed that there was much less *camaraderie* than in the Bolshevik army, where every soldier seemed to have the sense of a great cause. In the Kolchak army it seemed that the Prussian system of militarism was being fully developed. The discipline was closely modelled on lines absolutely Prussian, and the soldiers generally were without enthusiasm for the cause. The conclusion to which Mr. Catchpool had come from his observations of both factions was that nothing from outside could alter or overthrow the Bolshevik régime. If the revolutionary program was to be modified and brought into more truly representative lines, it would, he thought, be done only by the people of Russia feeling their security from foreign intervention. When they were assured from interference they might turn their attention to more adequate treatment of their own internal affairs. In this connection Mr. Catchpool recalled a conversation which he had had with Mr. Gourko, who under the old Russian Government had held an important post.

THE FRUITS OF INTERVENTION

Asked what the Allies might best do to help Russia, Mr. Gourko at once replied, "Withdraw all your troops at the earliest moment, for with every soldier whom you throw into Russia you create at least two Bolsheviks. From every point of view, he went on to say, Allied intervention in Russia had been a terrible failure. Many moderates who would not otherwise have sympathized with the Bolshevik Government had been driven to side with the Bolshevik administration, so powerful had our intervention been in the consolidation of public opinion.

The War Against An Idea

(Continued from page 8)

the Hungarian proletarians—thus thrusting their savage African auxiliaries still further into the heart of Europe, with ultimate consequences easy to foresee. Strikes and demonstrations of protest are occurring throughout Europe. The industrial unrest in Britain has been exacerbated. An incalculable amount of suffering has been added to the sum total produced by the Great War. Apart from the loss of life entailed in maintaining civil war in Russia and promoting it in Hungary; the blockade is destroying immense numbers of helpless people and scattering seeds of pestilence throughout Europe. A great part of Central and Eastern Europe is convulsed by new wars, and the most productive regions of the Continent are thereby para-

lyzed. Money, urgently needed for the work of national and international reconstruction, is being expended on the destruction of human life. British "Supply" expenditure alone since April of this year is at the rate of 20 millions sterling a week. Finally, the Idea gains ground everywhere.

Thus the policy maintained during the past eight months by the British and French Governments is fatuous even from the point of view of those who see in the spread of the Idea a peril to the social structure they desire to uphold. From the aspect of the national interests of the British people, it is a suicidal policy. From the still wider aspect of moral ethics the policy is criminally wrong.

THE NEXT NUMBER (No. 18) OF
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WILL BE OUT
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and Will Contain, Among Other Things, the Following
SPECIAL FEATURES:

1. The Second Instalment of Paul Birukoff's sympathetic article: **"The New Russia."**
2. Further interesting Notes Passing between Soviet Russia and Finland.
3. **"Odessa Impressions,"** by Alexander Yablonovsky.
4. **"Is Gorky Against the Soviet Government?"** by S. Sechooler.
5. The Latest News about Siberia, from Japanese Newspapers.
6. The War Against Russia (A Review of the Military Situation up to September 21st).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
ODESSA IMPRESSIONS, <i>By Alexander Yablonovsky</i>	1	THE NEW RUSSIA (<i>Second Instalment</i>),	
THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA,		<i>By Paul Birukoff</i>	10
(<i>Situation on Sept. 21, 1919</i>)	2	A MONARCHIST RETURNS TO HIS MONARCHY	12
THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON RUSSIAN INDUSTRY	6	NOTES FROM KOLCHAKIA	13
SWEDISH WORKERS DEMAND TRADE WITH RUSSIA	7	MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN SIBERIA	14
EDITORIALS	8	LITVINOFF AND ENGLAND	15
		BULLITT ON RUSSIA	15

Odessa Impressions

By Alexander Yablonovsky

The following article appeared in the Siberian paper "Preamurye" of July 31, 1919. Its author is strongly opposed to the Soviet rule and to the Bolshevik Party.

Talleyrand defined the difference in the national characteristic of the English and French in the following manner:

"In England there is only one sauce and a hundred religious sects, in France there are a hundred sauces, and not a single religion."

Of course this is only a *bon mot* of a very clever man, and nothing else, but nevertheless it indicates great and subtle powers of observation. Anyway, while I was in Odessa I thought more than once:

"Yes, the French brought us a hundred sauces with which they wanted to serve the Russian question to the rest of Europe."

They had a hundred plans, a hundred systems and a hundred policies.

But they did not have a "religion" which might serve as a fundamental beginning, or as a supreme mind directing a single will towards a single goal.

The affair, as it is well known, began with the banal flirtation with Hetman Skoropadsky, who, with the permission of the Germans, called himself "celestial majesty."

Then came the flirtation with Petlura and Vinnichenko.

Then came the flirtation with the sugar manufacturers.

Then the flirtation with the Galicians, and even with Counselor Margolin.

In one word, the French policy in Odessa reminded one very much of that frivolous Polish lady who began with a cardinal and finished with a monkey.

But, nevertheless, neither the Frenchmen nor those

who worked with them ever thought (they could not think) of the real interests of the population.

They only flirted and promised, promised and flirted.

In the final sum total, the business program of the Odessa government expressed in itself the very cream of political inability and social impotence.

In Odessa there was much patriotic propaganda but not a single pood of fuel.

There were many flamboyant proclamations on the fences, but not a single public bath.

There was a series of lectures by the "sailor" Batkin, but not a single piece of cheap soap.

Of course, it was not at all strange, that under such circumstances disappointment came much quicker than could have been expected.

But it must be added that the very sight of foreign troops in a Russian city always creates a terribly heavy impression on every unspoiled heart.

This was felt very keenly in Odessa.

Foreign faces, foreign uniforms, foreign flags, foreign guttural languages.

On the streets and in the cafés there is a complete mix-up of tribes, dialects and generations in the full sense of the word.

Germans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Rumanians, Poles, Galicians, Moroccans, Senegalese, and many other varicolored peoples.

Men as black as coal.

Men as yellow as pumpkins.

Men of coffee and chocolate hues.

The colored men were given, for some reason, the common nickname of "Timbuctoo," and there was

much prejudice against them, especially among the lower classes of the population.

Matters reached such a stage that the Russian mob was likely to mistake Frenchmen for savages.

I was told that the cook of the steamer "Potemkin" asked a French soldier:

"Listen, m'sieu, are you of the national Frenchmen, or are you a savage?"

The cook did not want to insult the foreigner. He was impressively polite, but at the same time he was deeply convinced that "savage" men had come to Odessa in order to eat Russian bread, and this really hurt him.

This conviction among the lower classes of the population was general, although it was opposed to all the facts, as the French brought all their necessities with them and did not eat a single slice of Russian bread.

Cultured Russian society behaved a bit differently to the French. Here, at least during the first days, there ruled a strong conviction that the conquerors of the Marne and the heroes of Verdun would easily overthrow the Bolsheviks, and that the tanks, in conjunction with the marvelous French artillery, would turn the war into a military promenade. The only bothersome question was that of compensation:

"What would be the price that the French would demand for their help?"

This was an extraordinarily serious question, which involved not only the national pride but even the national honor of Russia.

And as the French command avoided for a long time dotting the "i," confining itself to indefinite expressions, it is not strange that troubled rumors crept over the city, and that political gossip took the place of the political program.

"It is said that they want to hold Crimea for twenty-five years. . . ."

"It is said that the entire Novo-Russian District will be occupied. . . ."

"It is said that Kieff. . . ."

"It is said that Kharkoff. . . ."

"It is said that Odessa. . . ."

Rumors, one worse than the other, spread over the city like a cloud of smoke, and the struggle with them was made harder by the fact that everybody remembered the impudent and unlawful annexation of Bessarabia by the Rumanians.

Russia was not at war with Rumania. Just the opposite, we were its ally. But when the war with the Germans was finished, our "ally" simply stole a whole district from helpless Russia and hurried to send its "diplomats" to Paris, who were to make sure of the Bessarabian heirloom.

Russian society drew its own conclusions from this.

If Rumania liked Bessarabia, who was bold enough to say that France might not like the Crimea? Were not the Rumanian "diplomats" being welcomed in Paris, although, according to all the laws of God and men, they had more right to be in a chain-gang than to lay claim to these Russian districts?

It is true, that later, when General Franchet d'Esperey arrived, the French command at last deemed it necessary to declare that it had no pretensions to any Russian territory. But the declaration was too late, and could not work in the right way on the minds of the people simply because noble words are no longer creditable in these our times.

"All right," said the city's sceptics. "The French help us in the name of international solidarity. The Poles help us in the name of Slavonic brotherhood. And the Greeks in the name of our common faith. But why are those Rumanians so busy? People in Russia will sooner believe in the piety of Satan than in the unselfishness of the fiddlers of Bucharest."

The Rumanian mote in the eye of the French completely spoiled the entire policy, and it was said openly of the Rumanians:

"If this is help, it is the help of a Shylock who has cut his pound of Russian flesh. He cut it out in advance, before any talk of intervention: in the beginning, a pound of flesh, and then military help."

The War Against Russia

(Situation up to September 21st)
(Political and Strategic Reflections)

WE are informed from very credible sources that Great Britain has recognized the mistake of her policy towards Russia in general and Soviet Russia in particular. There is a great possibility that in spite of all the efforts of the Russian reactionaries, England will at last lift her criminal blockade. But as Allied diplomacy cannot refrain from its accustomed blundering, the approaching policy will probably be based on the separate recognition of each of the existing governments in Russia. There is a suggestion to recognize Soviet Russia as well as Kolchak, Denikin, Petlura and the other minor states that have separated from the late Russian empire and now possess their own governments.

British statesmen believe that once normal connections should be established with all these governments, order will come automatically, and all the states of the former Russia will, as a consequence, be cemented in one federation.

Such a federation, if it is only sincere, would mean that the Allies have decided to leave Russia to settle her internal affairs by her own methods and there cannot be any doubt that once the blockade should be lifted and the business connections with Soviet Russia established by the rest of the world, a general condition of order will come sooner than old Europe now expects.

A federation of the various states of the late Russian Empire then will become inevitable, because

politically Soviet Russia is far removed from any idea of conquest and enslavement. She must and will associate herself with any state which will accept her political program, and there is good reason to believe that the states which have separated from the old Russia would all be ready to accept this program.

Economically, they have always been bound in the past and will always be bound in the future with Moscow, and there is no danger that the basis for an understanding will be absent.

Certainly Soviet Russia never could and never will come to any understanding with the so-called "All-Russian Government" of Kolchak or with the so-called "All-Russian Government" of Denikin, now also receiving attention, or with the Ukrainian usurper Petlura; and as long as these remnants of the fallen old Russian régime exist, there can be neither a federation of Russian states nor a real peace either in Russia or in Europe. Once left to her own devices, and once she receives decent treatment at the hands of the Allies, Soviet Russia will be able, in a very short period, to clear Russian territory of all disturbing elements, the fragments of the Czar's régime, which are the real cause of the general political and economical disorder of the world.

The *Sun* (in its issue of September 12th, 1919) printed the following very significant lines: "It has been generally accepted that Russian Bolshevism is no longer a menace to Western Europe and that the Red Terror has been penned up in Central Russia." This was said in the House of Commons by Colonel John Ward, a Member of the British Parliament who has just returned to London from Siberia.* If this be the case, why do the Allies continue to fight Soviet Russia? It also seems very strange that the same Colonel John Ward, who admits that the "actual force that the Moscow Soviet has at its command has been underestimated," should further declare that there "still remains a power in Russia against which the world must struggle." Any statement that is logical we are ready to accept, but we cannot consider that Colonel Ward's declaration is logical at all.

Let us consider that the Allies decided to fight the Bolsheviks because they were considered a menace to Western Europe. Now, according to Colonel John Ward, M. P., "it is generally accepted that Russian Bolshevism is no longer a menace at all." Consequently, the question arises: Whom then would Colonel Ward have us fight in Russia, with the aid of the whole world? With regard to the withdrawing of the Allied troops from Russia there is more muddling than real decision involved. It is well known that the general public opinion in the Allied countries, and especially that of their working people, is that the Allied armies must leave Russia at once. Frankly speaking this means the immediate downfall of Kolchak, Denikin and Company. On the other hand, as Major-General Sir

Frederick B. Maurice cabled to the *New York Times* on September 11th, 1919, the withdrawal is a very delicate and a very dangerous operation. From a reading of his cable, one would judge that the withdrawal of the British troops from North Russia was proceeding smoothly, but no military expert can fail to observe the considerable anxiety of Major-General Maurice lest a complete withdrawal of the Allies from the Archangel-Murmansk front perhaps be impossible.

The main strategical aim of the Allies in Northern Russia in the Spring of 1919 was to collect a powerful army with the help of the anti-Bolshevik Russians. This army was to advance on Petrograd, co-operating with the Finns, Letts and Estonians. Great Britain charged herself with supplying these armies with money and war materials, as well as with the men. At the same time a connection had to be established with the Siberian army of Kolchak. The scheme was well planned, but it subsequently led to a complete failure. This failure was a political as well as strategical one for the Allies. For the strategical successes of the Soviet army produced some very important political alterations in the Baltic states. "The Estonians have changed their mind." Like the Finns, they admit their unwillingness to attack Soviet Russia. As was reported in the *Globe* dispatch of September 11th, Poska, the Estonian Foreign Minister, has officially repudiated any Estonian participation in an offensive against Petrograd. "We are too weak to take part in such a risky adventure," he said, "Soviet Russia should rather guarantee the independence of Estonia than the re-establishment of a nationalistic Russia." (In our article "The War in Russia," published in No. 13 of *SOVIET RUSSIA*, August 30th, in which we quoted the articles of the impartial military Expert Colonel B. Roustam Bek, precisely this position was taken.) The Poles "have not much desire to see the Soviet rule replaced by the reactionary imperialism of Kolchak and Sazonoff," says the *Globe* (September 11th); "Polish participation in the campaign against Moscow is a senseless and dangerous adventure, which may signify the beginning of the end of Polish independence. The interest of the Poles towards Russia is absolutely opposed to the Entente's designs."

Here once more we can realize that the strategy of the Allies in Russia entirely depends on the political situation of each of the interested states, which preponderates over their strategical aims—an abnormal situation. The strategy of the Allies was unable to subordinate the diplomatists of the different states, which are to participate in accomplishing their common strategical plan, the aim of which was Moscow, and was thus compelled to abandon the plan in view of the most unfavorable circumstances. They started to withdraw their troops. In this matter, as well as during their offensive, there is no unity amongst the Allies. There are only uncertainty and half-way measures. The Secretary for War, Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, solemnly declared some time ago in the British Parliament that Great Britain was with-

* See the Article in this issue of *Soviet Russia* entitled "A Monarchist Returns to His Monarchy," which deals with Colonel Ward.

drawing her troops from Russia. He repeated this on September 11th in a statement issued in London, denying that there had been any change in the British policy to evacuate North Russia; however, evacuation had been retarded, "owing to the necessity of bringing away many Russians who were in danger of their lives, as well as women and children." What hypocrisy! Mr. Churchill knows very well that in no case will women and children be in danger in case of a reoccupation of the North Russian territories by the well disciplined and splendidly managed Soviet army. Certainly, neither the Russian anti-Bolshevik nor the women and children are the cause for such a retardation. Mr. Churchill admits, on the other hand, that it will be impossible to effect a junction with Admiral Kolchak before winter, and he denies that the British Government has accepted any responsibility in the operations against Petrograd. A reading of this statement makes one doubt whether the decision to withdraw the Allied troops is sincere, and it is quite possible that a new endeavor will be forthcoming, to establish a junction with Kolchak after the winter. If this is the plan, it may be definitely stated that from a strategical standpoint it will turn out to be a pure blunder. Strategically, Kolchak now presents but little importance, and now that he has removed his headquarters from Omsk to Novo-Nokolaievsk, a small town of 30,000 inhabitants, and thus retired about 400 English miles to the East, he will be unable to establish any junction with the North British forces in Russia. We have insisted on this for some time. (See the article in SOVIET RUSSIA, August 30th, 1919, "The War in Russia.")

But let us study the further news which has reached New York in connection with the decision of the Allies to withdraw their troops from Russia, and then we can understand the reason for the retardation of the evacuation. The Japanese, who are practically the masters in Eastern Siberia, and negotiating with Kolchak to obtain the Ussuri region in exchange for military support, do not agree with the Allies in regard to the evacuation of Russia. According to the *New York Times* of September 9th, the information from Tokio is as follows: "Japan is not planning to withdraw troops from Siberia, according to an official statement issued at the War Office." The same statement, on the contrary, suggests that there may be a possibility "of sending reinforcements to that country." The Japanese press, as for instance "Tokio Jiji," "Herald of Asia," "Chugai Ehogyo," "Osaka Mainichi," and others, all have started a very energetic campaign in favor of Kolchak. A very important Japanese diplomat, recently arriving from Tokio, stated that the Japanese intervened in Russia at the request of the Allies, and the failure of the latter cannot affect the Japanese interests in Siberia. In short, the Allies have a new "Shantung Question" to meet and therefore they are hesitating.

Encouraged by the Japanese, Kolchak started an advance along the whole Siberian front, which was reported from Omsk September 11th, and Americans have read of the alleged retreat of the Soviet

army. The victorious advance of Kolchak was not without the usual sequel. His losses in prisoners alone were estimated, according to the *Evening Telegram* (September 11th), and the reports of almost all the morning papers, at 12,000 men. According to the news from London published by the American press (September 12th), this figure has increased to 45,000. This means that in the regions of Aktiubinsk and Orsk the Kolchak army of about 150,000 has been defeated. At the same time, on the Archangel front, on the Northern Dvina River, the Soviet army has obtained considerable successes, capturing even some British troops. All this was confirmed by later dispatches, but on the same day we noticed in the *Globe* a message from Washington with a communiqué from an American consul, from Omsk, September 10th, to the effect that the Siberian army had stopped its retreat and that Omsk was out of danger from the Bolsheviks. As to the disaster of the South Siberian army, the consul had nothing to say, nor did he mention the fact that Kolchak and his Staff had already left Omsk. Meanwhile, there were important events in Russian Turkestan. The cable from London of September 11th (in the *Sun* of the same date) informed us that the Allies in Trans-Caucasia had broken down before a Bolshevik advance; that the fortifications along the Persian frontier had surrendered to the Soviet troops and the capital city of Trans-Caspia, of the greatest strategical and political importance, Askabad, had been captured by the Reds.

This victory of the Soviet army over the Allies in Central Asia is of great significance. Henceforward the Turkestan troops operating against the rear and right flank of Denikin's army will be free from any menace from the rear and will be in close connection with the richest part of Soviet Russia: the states of Turkestan and Trans-Caspia. The Soviet armies operating against Denikin thus will be reinforced by the Turkestan armies, and the result of this will soon be noticeable, not only in the strategical situation of Denikin's advancing forces but also in the political situation in Asia. The confidence which the Muslims of Asia have in Soviet Russia certainly will grow. The right wing and the rear of the Denikin army has a real danger to confront. A part of his center and the left flank of his army are in no better position.

As was despatched from Paris (the *Evening Telegram* of September 17th), the Ukrainians have protested against Denikin to M. Clemenceau (what was foreshadowed by SOVIET RUSSIA in the article, "The War in Russia," of August 30th, has come to pass). Denikin's troops have attacked the Ukrainians, who therefore have understood at last that the real aim of Denikin is to conquer Ukraine and to establish there the old imperialistic régime.

The movement of the Polish army towards the Dvina River as well as the recently resumed attacks by the Soviet troops on Yamburg, on the Petrograd front, mentioned in the dispatches of September 18th, have only a local tactical significance, and do not present any importance. Here, as well as along the whole Western front, we must expect similar

movements from both belligerent parties and not even a considerable advance by either one of them could have any strategical importance, except the alleged preparation for the attack directed on Petrograd, which will be of a purely political significance.

During the Great War, and especially during the Russian Revolution, we became accustomed to look on any news published in the press with a certain suspicion unless such news was fully confirmed. We noticed also that the late Russian General Staff was a most accurate reporter, and what was the case from the beginning of the war, remains still the case. No despatches from Petrograd or Moscow have been contradicted. They have been shut out or altered by the English Press Bureau, which controls all the news from Russia, but even in that case the real truth could be read between the lines by an experienced reader, though shortened by an ignorant censor. In all the New York evening papers of September 20th there appeared news of the alleged peace negotiations between the City Soviet of Petrograd and the Allies. According to that dispatch the City of Petrograd is prepared to conclude a separate peace with the enemy. In the opinion of some strategists the Petrograd region has become the most important region of Soviet Russia, because it has been said to be under the menace of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Finns. The real decisions of these states, recently published, have suddenly been forgotten.

Since the capital of Soviet Russia has been removed from Petrograd to Moscow, the former has lost even its political importance for Russia and never was and never could be a strategical aim for the enemy. Moscow alone, the real heart of Russia, from a purely strategical point of view, will be the sole strategical aim for the Allies, as it has been in the past history of Russia. Only after having captured Moscow would the Allies and their associates, the Russian reactionaries, be able to establish in Russia such a government as will be satisfactory to them. Strategy teaches us to strike the enemy in the heart, and the heart of Russia cannot possibly be Petrograd. Napoleon knew that as well as the German Kaiser, whose movement was directed on Moscow, not on Petrograd.

According to the latest news, the British have invented a new way of withdrawing their troops from Archangel. The new route is via Petrograd. This is remarkable! If it were true, it could be said without any hesitation that it would be the greatest strategical blunder the history of warfare ever had registered. How much such a plan resembles the famous breaking through the Dardanelles! It is really amazing how easily the British Parliament and the public permit themselves to be duped.

The withdrawal of the Allied troops, especially from Northern Russia, is certainly an acute question for the Allies. The winter is approaching and there is some doubt that all the troops can be evacuated on time. If any part of them should remain in that district, their surrender to the Soviet army will be imminent. Therefore public opinion must be prepared, in one way or other, to meet the news of the "withdrawal" of these troops through Petrograd.

In view of the existing political and strategical circumstances, not a single military student in the world would consider such an operation possible except under the assumption that all the news recently published in the press is an aggregation of pure lies.

In conclusion we must point out that the town of Onega which is supposed to have been captured by the Allies, and where their battle front is actually situated, is about 250 English miles from Petrograd.

SUPPLEMENTARY REFLECTIONS ON THE MILITARY SITUATION

According to the dispatch from Washington (by Universal Service) of September 25 (*New York Journal*) Kolchak is still in power and has assumed the offensive against the Soviet army. Somewhere about two hundred miles west of Omsk, probably on the Petropavlovsk-Ishim-Tumien front, a decisive battle is expected, and it is believed that its result will decide the future of Siberia, if not of all Russia. Kolchak begins this offensive with 250,000 men against a Soviet army 300,000 strong. There has been for the last three months, it is said, a rushing of supplies to Kolchak, of all kinds of war materials.

Official quarters declare that Denikin was never supposed to make a junction with Kolchak, but to intercept supplies sent to the Bolsheviks from Ukraine.

Both these statements, as far as we can judge, from a military point of view, are anything but true, and we can scarcely believe that they were issued by any military authorities, for even a military novice with elementary special education could have invented a statement more plausible from a military point of view.

First of all, in order that this offensive might be carried out successfully by Kolchak, under the present circumstances, against an enemy 300,000 strong, who is undoubtedly supported by strategical reserves and whose rear is well organized and protected, Kolchak ought to have at his disposal an army of not less than 500,000 men. With such an army he would be able to attack the Reds on the condition that his rear should be in perfect order, with nothing to menace the regular supply of his battle front with ammunition and food from the rear. As far as we are informed from London (the *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 25) the Reds under General Lubkoff have occupied the town of Tomsk, situated 500 miles east of Omsk. That town is, however, not situated on the main railway line; it is at the terminus of a short branch line extending northward from the station of Taiga, and is an important strategic and commercial centre for that part of Siberia. In the hands of the Soviet army, it will certainly menace a great part of the trans-Siberian railway and practically cut off the communications of Kolchak's army with his principal base—Vladivostok.

The strategical task of any army, in war, is to penetrate to the rear of the enemy's army and to injure his communications as much as possible. What Soviet troops have succeeded in penetrating so far as Tomsk and whether they are a part of the regular cavalry or

(Continued on Page 11)

The Effect of the War upon Russian Industry

IN order properly to appreciate the magnitude of the task before the Soviet Government when it assumed power, one must bear in mind that the industries of Russia had become totally disabled even prior to the overthrow of the Czar. The official publication of the National Manufacturers' Association of Russia, "Promishlennost i Torgovlya," discussing this problem in its issue of November 28th, 1917, notes the fact that "the depression which had manifested itself during the pre-revolutionary period was growing during the first five months of the revolution and became very marked towards the fall." ("The Industrial Breakdown" by P. Samoylov, page 280.) According to the writer, this abnormal condition was "due primarily to the lack of fuel and raw material and other economic causes." The writer quotes the following figures from the official publication of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, showing the number of establishments which were closed during the first five months after the overthrow of the Czar and the number of employees who were thrown out of work:

Establishments Closed from March to July, 1917.		
Month:	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees.
March	74	6,600
April	55	2,800
May	108	8,700
June	125	38,400
July	206	47,800
Total.....	568	104,300

The preceding table is confined to such establishments only as were forced to shut down completely. It does not include those where the operations were reduced for similar causes.

The principal sufferer was the cotton industry; more than half of the number of workers laid off as a result of the shut-down, namely, 53,400 had been employed in cotton mills. Those were all very large factories averaging over one thousand hands per establishment (exactly 1,089), whereas the average for all other industries was less than one hundred, (exactly 98). The center of the depression was the Moscow-Vladimir industrial region. The number of establishments closed in the province of Moscow, was 71, with a total of 45,000 employees, and the total number closed in the province of Vladimir, was 21, with an aggregate of 14,000 employees. The total number of employees who were thrown out of work in all the rest of Russia as a result of the shut-down of their factories was 44,800, that is less than in the province of Moscow alone. In the province of St. Petersburg, only 63 establishments were closed with a total of 4,500 employees, the average per factory being only 71 employees, which shows that the depression affected only the smaller factories in St. Petersburg.

A classification of the closed establishments by the causes which forced their shut-down is presented in the following table:

Reasons for Closing:	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees
Lack of fuel.....	43	28,600
" " cotton	4	8,900
" " fuel and cotton.....	4	19,900
" " grain	72	6,100
" " other materials	210	14,600
" " material and fuel.....	18	4,000
" " orders	47	4,000
Financial Losses and difficulties....	22	4,400
Repairs	23	1,500
Exorbitant demands of employees	49	5,600
Other labor difficulties.....	8	2,700
Other reasons	68	4,000
Total.....	568	104,300

These figures are significant. They show that of the 568 establishments for which reports were received, only 57 in all, i.e., 10 per cent. reported labor troubles as the cause of closing. The total number of employees in those factories was only 8,300, i. e., 8 per cent of the total thrown out of work. In 90 per cent of the establishments which employed 92 per cent. of the workers laid off by the shut-down, the causes were industrial, in no way connected with the demands of the workers. Lack of fuel was the sole or the main cause for closing 65 establishments which had given employment to one-half of all the employees thrown out of work. Lack of material was next in importance. On the other hand, lack of orders and financial losses were reported only from 69 establishments, employing 8,800 workers or less than 8 per cent. of the total number.

The breakdown of Russian industry has been attributed in capitalistic quarters to the decline of the efficiency of labor since the revolution. We learn, however, from an editorial in the same publication of the National Manufacturers' Association, of July 22, (August 4), 1917, that this decline in efficiency became manifest as early as 1916, i.e., before the revolution, as shown by the following comparison of the monthly production of coal in the Donetz basin in June, 1914 and 1916:

	Number of Employees	Production (poods)		
		Total	Average per Employee	Decrease per cent.
June 1914	202,960	147,840,000	728	....
1916	222,000	146,000,000	658	10

According to the same source, "the striking decline of efficiency during the first and the second half of 1916, coincides in time with a period during which war prisoners, women and adolescents were extensively drawn to work in the coal mines." ("The Labor Problem in the Mining and Metallurgical Industry," April 29, page 280.)

As shown above, the industrial depression had become very grave by August 1, 1917. During the next two months, the condition was aggravated by the shut-down of metal working factories. The total number of establishments shut down during those

two months was 227 with 61,000 employees, of whom more than one-half were employed in metal working factories.

The industrial situation in the month of October, 1917, on the eve of the Bolshevik revolution, is characterized by the shipments of coal from the Donyetz basin. During that month the shipments amounted to only 80,000,000 poods (1,290,000 long tons), of which 52,000,000 poods were consumed by the rail-

roads. This left only 28,000,000 poods (450,000 long tons) for the supply of all industrial establishments, whereas "the starvation diet" of Russian industry is estimated at 80,000,000 poods per month. The writer concludes that this shortage of coal threatened one-third of all Russian factories with a complete shut-down.

Such was the industrial situation which the Soviet Government inherited from its predecessor.

Swedish Workers Demand Re-opening of Relations With Soviet Russia

From a recent number of *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, Norway, we take the following striking telegram to that paper from Stockholm, Sweden, dated August 30. Our readers will be particularly interested in the statement of the Swedish Foreign Minister to the effect that Sweden cannot re-open its commercial relations with Soviet Russia unless it is willing to plunge into warfare with the Entente. It would appear from the telegram below that pressure of the most emphatic kind is being brought to bear upon the Swedish Foreign Office by foreign powers to prevent Sweden from entering into any kind of relations with Soviet Russia. The text of the telegram is as follows:

"Stockholm, Aug. 30.—The demand formulated by the Swedish Congress of metal industry workers, to re-open relations with Soviet Russia, was presented to the Foreign Minister yesterday. The interview was quite short, for the Minister, when questioned by the Committee, declared that any attempt on the part of Sweden to break the blockade, or to protect Swedish boats by means of a military convoy, would result in war with the Entente. For this reason it is impossible for the present to re-open diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia.

"*Politiken*, of this city, remarks in this connection the following (quoted in part):

"What a shameful game the English Government has been playing with its own people, when it states in Parliament that the blockade with Russia has been abolished, and then, nevertheless, surreptitiously obliges the European peoples against their will, to take part in maintaining the blockade which English and French warships are carrying out. To be sure the Swedish Government may not be overmuch inclined itself to resume such relations, but if the statement of the Foreign Minister is correct—and there is of course no doubt of this—the Entente powers must be placing insurmountable difficulties in the way of such resumption. It remains to be seen what the workers of England and France will have to say with regard to this remarkable revelation."

The same number of *Social-Demokraten* that contains the above telegram likewise contains the following three interesting telegrams:

Amsterdam, Aug. 29.—English papers report that the condition within the Esthonian army is anything

but satisfactory. In a mutiny in the German garrison at Dorpat, fifty of the mutineers were shot by order of the commanding general.

Stockholm, Aug. 30.—The office representing Esthonia in this city has applied to Sweden for a loan of 25,000,000 crowns to that country. This request is made of the Swedish Government, and a guarantee on the part of the latter is desired for the loan. Swedish big industrial circles have also been approached with the request to support this application to the government.

Stockholm, Aug. 29.—A telegram message from Amsterdam states: The Radio Press Bureau reports that the Soviet army in Russia including reserves, amounts to 1,200,000 men.

SWEDISH WORKERS HALT LOADING OF CARGO FOR VLADIVOSTOK

By Bassett Digby

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, Aug. 28.—After weeks of agitation urging the transport workers to blockade all consignments of freight destined for antibolshevist countries barring trade with central Russia, the Swedish Bolsheviki have at last succeeded in getting results by the refusal of Gothenburg stevedores to load 200 tons of shell cases on the *Ceylon*, which was scheduled to take them to Vladivostok. These seventeen carloads of shell cases were made by the Separator works here and were delivered on the Russian legation's order.

The harbor authorities declare that they do not intend to allow the dock laborers to constitute themselves a board of censorship over what freight is to be loaded. They maintain that they will get the consignment loaded by the port officials and cranemen.

The case opens interesting possibilities, as the Bolshevik party, which includes a large majority of the dock laborers, may now begin the blockade in earnest.

—*The Chicago Daily News*.

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THE myth of German influence upon the Soviet Government and the legend of Prussian officers directing Soviet regiments composed of German prisoners appear to have escaped the knowledge of General Ludendorff. In his naive confessions, now appearing in the American press, he asserts a mortal antagonism between the Soviets and his German military rule. "Bolshevism," he writes "hurt us wherever it was able." He gives to Russia the credit of sharing with Prince Lichnowsky the responsibility of having "undermined the discipline of the army." Soviet Russia, he admits, "was able to shake the war efficiency of the German people in a way the Entente, in spite of blockade and propaganda, could never have done." Not much room in this picture for the theory of German control at Moscow! General Ludendorff's version of the part played by the German soldiers released from Russian prison camps is quite different from the story which passed current so long in the *Entente* propaganda:

"An appreciable weakening of the spirit of the (German) army came through the soldiers who had been returned from Russian prison camps and who now, after a long leave, were again sent to the front... It had come to certain serious scenes in Graudenz."

It is plain enough from this evidence that if some of the German prisoners preferred to stay in Russia and fight in the ranks of the Revolutionary Army rather than return to Germany, they were fighting there not for General Ludendorff but for Revolution. By July, 1918, the revolutionary propaganda

had reached such successful proportions that Ludendorff went to von Kuehlmann and "told him of my hope yet to make the *Entente* eager for peace and pointed out the dangers of Bolshevism." So little aware, indeed, was Ludendorff of the supposed alliance between German militarism and Russian Socialism, that his chief regret was that Germany did not depose the Soviet Government, "which was thoroughly hostile to us," and give more help to the counter-revolutionary factions, which were not working against us, but were indeed anxious to cooperate with us." But in this Ludendorff was forestalled by the *Entente* powers, who themselves gave aid to these very factions in whom the German commander had recognized his true allies.

* * *

TANKS and poisonous gases, contributed by the great powers, continue to figure prominently in accounts of the military operations of the anti-Soviet forces. The correspondents boast of the deadly destructiveness of these refined instruments of civilized warfare, lent for the slaughter of Russian men and boys. We are not allowed to forget that every inch of Denikin's loudly advertised advance is won with the aid of tanks and gas and bullets supplied by the friendly supporting powers. No doubt, it will be charged to the incompetence of the Soviet administration that it has been unable to produce sufficient tanks and gas shells at once to compete with the output of the Allied factories. It is not a competition in which we would quarrel over the honors. We are content to remember that neither Denikin in his "backyard," nor Kolchak in Siberia, have organized production on a self-sufficient basis. They depend for their supply of lethal weapons upon the generosity of the great nations.

But it is not only in tanks and gas that the Red Army is honorably deficient. An American who was in Russia last spring, reports that the Soviet troops went to the front without anesthetics and without antiseptics. They bore wounds and surgery without the first requisites of alleviation and care. Only a soldier or a surgeon can realize fully what this means to face bullet and bayonet, to endure the agonies of wounds untended upon the field, to bear probing and amputation, without any hope of drug to allay the pain or of proper dressing to aid recovery. The mind shrinks from the picture of warfare thus shorn of even those few mitigations commonly allowed among civilized nations. Yet this is what the soldier of the Russian Revolution has endured and continues to endure. What threats or conspiracies or powers can prevail against a determination and courage which fights with this spirit?

Recent reports from Russia tell us that this terrible condition still largely prevails. Research and ingenuity have done what they could to supply the lack of drugs and dressings out of the available resources of the blockaded country. Vegetable essences have been helpfully employed to some extent to take the place of essential remedies which Russia previously got from abroad. But nothing that

can be done at once can overcome the effects of the blockade in depriving the Russian soldier of the anesthetics which might lessen pain and of the simplest instruments and dressings which would aid him in recovery. At one time the Soviet Government successfully negotiated the purchase of a supply of medicaments in one of the Scandinavian countries. The shipment was prevented by the blockade.

* * *

GENERAL MAURICE has again warned the over-confident interventionists that "a military solution is not yet in sight." This British military expert does not place much value upon General Ironside's sallies, nor upon British motor boat manoeuvres. Neither the Polish offensive nor Denikin's "victories" impress him as military achievements of significant effect. "Denikin's victories," he writes, "leave him a long way from success."

The general pleads for public patience and confidence in his government's announced policy of withdrawal. He is, however, none too confident himself. Although he does not entertain the fantastic notion, seriously discussed by supposedly sane English journalists, of evacuating the Murmansk via Petrograd, he suggests that "it may be that in order to get away it may be necessary to send more British troops to North Russia." Here again is the preposterous theory of evacuation by reinforcement, so solemnly proposed by the interventionist propaganda, and swallowed by the gullible. General Maurice knows better. He knows what took place at Odessa, where, as we recently pointed out, the Soviet authorities protected the French during their evacuation, and by guarding supplies and performing other services allowed them to make a precipitate withdrawal in all safety. The humbug of the alleged difficulties of withdrawing and the necessity for protecting the "loyal elements" is further exposed by Mr. Bullit's report to Colonel House upon the interview in Stockholm last January between Mr. Buckler of the American Embassy in London and Litvinov:

"Buckler discussed the matter of the withdrawal of these troops with Litvinov, who said that unquestionably the Bolsheviks would agree to an armistice on the Archangel front at any time; and, furthermore, would pledge themselves not to injure in any way those Russians in and about Archangel who had been co-operating with the Allies."

That was last January, and the British troops are still in North Russia, while British statesmen and generals still manufacture absurd pretexts for their remaining there. General Maurice, however, has no illusions about the situation created in the public mind by this deliberate and continued deception. He says: "The recent demonstration at Southampton (where 200 British troops refused to embark for foreign service) is one more proof of the lack of

confidence of the men in the ranks in Government pledges."

* * *

THERE was a time, not so long ago, when the press of the *Entente* countries hung upon the word and gesture of Kerensky with profoundest admiration and respect. He was then the "strong man" who could be trusted to guide Russia along the way the powers wanted Russia to go. And because Kerensky heeded the urgings of the Allied powers, and did not heed the urgings of the Russian people, he dragged his army and his government to destruction. Straightway then, as reward for his mistaken loyalty to them, the powers withdrew their sympathy and support. Today the press is mostly silent on Kerensky. His words are no longer heeded. When he promised to lead an insane offensive against Germany he got columns upon the front pages and effusive editorial endorsement. Today, when he protests against intervention and exposes Denikin and Kolchak as worthless monarchists, he is received with silent indifference.

Perhaps all the more because Kerensky still professes opposition to the Soviet Government, the capitalist press thinks it better to conceal his opinion of Kolchak and of intervention, lest his words carry especial weight with the public which was once instructed to view him with favor. The *New York Call*, however, has printed an interview with Kerensky in London, in which he declared that Kolchak, with Allied aid, had instituted a dictatorship reminiscent "of the Czar's régime."

"Kolchak's defeats prove that the reactionaries will not be able to conquer," said Kerensky. "His forces would not exist today but for the support of the British and French Governments.... The Russians will never accept Kolchak and Denikin, for they believe those men wish to reshackle Russia with the methods of the ancient reactionary forces."

The papers which acclaimed Kerensky so enthusiastically when he was ready to drive an unwilling and exhausted people into useless slaughter, ignore him when at last he protests against further torture of those people. "The blockade of Russia, a friendly nation," he said in this interview, "is a violation of all the laws of humanity. Women and babies are starving." In conclusion, he urged Americans to ship merchandise and agricultural implements to Russia, thereby executing "a great stroke of business" and winning the friendship of Russia. "Maybe," he suggested, "such an ally would be useful some day."

Owing to the prospect that printing facilities would be reduced this week, we have limited this issue to sixteen pages, although we have a lot of interesting material that we would like to print. Our next issue (No. 19) will again be twenty-four pages.

The New Russia

By Paul Birukoff

(Second Instalment)

EDUCATION

PUBLIC education is under the control of Commissary Lunacharsky, a brilliant and learned man, full of energy and devotion for the cause. The Czarist régime left a legacy to the present system of a population in which more than sixty per cent. were illiterate. In order to enable the whole population to gain education, it was necessary at once to triple the number of schools. That is a task which takes time, but it is going on with a fine enthusiasm. The program of one single type of school has been introduced. Teaching is free, both at the school and at the University.

The education of adults who have passed school age and are still illiterate is a most important question in Russia, and therefore a special department for education outside the school system has been set up at the Commissariat of Public Education. Lenin's wife is at the head of this department.

Madame Lenin. The Work School

To give you an idea of the intelligence of this remarkable person I shall quote a few passages from her book, which she gave me with her own hands. She is a sweet and lovable person, though far from strong, and yet in spite of this, her energy is unequalled. One of her aims is to introduce manual work into the modern Russian school system by setting up Work Schools, and she writes:

"The Work School should have as its basic principle the combination of manual with intellectual work. Manual work in the Work School must not be specialized; on the contrary, it must be as diversified as possible. The child must model, design, paint, cut out, paste on, do carpentering, and so on. Manual work must be closely allied with the teaching of mathematics, natural science, geography and history. It gives life to these branches of study, brings them nearer to the child, and thus makes them more intelligible. It awakens in the child interest in these studies, and teaches it to observe and to work out things for itself. In this way manual work brings out the creative impulses in the child, develops the habit of perseverance until the end is attained, awakens interest in technical work, and gives the child the general idea of what work is. In such surroundings as the Work School gives it, the child's bent and natural aptitudes are readily brought out."

Solidarity Through Education

A little later, dealing with the school of the future in terms at once more general and more definite, she writes:

"The school of the future must do everything possible to develop the sentiment of solidarity between the children. Every kind of restraint must be rigidly excluded. The school of the future must be, so to speak, a free association of pupils whose aim it is, by their common

efforts, to clear the path which leads to the realms of thought. The teacher in such a school is no more than a beloved comrade who helps his pupils by his greater experience and knowledge, who shows them the practical ways in which knowledge may be acquired, helps them to organize useful work together, and teaches them how to help one another in the process of education. Only a school run on these lines can become a school of solidarity, a school which teaches mutual understanding and confidence. But the desire to be useful to men is not enough by itself. It is also necessary to know how to be useful. Schools at the present time make children unaccustomed to being useful. The child wishes to apply his knowledge as soon as he acquires it, and the school artificially prevents him from doing so. He is kept on dictation and useless problems, and the consolation offered is that after ending his studies and receiving a certificate he may perhaps be able to be useful to his relatives and to Society. But anyone with any knowledge of children realizes that, especially in the higher forms, this compulsory idleness is a real torment to them, and they suffer because the most natural of their instincts, the desire to be useful to other people, remains unrecognized. The schools of today artificially develop their ignorance of how to apply their energy and render it productive. At the completion of his studies a boy who has been to college looks everywhere without success for some work in which he might be useful to mankind, and he does not see the humdrum daily work, which is just as necessary, because he does not know how to apply himself to it."

Self-Government in the School

The principle of self-government has also been introduced in the new schools, and Mme. Lenin shares on this subject the views of those American teachers, who believe in the greatest possible freedom for the development of their pupils' social instincts. She writes:

"Those who believe in a liberal education are resolutely opposed to scholastic discipline and constraint in any form, whether physical or moral, in the sphere of education. This must be the very basis of a liberal education, and it is an axiom which there is no need to prove. Once constraint has been done away with, measures of police supervision at once become futile, and such posts as 'prefects' (so harmful to the youthful mind), chosen in some schools from among the pupils, can be abolished. Having got rid of this mockery of self-government, we are able at once to substitute the principle of participation by all the children in the organization of the school and of the teaching given there."

Bourgeois Bureaucracy

Lastly, I quote below a part of Mme. Lenin's political creed. Speaking of the organization of the Commissariat of Public Education, she says:

"It would be both ridiculous and disastrous if the proletariat which had won power should set up organizations of the same type as the bureaucratic institutions of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has most certainly not taken power into its own hands merely to transform itself into the dominant class of oppressors, but rather to abolish every kind of exploitation, domination and oppression. Because this is so, it needs organizations which are far different from those which the bourgeoisie needed. It must not follow the example given by the bourgeoisie, but rather the example of the revolutionary proletariat in progressive countries, such as the Parisian Proletariat which overthrew the former system and set up the Paris Commune."

I may add that Mme. Lenin's articles are signed with the pseudonym, "Krupsky."

Art, Music, and the Theatre

Art is taught in special schools. Painting is taught in a number of special schools; Applied Art is one of the most favored studies. The conservatories of music carry on as before, and most of the professors have remained at their posts. There are many theatres, and they are always full. The repertory is much the same as before, except that distinctively patriotic pieces are no longer played. The works of Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Tolstoi, Tchekoff, and other masters are frequently produced.

There are also many popular concerts, and scientific and political conferences of all kinds. One excellent means of education, apart from the schools, is given by what are called "The People's Houses." Many of the former houses of landowners have been changed into these institutions. In a great many villages, Associations of Culture and Education have been set up, whose function it is to arrange for theatrical productions, libraries, conferences and meetings for popular entertainment of various kinds.

Industrial Changes

It is true that industry has suffered very severely, but it has never ceased to develop under the new régime. All factories are nationalized and administered by Councils of Workers, but the specially technical side is of necessity entrusted to engineers and specialists, who are often the same as under the preceding system. In some cases the expropriated directors have become salaried managers. I know

one great printing establishment at Moscow at which two thousand workmen are employed. The Workers' Council took control of it, but the concern was not going well. Delegates were, therefore, sent to the former director, and he was asked to help them. He accepted on certain conditions, and now he is once again at the head of the business, which is making wonderful progress. The initiative of the workers, now that it has been set free from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, is making admirable progress. People who have first-hand knowledge have told me that the metal industry especially has made immense strides. A group of metal workers has invented and developed for use a new and ingenious process for steel implements. But industry in general, it is perfectly true, has to overcome the very serious obstacle to its development, occasioned by the lack of fuel and raw materials. The iron mines of the Ural district are cut off by Kolchak, and cotton for the textile industry is only obtainable with the greatest difficulty from Central Asia. But it is difficult and most disheartening to tell you of all the harm that is being done throughout the country by the senseless Allied Blockade.

(To be concluded in our next number)

THE MILITARY SITUATION

(Continued from Page 5)

local guerilla detachments, is not a matter of moment. The fact that Tomsk is in the hands of the Reds, even if only temporarily, is particularly interesting in that such an important operation was successfully carried out just at the moment when Kolchak's offensive was in progress. This certainly will demoralize the Kolchak army fighting on the front and will encourage the numerous guerilla bands of the Reds, spread throughout Siberia, in the rear of the Kolchak forces, and we may soon hear very important reports of uprisings in several parts of Eastern Siberia.

In view of the telegram from Omsk of Sept. 14 (The New York Times, September 25) to the effect that the left flank of the first Kolchak army, holding the positions on the Ishim-Tumien railway, 40 miles west of the town of Ishim, has encountered Red flanking operations, it must be assumed that the Kolchak offensive has not been so successful as has been reported, and that his left flank has been outflanked by the enemy.

That Denikin was not supposed to make a junction with Kolchak is a pure lie. How many cable messages have we not read in the past, in connection with the establishment of communications between the Kolchak and Denikin fronts. In our articles in Soviet Russia we have especially pointed out that in view of the distance of 2,000 kilometers between those fronts, such connections would be impossible to establish. Denikin did all that he could to establish a junction and it would have been contrary to strategy to neglect to make such attempts, but all his efforts have been fruitless.

A Monarchist Returns To His Monarchy

NO. 10 of SOVIET RUSSIA (August 9) contained an item forwarded by Rosta (Soviet Russian Telegraph Agency), describing the monarchist propaganda conducted in Siberia by a certain English Colonel "G. Ward." It now appears that this officer's correct name is John Ward, and that he has just returned to England, as is reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of Sept. 4:

After three years' absence from England Lieutenant Colonel John Ward, the Liberal member for Stoke-on-Trent, arrived in London last night, having been summoned home from Russia by the War Office for a consultation.

In an interview with the Press Association Colonel Ward said that in political affairs he was an inquirer, having a very imperfect knowledge of events in this country since his departure for China. He must look around and get acquainted with the condition of affairs, political and economic. He gave no pledges to anyone at the general election. He did not in fact know that he was being proposed or that he had been returned till three months afterwards.

He declared that the horrors of Bolshevik rule had not been exaggerated so far as he had seen. In fact, he was doubtful whether half the truth had been told. The secret of the prolonged existence of the Bolshevik Government was terrorism, fear of denunciation, and the withholding of the ordinary necessities of life from those who did not profess Bolshevik views. The Bolsheviks held the manufacturing districts, hence the importance of supplying Denikin and Kolchak with munitions. The Bolsheviks, Colonel Ward added, had practically unlimited supplies of munitions, enough, he believed, to carry on war on the present scale for ten years.

But far more interesting than this "Liberal Member's" statements in his own monarchy are his views as expressed in a speech delivered by him at Irkutsk, which we have been fortunate enough to find printed in full in *Novosty Zhizni* (News of Life), of Harbin, Manchuria. This speech is such a touching tribute to monarchy and feudal fealty that we cannot refrain from printing a translation of it in full herewith:

A SIGNIFICANT SPEECH

On a banquet given at Irkutsk to the occasion of the arrival of an English division, the commander of this division, Colonel Ward, said the following:

"I have almost succeeded in forgetting that I ever was a member of Parliament and a representative of a certain party that was fighting for its theses and for the betterment of the lot of that class of which it was composed. Up to the war, England presented a division into distinct camps, and had in its government parties that often showed great enmity to each other. This animosity gave the Central Powers reason to imagine that they could utilize it for their own pur-

poses. But something very different really happened. Just fancy a married couple that at times abuse each other, and quarrel, and are, to all appearances, enemies, but as soon as a third person essays to meddle in their relations, the quarrel instantly stops, and woe to that one—to the third party. The same thing happened in England. No sooner was Belgium occupied, and Germany avowed that international covenants were only scraps of paper, than the Parliament, on August 4, 1914, voted to declare war. It became manifest that there existed no parties in England, no classes, no hostile camps. The worker, the capitalist, the peasant, the aristocrat—all became aware that they were English, that it was everyone's duty to defend his country, and that a bullet would strike each one of them in the same way. England never made any preparations for war, especially with the continent. Surrounded by the sea, with her powerful fleet, and with the patriotism of her citizens, she could very well afford not to be troubled by the fear of an enemy invasion of her boundaries, and she has, therefore, kept an army of only hundred and sixty thousand, a quantum that would hardly suffice here in Siberia, for the establishment of a position. But someone had imagined to threaten England, someone had dared to announce that treaties on which there were our signatures, was nothing but a scrap of paper—and the offended national sentiment of the English citizens asserted itself. All the internal frictions were silenced. Only one phrase became dominant in the land: "Citizens, to Arms!" And from this moment on all of us, the representatives of the various parties forgot all internal politics. Of course, it does not follow that we have forever renounced disputes and deliberations. Let the war come to an end and the clash of diverse opinions will again come to the fore, again will we become politicians.

"I have noticed at today's banquet that the orchestra has played several times our national song 'Rule Britannia.' It may be that this song is mistaken here for our national hymn, and again there may be hidden in the fact a hint, namely, that the words of our hymn, 'God Save the King,' are in dissonance with the democratic form of government of Great Britain as well as with the democratic sentiments of Russia, and with the feeling of this festive gathering. I shall, therefore, take to myself the liberty to declare, that—strange as it may appear—while we are representatives of a democratic government, and while we have a democratic form of government, we still have a king whose throne is probably firmer than any other throne in the whole world. English citizens, loving and revering as they do their royal representative, are nevertheless the real rulers of the crown land and have the most democratic form of government. And, therefore, you will hear tomorrow, at the parade, how soldiers of a democratic country execute their national hymn, because in our land, in England, one thing does not exclude the other. In our land the king reigns and the people rule, and everything serves the greatness of Britain.

"Passing over the Siberian railroad I have noticed at several stations the Bolshevik red flag, while nowheres have I seen the Russian national flag. To my demands of some of the station masters that the flag of Russian shame be taken off, and to my inquiries why the national flags are not floating—the station masters have given but vague answers. One gained the impression that the Russians were ashamed of their national flag and that this feeling of shame was the result of the revolution. Were we in England to have even twenty revolutions, we could never forget that we were English, and never would we be ashamed of our national flag, which exhibits the emblem of national unity. I have told these station masters that if the Russian citizens feel ashamed of being Russians, and, perhaps, do not want to have their own empire, their own Russian government, and their own Russian flag—the vacant place may yet be occupied, and on their official institutions there may float the flag of that empire, the citizens of which have not forgotten their national integrity.

"For the first time in my stay in Russia I find myself in the company of a Russian body of men where one feels that there is a desire among them to rehabilitate their fatherland and to create such an order that Russia may again take its place among the great empires of Europe, and on equal rights with them. We English cannot but greet this with rejoicing. Our sojourn here has one aim only—to prevent Russia from deteriorating and to help the Russians re-establish their empire. We are indifferent as to what form the Russian Government will be moulded in: Whether it be a republic or a monarchy, but if the leaders of Russian public opinion were to adopt as a model the old English Parliament, existing as it has since the eleventh century, and succeeding as it has sounded, during the long period of its existence, in working out its constitution in the best form, from our point of view, we can only hail it, and we surely will not deny them our help according to our strength. One should bear in mind that a government, no matter what its form—archrepublican or monarchistic—must rule the country with a strong hand, and must prevent morbid elements from unsettling the life of the state. Our English democratic government is at times more rigorous than any autocratic government and knows how to force into submissiveness the elements that make for disorder. And should it come to pass that the police, the hangmen, and the gallows were insufficient, the army, loyal to the government, would always come to the help of its country, at the moment of need.

"I repeat, it does not concern us what final results the Russian citizens may arrive at, but one thing must never be forgotten, namely, that the citizens of Great Britain hope and desire to see Russia again great, strong, powerful, and morally vigorous, that she may again acquire the right to take her place among the great nations of the world."

NEXT WEEK:—Our new military article with map, on the Siberian operations.

KOLCHAK'S CENSORSHIP

The Irkutsk Menshevik daily, *Nashe Deyelo* publishes the following announcement:

"Our office receives reproaches for not giving important information, such as is published in the "Svobodny Kray." Lately our paper has been placed in such a position by the censorship that we are not only unable to publish articles on questions which we previously discussed freely, but even some telegraph agency news, printed in other Siberian papers, together with a number of communications from the acting governor of Irkutsk province, communications from the chief of the Irkutsk county militia, etc., were barred from our newspaper by the censor."

—The Echo, Vladivostok, June 22.

MEETING DISPERSED

The following item is quoted from the *Dalny Vostok*, of Vladivostok, July 15, 1919:

"Today about 5 A. M. a meeting of about 500 persons assembled at the children's platform in Yarikov hollow. A secret service agent passing at this time on a street car, and wishing to arrest the leaders of the meeting, pulled out his revolver and ordered the crowd not to disperse. At the same time, in order to get the help of the policemen at their posts he fired three shots in the air. The frightened crowd started to run and the leaders tried to hide in the crowd. The agent began to shoot at them with his revolver. As a result a citizen of the province of Chernigov, Urvan Nikiforovich Tipikin, 50 years of age, was wounded. In addition the following persons were arrested. (Names follow.) They were turned over to the local military authorities."

NO PERMISSION

The Far Eastern Review, July 12, 1919.

A petition to establish a newspaper to be called *Zarya*, in the city of Blagovestchensk, was not favorably received by the commandant of the garrison.

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Municipal Elections In Siberia

Throughout Siberia municipal elections are being held on the basis of the new election law . . . At present there is no representative institution to give expression to the will of the people, nor is the press, under the present conditions, a true mirror of the sentiment of the country. For this reason alone the city elections, in which the will of the population is more or less fully reflected, deserve particular attention. City elections have already taken place in the capitals of three provinces—Irkutsk, Blagovyeshchensk, and Chita, and in many county seats. In all these elections one common phenomenon can be observed—an unusually high percentage of stay-at-homes. Whereas in the elections during the first period of the Revolution not less than 50 per cent of the voters went to the polls, at present the number of voters varies from 7 per cent (in the city of Verkhnyyoodinsk) to 33 per cent (in Blagovyeshchensk). Nearly everywhere the greatest number of councilmen were elected by the landlords, and the greater the number of stay-at-homes the fuller was the success of the landlords. Thus, in Chita, where only 15 per cent of the voters went to the polls, the landlords and the church congregations together have 27 out of 40 councilmen (the former 23 and the latter 4), while in Blagovyeshchensk, which gave the highest percentage of voters, the overwhelming majority of the councilmen were elected by the Social Democrats (38 out of 50), and the tickets of the so-called "anti community" parties were badly defeated. In Irkutsk, where 23 per cent of the voters went to the polls the Socialist fusion ticket polled 40 per cent of the votes and the landlords only about 30 per cent, yet owing to the new election law the latter have a majority in the new Council. Wherever Socialist tickets were nominated they had some success, but thus far the socialists have a majority only in Blagovyeshchensk. The Constitutional Democrats who ran for the city councils on various fusion tickets were everywhere defeated. In Irkutsk, where they combined with the People's Socialists and the Yedinstvo (the pro-war Socialists), they

polled about 25 per cent of the votes and elected three councilmen: in Chita they combined with the Cossacks and elected five councilmen; in Blagovyeshchensk they are also in a hopeless minority. The People's Socialists and the Yedinstvo have, thus far, apparently nowhere elected their candidates.

Thus wherever the pre-election campaign partook of the nature of a contest of political tendencies (such was the case in all large centers), the greatest success fell to left and right wings while the centre found no support. The elections have shown that the parties which are most influential through their close relations with government circles—the Constitutional Democrats, the People's Socialists, and the Yedinstvo—have practically no support among the urban population and have no following, either among the masses or among the property owners . . . The fact that the landlords and the congregations are winning in those places where the number of stay-at-homes is greatest, shows that the numerically small property owning groups are united and active, while the democratic part of the population, far more numerous, was apathetic toward the elections, and the absenteeism came, largely, just from this part of the population.

The elections thus demonstrate that indifference and apathy are spreading among the majority of the population, whereas the property owning "right" elements are more active and better organized. It is significant that everywhere the campaign issue of the latter was the protection of the interests of the landlords, i.e., they have frankly taken a class position . . . With them everything is clear and definite. There is but one slogan—higher rent and the shifting of the burden of taxation to the toiling sections of the population . . . The landlords, therefore, feel especially interested in the elections, and they go to the polls and vote unitedly for the most consistent and candid defenders of their interests. Valuable support was drawn by them from the congregations which have not infrequently turned the pulpit into a campaign platform and mobilized the votes of pious old men and women.

The causes of absenteeism among the democratic voters are also quite clear; the disappointment in politics in the face of the present political conditions, and the agitation for a boycott of the elections, which met with success among part of the workmen—this success was especially greatest where the oppression was strongest, as for instance in Chita.

Such are the conclusions that can be drawn from the results of the elections which have so far been held.

—From *Nashe Deyelo*, June 14, 1919.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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LYING IN ENGLAND TOO

The fact that lies are being spread in England as well as in other countries, concerning statements by Soviet officials, is clear from the following article in the London "Call" of August 21st, which disproves a singular allegation as to a statement attributed to Litvinoff, former Soviet Russian Ambassador to England:

"Mrs. Litvinoff, wife of the Bolshevik Ambassador in London, calls our attention to a typical example of the lying statements now circulated in the Press concerning Russia. The statement referred to is headed "Bolshevist Who Thinks Britain Safer than Russia," purports to be an interview with Mrs. Litvinoff, and declares that when her husband was deported the Home Office granted his request that his wife should remain in this country until Russia "was safer to live in." Our comrade gives a categorical denial to the statement. No reporter has ever been near her and the whole matter is a fake from beginning to end. When Litvinoff was deported his wife was absolutely unfit to travel and her baby was only a fortnight old, and when in October last she sought permission to rejoin her husband it was refused on the ground that the Swedish Government would not sanction the passport.

"The whole matter is causing Mrs. Litvinoff great distress and she dreads the thought that her husband should see such misleading statements."

LET LITVINOFF RETURN

"We are at war with Russia."

"We are not at war with Russia."

"Our troops are being withdrawn, but——."

"We stretched out our left hand to assist Kolchak, although——."

So the Right Honorables play ducks and drakes with the honor of the English people.

They lie to us, these Gentlemen Ministers; they probably lie to each other. The gift is congenial. It's in the breed.

So let them lie.

"Earth is sick, and Heaven is weary

Of their hollow words."

And the end is not yet, though the end will be.

As their cajolery grows so our demands must grow.

With a unanimity more wonderful than has been seen for half a century, the people of England cry: "Hands off Russia!"

It is not enough.

It must be "Peace and Fraternity with Russia!"

The great Socialist Republic must send its own accredited representative to voice the opinions of Russian workers. He would not need to disturb the repose of the Court of St. James by his presence there, for he would be a People's Ambassador; and not a mere adjunct to the gaudy trappings of mediaeval tomfoolery.

Every peddling little monarchy in Europe is represented here.

The aristocratic emigrés of Russia plan their sinister plots within the shadow of our walls.

We demand the representation of the Russian People's Government in this country.

Let Litvinoff come back.

—From a Recent Number of *The Call*, London.

MR. BULLITT ON RUSSIA

Of special interest, though aside from the main topic of his testimony, was the account given by William C. Bullitt Friday to the Senate committee on foreign relations, of his visit to Moscow, bearing peace proposals from the American and British delegations. The facts in regard to this mission have been so far as possible suppressed, but circumstantial evidence strongly supports Mr. Bullitt's statement that the matter was dropped because Kolchak's offensive had opened prosperously and his armies were expected to reach Moscow within a few weeks. Having decided for war, the diplomats naturally desired to smother the fact that the enemy sought peace and was ready to meet the proposed conditions.

Many people no doubt believe that the Soviet Government should be forcibly overthrown, regardless of its readiness to make peace. That public sentiment in this and other countries is ready to give unlimited support to this view may be open to question. If Kolchak had reached Moscow on schedule time the public might have troubled little about ethical questions; the sturdy defense made by the Soviets has put another face on the matter, both by suggesting that Lenin has more general support than had been supposed, and by indicating that the war if continued might be lingering, unsatisfactory and costly.

Such a war needs a good diplomatic foundation, such as the Allies possessed in 1914, when the prompt and full publication of the documents showed that Germany forced the war, while the Entente was striving for peace. This moral advantage the Allies have lost in the case of Russia by tortuous and secret diplomacy of the kind that always invites suspicion.

Misrepresentation, indeed, has gone so far that official statements about Russia have come to be received with utter incredulity. Many of them are merely absurd, like the explanation that the British forces at Archangel were not on the offensive but constituted a barrier against the spread of Bolshevism "to the north"; to the north lies nothing much except the north pole. This may fairly be put with the unhappy slip of our own State Department about the "westward moving Czecho-Slovaks," which innocently betrayed the plan of campaign which officially was being denied. It is not surprising that in England, Winston Churchill's pledge that the Archangel front would be evacuated should be taken by the cynical to mean that the British troops would come out by way of Petrograd. In the same spirit the attack of the British fleet on the defenses of Petrograd is represented to the British public as a defense of shipping in the Baltic against raids by the Russian Navy.

Thus it will be seen that the Allies hesitate to avow an offensive purpose, yet they suppress or misrepresent the facts in regard to the efforts of Soviet Russia to make peace. In this matter democracy should stand firmly upon its rights. It should not be asked to support an offensive war in the belief that it is a defensive war. It should not be told that the Soviet Government has refused to make peace when in fact it has assented to the terms proposed. If the reasons for making war are good it should be possible to give them a clear, explicit and truthful statement. It becomes

increasingly plain that till such a statement has been made the people of this country will not sanction continued participation in the war on Soviet Russia.

—*The Springfield Republican*, Sept. 15, 1919.

FAIR QUESTIONS FAIRLY PUT

Senator Borah put some questions in a fair way recently when he asked the administration, in effect, what it is doing in Russia, why it is doing it and when it intends to stop doing it—whatever it is—and bring our soldiers home.

And the last phase of the situation is an important one, because the difficulties of travel and transportation in winter in northern Russia are so great as to make it practically impossible for our men to be withdrawn except in the summer and early autumn. If our men are not started homeward soon, they will have to pass another winter there.

In asking these questions, Senator Borah is formulating the query that is in the mind of every American who thinks.

What are we trying to do in Russia? Are we at war with Russia? It appears that we are not at war with Russia, but are fighting a section of the Russian people. Then, just what are the conditions we are seeking to impose upon the section of the Russian people whom we are fighting with every appearance of being actually at war with them?

And what has become of the announcement made by the War Department last winter that the northern campaign in which our men are participating would be abandoned and that our soldiers would start for home as soon as travel should be made practicable by the advance of spring?

The impression is growing among the American people that our policy toward Russia is a series of blunders, and that the greatest of these blunders is our participation in a British military campaign which the British themselves admit has proved a disastrous failure.

Our entire Russian policy looks as if it were the work of some clerk in the State department and not the work of a responsible official.

—*The New York Evening Mail*, Sept. 8th.

ATROCITIES OF THE VOLUNTEER ARMY

(*Izvestia*, May 20, 1919.)

THEODOSIA (Feodosia), May 15.—The Commission appointed to investigate the mass murders, robberies and other acts of violence which took place in the city of Feodosia and its environs during March and April last, (the Commission consisting of the Mayor of the city, a representative of the municipal дума of Feodosia, a representative of the conference of justices of the peace, a Greek priest, the Swiss Consul, the Italian Consul and a representative of the Revolutionary Committee), has from the very beginning of its investigation established that indescribable atrocities were committed by whole detachments and units of the Volunteer Army. The corpses of men shot and stabbed by sabres have been burned. Among the victims there are women and children. Whole families consisting of 5 and 6 members have been murdered. In the village of Lombirove out of 25 houses—14 were burned. In four houses the women and children were locked up. Straw and household furniture were placed around the houses, and they were fired while their inhabitants were within. Children who attempted to run away were shot at. Under the ruins were found 10 corpses—an old man of 60, two women of about 66, one of 19 years and 5 children of the ages of 2 to 13 years. The atrocities continued for 3 days. The Greek settlement Kurubash has been devastated. Among those killed there were 12 Greeks. Five cases of rape have been reported. The village Dalny Kamyshin situated in the immediate neighborhood of the Allied squadron, and within reach of Allied cannon, has been devastated by the detachment of the Volunteer Army. Some of the victims were killed, others stabbed with sabres. 39 victims have been recorded thus far. In all of the above mentioned cases it has been ascertained that the crimes have not been committed by individual criminals, but by entire detachments of the Volunteer Army, headed by their superior officers. Near the staff headquarters there is so much looted private property and household articles that whole transports are needed to remove it . . . The responsibility for these atrocities falls on the Allies who supply and support the Volunteer Army.—*Russian Telegraph Agency*.

THE NEXT NUMBER (No. 19) OF "SOVIET RUSSIA"

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Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Vol. I

New York, October 11, 1919

No. 19

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE WAR IN RUSSIA (UP TO OCTOBER 6TH) . . .	1	EDITORIALS	12
MISERY OF THE RUSSIAN WORKERS	5	THE NEW RUSSIA, By Paul Birukoff (LAST INSTAL- MENT)	14
GORKY THE "ANTI-BOLSHEVIK," By S. Sechooler . . .	6	SMALL ITEMS OF INTEREST	11, 17
THE CANDOR OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT . . .	8	THE FATE OF THE RUSSIAN JEWRY	18
FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SOVIET RUS- SIA AND FINLAND	9	THE STRATEGY OF THE RUSSIAN BLOCKADE . . .	19
HOW THE COSSACKS WERE FOOLED BY DENIKIN . .	10	KOLCHAK'S ATROCITIES IN SIBERIA	21

The War in Russia

(Up to October 6th, 1919)

Political and Military Reflections

After the Battle of Bull Run the English nobility and upper middle class came to the conclusion that the North could not conquer the South and that separation would be the result.

This opinion was advocated by the *London Times* and *Sunday Review*.

William H. Russell, in answer to all those writing in the British press, published these significant words:

"Do not forget, I pray you, that in reality it is Brightism and Republicanism at home which the conservative papers mean to smite. . . . America is the shield under which the blow is dealt. . . . The exponents of the Ten-pounders, who, in their smug complacency, believe their Constitution and Government to be not only now the best on earth but the best that has ever existed (Lecky I, 21), criticize the North freely in "a tone of flipant and contemptuous serenity" highly irritating to a people engaged in a life-and-death struggle."

(*History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, by James Ford Rhodes, page 67.)

This historical document could be applied at the present day, with the addition that England not only irritates the Russian people engaged in a life-and-death struggle for liberty but that she is trying to annihilate the Russian nation, using the same demonic means which she so severely criticized when the Germans used them against her and the Allies.

SINCE September 21st the general strategical situation in Russia and Siberia has not changed much; there were some advances and some setbacks on both the belligerent sides, but the political atmosphere, especially in the allied countries, became very cloudy, ready to burst into a terrible storm at any moment.

Our readers will perhaps remember that in all our former articles we have pointed out the fact that the unsettled policy of the Allies in Russian affairs and the absolute lack of unity among their diplomats, as well as among their military leaders will undoubtedly help the Reds in winning their campaign; that is what is happening now.

According to the (delayed) telegram from Omsk, of September 18th, Kolchak made an appeal to the population asking them to drop party struggle and unite around the government. He declares that after long preparation for the offensive his army is "moving forward with success." So we were perfectly right in prophesying such troubles in Siberia.

The moment is really critical for Kolchak, because, as he has declared, his army is advancing, and therefore its rear must be kept in perfect order. Any kind of supply consigned to the battle-front must be carried out without any possible delay; the communication of the battle-front with the base must be highly protected from any undesirable surprises.

Fortunately for the Soviet Army, which was considerably diminished in Siberia, thanks to the energetic advance of Denikin from the South, the situation in the rear of the Kolchak army is not satisfactory at all; it is even disastrous.

The official report of Major-General William S. Graves, commander of the American forces in Siberia, which was published by all American newspapers since September 23d, can be considered as a perfect illustration for the existing atmosphere in the rear of the army of the "All-Russian Government" of Omsk.

The fact that an American general held up shipment of arms and ammunition and other supplies to the "All-Russian Government" at a moment when the army of that government was engaged with

the enemy, resuming an offensive, is a fact of very great importance, for, while the reason which impelled the American General might be of no very great importance in making such drastic reprisals, it nevertheless proves that the Americans in Siberia were through with Kolchak and his crowd and that the relations between them had attained a most acute point.

On the other hand, the fact that American soldiers were arrested and scourged with Cossack whips by order of their general is a fact which raises a wall between the American nation and the Russian reactionary band, which never will be removed either by hypocritical apologies from the satellites of Kolchak or "Ambassador" Bakhmetieff. It shows only that a future co-operation of the American troops with the Russians in Kolchakia is impossible.

This incident, in spite of its insignificance for certain circles of pro-Kolchak optimists, has a great military importance in proving that there exists in Siberia a hostile spirit amongst the Allies. It is of great advantage to Soviet strategy.

Colonel William T. Donovan, whose communication about the Siberian situation appeared in the New York newspapers of October 4th, does not speak very cheerfully about the morale of American troops in the Far East. "Up to three weeks ago," says this distinguished officer "the morale of the American troops was low, because the men, who had enlisted for the duration of the war only, wanted to go home. . . . Up to September 6th, for instance, there were 533 reenlistments. . . ."

There are in Siberia about 8,500 American troops, the Colonel declares.

Such insignificant American forces, in the presence of hostile Trans-Baikal and Ussuri Cossacks, and three divisions of Japanese of about 12,000 each, which does not include the Japanese army in North Manchuria and Korea, are powerless not only to protect themselves in case of aggression, but even are impotent to defend the honor of their own members, and consequently the honor of their nation in a very American way, which is far from a diplomatic blunder; it is a real prevention.

The situation of this small body of American soldiers is one of great danger, and may be compared with that of the heroic garrison of Fort Sumter during the Civil War.

Japan is acting as her former protector and present ally, England, is acting: striking her "friend" indirectly, which is the well known perfidious policy of the extreme West as well as of the extreme East.

The fact that Generals Kalmykov and Semionov are in Japanese pay is not a secret; Colonel William T. Donovan told us nothing new when he said this. We have known it well for a long time, and the American public, which is interested in the Far East, was informed about it by David P. Barrows, whose most brilliant article, "Japan as our Ally in Siberia," was published in the September issue of "Asia," the Journal of the American Asiatic Associa-

tion. Kolchak has known it also, for he is responsible for the Kalmykov's and Semionov's becoming Japanese agents.

Who but Kolchak started the negotiations with Japan in order to obtain their help, necessary for crushing the Bolsheviks; who but he has negotiated with the Japanese for the Ussuri Cossack region as a price for their military help; who but Admiral Kolchak, when in London and Paris, inspired the English and French statesmen and politicians to urge the Japanese to intervene. As was stated by one important Japanese diplomat in New York, Japan has intervened only at the request of the Allies. The Ussuri Cossacks knew all about Kolchak's plot and they decided to defend themselves and turned against the "All-Russian Government" and against all those who are supporting it. The Japanese realized the approaching danger and approached the Ussuri and Trans-Baikal Cossacks directly and succeeded in getting them to take Japanese money. This the Cossacks preferred to do by themselves rather than to be sold to Japan by the hated Kolchak.

And that is the real reason for the demoralization of the Cossacks in the rear of the Kolchak army and their disgraceful aggressiveness towards Americans who are officially the supporters of Kolchak's senseless adventure.

We cannot understand how an experienced officer like Colonel Donovan can suggest to his people that "under no conditions should Americans withdraw their troops now in Siberia." "Keep them where they are" he says, "despite all opposition," . . . "Watch Japan in Siberia." (N. Y. Evening Journal, Oct. 4, 1919.)

Towards Kolchak Colonel Donovan expresses a certain condescendence, or better, patronizing sympathy. He admits that Kolchak "has not enough strength to control" General Kalmykov in spite of the fact that Kolchak "has an excellent record as a naval officer, and is doing the best he can with his army under existing conditions," and these conditions Colonel Donovan confesses are as follows: "Practically," he says, "all of Russia is not held by the Bolsheviks, but the Red Army, which is their army" and "which is not made up entirely of Bolsheviks." There is something very vague in this explanation, which is far from logical.

The point of these remarks of a superior army officer can be only this: The army of the "All-Russian Government" has a Commander-in-chief who cannot control all the tactical bodies which form his army and cannot direct his strategy along a definite line, but is only "doing the best he can."

From the military standpoint, an army with a Commander-in-chief of such a kind as Colonel Donovan describes Kolchak to be, is a body without a head.

The suggestion to "watch Japan" by means of 8,000 men, in territory occupied by a huge Japanese army, and surrounded by hostile Cossacks and the unfriendly Kolchak crowd, from a purely military point of view would be an absurdity.

That could be easily accomplished by a body of specially trained intelligence agents and there would be no need to risk thousands of American lives and to expose the American Army to bands of undisciplined bandits, to be outraged and insulted.

There are two ways for the United States to act: either to concentrate a large army in Eastern Siberia numerically superior to that of Japan,—or, to withdraw, leaving Russia to her own devices, especially since such an authority, as Colonel Donovan undoubtedly is, has stated in the same interview that "Russia will eventually find herself." Why then American or any other kind of intervention?

Such was the situation in Siberia during the last two weeks. This situation was aggravated by events of purely internal political significance.

As the telegraph informed the American Press on the 4th and 5th of October, Ivan Yakusheff, President of the First Siberian Duma, which was dissolved by Admiral Kolchak . . . signed and issued secretly on September 5th a proclamation calling for the overthrow of the Kolchak government and the convocation of a popular convention to establish an All-Siberian Constituent Assembly. The same despatch confirms that "peasant revolts have now traversed all Siberia and show the depths of dissatisfaction felt through the country. As a means of pacification, the government has taken no steps other than corporal punishment and shootings, which in cruelty have exceeded the violence of the Bolsheviks." The country is considered to be "on the eve of a catastrophe" which is what we have foreshadowed for a long time.

In spite of this deplorable situation in Kolchakia, the American public is compelled to read a most amazing telegram from Washington (*The Sun* and others; Oct. 4) in which "Ambassador" Bakhmeteff's official statement was communicated: "Encouraging news from Siberia was announced today by the State Department" to the effect that the Russian armies opposing the Bolsheviks have advanced nearly eighty miles; that General Denikin has captured 15,000 prisoners, 21 heavy guns, and 100 guns of smaller caliber. That Finnish troops under General (all now are generals) Balakhovich have broken through the Bolshevik line at Bulata, capturing a whole division of the "enemy"; and finally, that General Rozanoff, the Commander in Eastern Siberia, has apologized to General Graves for flogging the American soldiers.

So everything, from the standpoint of the official who sticks close to his desk, seems to be all right. On the other hand, according to a telegram from Washington (*Times*, October 5th), General Yudenich started an offensive from Archangel district on Petrograd. General Yudenich was the Commander-in-chief in Esthonia, and after the Esthonians refused to attack Petrograd, he went to Helsingfors (Finland) and was in negotiation with the Allies, asking for 20,000,000 pounds sterling, and all kinds of supplies, in order to resume the attack on Petrograd desired by England.

Very probably the Finns also declined the services of that old worn-out General, well known as a great drunkard, and he joined the Archangel-Murmansk Army. A thing likely to cause great astonishment, after the official dispatch from London that all British troops have evacuated Archangel.

This Yudenich movement, as is explained, started simultaneously with the Kolchak and Denikin advances. Summing up the circumstances in Siberia, which just changed when this offensive began, there is little hope that the invaders will succeed in those parts either.

We were very much amused on reading the article of John Spargo Sunday, (September 21st), published in the *Sun*, in which he, admiring Kolchak, calls him a "Barrier to Japanese aggression." We do not share the opinion of this journalist as we consider that such a barrier will be too small both for the Japanese and the Soviet troops. This barrier must melt down by itself and the more work it performs, the sooner will this melting be accomplished.

According to a cablegram from Vienna, of September 30th, the British landed in Odessa. This movement of the British as it was explained later from London took place in order to release Denikin's troops occupying Odessa. Denikin needs reinforcement and it is very probable that his losses during the recent offensive were so heavy that he could not spare even such a small body as the Odessa garrison would have required. Very little has been heard about the Denikin advance and the last news which reached America was more like the usual composition of the British Press Bureau than a real official report issued from headquarters. The weakness of Denikin could be judged by the fact that after having captured, as it is alleged, 15,000 prisoners, and so many guns as was reported, he did not pursue the enemy, and is asking for reinforcements from the British naval forces in Odessa. On the other hand the speedy recognition of Lithuania by Great Britain only, may be interpreted as a political measure, in order to support the Denikin strategy by taking the Lithuanians under British influence just when they are about to conclude peace with Soviet Russia. So far as the Lithuanian government is concerned, it has openly declared that the Lithuanians would in no case favor the establishment in Russia of either Denikin's or Kolchak's dictatorship. On the other hand, according to a cablegram from Berlin of October 2d, the first treaty between Germany and Poland has been signed.

In the confusion of these sensational events, Von der Goltz began his provocative policy. He formally insulted General Foch in his answer to his order that the Baltic provinces be evacuated by the Germans. His letter to the French Fieldmarshal is an insolent and menacing letter in which he threatens to expel all British subjects from the territory occupied by the Germans. (*The Sun*, Sept. 27th.) On being interviewed, Von der Goltz openly said to the interviewer: "My troops will enter the Russian

army of Anti-Bolshevist fighters under General Yudenich" (*The Globe*, Oct. 4th), "and when they have defeated Bolshevism, they will have earned the right to settle down as peasants, workers, and in other capacities, in Vitebsk, Smolensk and other parts of Russia!"

So now we are formally informed by the Chief on the Germany Army that, first: Kolchak and his associates in reality are the allies of military Germany, which we always insisted on and, second, that military Germany's main aim is to invade Russia in one way or another. Look at the map and find where Smolensk is situated and you will understand the gravity of Von der Goltz's confession. The aim of the Allies in Russia, together with Kolchak, Denikin and other reactionaries, is to crush Soviet Russia. The aim of Von der Goltz is absolutely the same, as he has confessed to the press. So the Allies, Kolchak, Denikin and Von der Goltz are preaching the same ideas and acting in full harmony against Soviet Russia—so logically they are all Allies, thanks to the most paradoxical of circumstances.

The recent strike in England, and practically a war between Italy and Serbia, I beg your pardon, Yugo-Slavia, as well as the possibility of new unexpected combinations amongst the Balkan nations, aggravate the military situation of the invaders of Russia.

Even supposing the strike in England should be settled soon—the normal support to Denikin from England is already complicated by political events of the utmost gravity in England, especially when we take into consideration the fact that the British working people are categorically demanding that their government take its "hands off Russia."

There is already a similar movement in France which has to confront some serious complications in connection with the English policy towards Poland and Lithuania. There is no doubt that at the present moment Denikin is left to his own devices, and may be left all together.

The Denikin army is not less than 300 miles from Moscow, and his rear is crumbling already. The advantage of the central position of the Red Army is increasing progressively in proportion as their battle front is shortening, and this, when we recall the lack of locomotives and rolling stock which the Reds are suffering, is very important. Being now outside of danger from Kolchak, the Soviet Army may soon become, in Southern Russia, considerably stronger than its enemy.

European Russia, exclusive of Poland and Finland and the Baltic states, in 1917, had (according to the *Petit Larousse*) a population of 130,000,000. Turkestan, including garrison troops and the Russian population, had about 6,000,000; Siberia has a population of 10,000,000; Denikin has covered a region which in normal times has 40,000,000. Consequently the Soviets control about 96,000,000 (in reality much more) and Kolchak and Denikin together a maximum of about 50,000,000.

The recruiting for Denikin is carried out in the face of very disadvantageous circumstances. The general feeling, especially of the young generation, can be in no case in favor of the invaders, and, on the other hand, the population already has been subject to the Soviet Recruiting Act and certainly the best element has been taken by the Red Army. Besides that, Denikin must be very careful in introducing compulsory recruiting and requisition to avoid the possible uprising of peasants behind the lines of his operating armies. Therefore we shall not be mistaken in considering that the Soviet Army is fully able to reckon on ten per cent. of the population for supplying her armies with recruits, while Denikin scarcely can have five per cent., and even the industrial and agricultural region which he has succeeded in occupying will suffer tremendously from lack of labor. We must not forget that about 600,000 Chinamen were engaged by the late Russian War Office for military work in the field during the war and they have all remained with the Reds.

Besides that, the Soviet General Staff has a most perfect organization for mobilization purposes, which organization was inherited by the Soviet from the old war office and improved accordingly. Such an organization Denikin cannot even dream about.

Summing up all these circumstances it becomes clear that it will be impossible to suppose that Denikin can become preponderant in number in the fight over his enemy. It is also a truth that only a number of fighters of high military spirit can bring an army to final victory, a fact which has been proven during the European war.

If we shall add to Denikin's forces Poland's population of 20,000,000 and the 10,000,000 population of Lithuania, the Baltic states and Finland,—the total population under the control of Denikin, Kolchak, the Poles, the Baltic states, Lithuanians, and even 7,600,000 Roumanians, will be no more than 87,000,000, or less than the population controlled by the Soviets, and this figure is far from sufficient in order to crush a defensive Russian nation of 96,000,000 possessing a strong central position, and high national and military morale.

With regard to natural resources, we notice the same thing. Having lost the southern industrial region, the Soviets succeeded in gaining, in addition to their enormous central industries, the most important northern and Ural industrial regions.

We also must not neglect the fact that a part of Western Siberia is in the hands of the Reds and Eastern Siberia is practically out of control. It must not be forgotten either that the Southern industrial region requires an enormous number of working people and that all the skilled workmen of that district and the workmen in general are with the Soviets and in no case with the reactionaries.

Therefore we consider the reasoning followed (on this matter) in the editorial of the *Evening Post*, of September 30th as absolutely inaccurate and prejudiced in favor of Kolchak and Denikin.

Additional Remarks

(October 8th)

Our article was already in print when we noticed in the *New York Times* of October 6th some very important news about further developments in Russia, which we cannot pass in silence.

At last even the *New York Times* has become courageous enough to say something which looks like the truth about Russian affairs; it confirms that "unrest is increasing in Transcaucasia." Baku, the centre of the Russian oil industry, perhaps the richest such centre in the world, is now in the sphere of the Soviet influence; the "Bolshevist agitation is carried on openly in the town. . . . A Bolshevist newspaper appears daily and meetings are held in the workmens quarters. The native population," it is said, "are afraid of Bolshevism, but apparently are still more afraid of the growing (?) power of Denikin!" And this is from Mr. Harold Williams, the great enemy of Soviet Russia, who, only a few days ago, in the *New York Times* of September 28, so cheerfully described the brilliant strategical situation of the Denikin army, trying to convince Americans that the victorious Denikin is welcomed and "greeted everywhere with enthusiasm by the population. . . ."

Now Mr. Harold Williams confesses that "the present unsatisfactory position" of Denikin "is fraught with possibilities of danger . . . Bolshevism threatens Transcaucasia from within and without."

Any one who understands that all this is happening far in the rear of the Denikin army will realize the full gravity of its strategical significance. Further on, Mr. Harold Williams expresses his suspicions of the Ukrainians, and his loss of confidence in "General" Petlura, whom he considered not long ago to be one of the best and most devoted of Denikin's captains. Now he says: "Around Kieff other proteges of Germany, the Ukrainian Separatists, have raised their heads . . . and are reasserting their claims to Ukrainian independence" . . . and, further on, "the Ukrainian Socialists are intriguing with Petlura against the volunteer army" (Denikin's army).

It seems that nobody believes in "Denikin's liberal Ukrainian policy," brought with British tanks and poison gas, and which, according to Harold Williams, was "clearly defined in his (Denikin's) manifesto to the population."

The *New York Times* in the same issue also confesses that the "Russian Chiefs may seek aid in Germany."

"For some time," says the *New York Times* (a special cable from Geneva of October 5th), "officers of the Kolchak and Denikin staffs have been posted in Berlin . . . in reality acting as diplomatic agents in negotiations that have begun between the two generals" (Kolchak and Denikin) "and the German government since the Allied change of front in Russia."

We have always insisted that Kolchak and Deni-

kin have for a long time been in collusion with Germany and have simply duped the Allies; now we see that we were right.

According to the *New York Times*, the fraternization between the men of the Soviet and Anti-Bolshevist Armies already has taken place on several occasions. Let us remember what was the result of Russo—German fraternization. Still, the correspondent of the *New York Times* is sure that "the Bolshevist and Anti-Bolshevist armies are on the verge of general collapse." But on the other hand, according to Robert Minor, the American war correspondent, the Soviet Army "is the only army in Europe that can be relied upon to obey orders in any circumstances" (*The Sun*, October 6th).

Taking into consideration the opinion of this distinguished American journalist, together with the opinions of Mr. William C. Bullitt, Captain W. W. Pettit and Mr. Lincoln Steffens, who officially expressed their impartial views on the morale of Soviet Russia in general and its army in particular, we cannot possibly believe that the fraternization of the Reds with Denikin's men would be followed by the collapse of the Soviet army. We are sure that this fraternization as a matter of fact is a very normal sign of the approaching end of the sanguinary reaction and that the Red army consequently will increase its number of fighters at the expense of the Denikin forces.

There is no doubt now that the whole Denikin adventure, in spite of the support of the English and French, is approaching its collapse, being an operation planned contrary to all strategical and moral principles.

Misery of the Russian Workers

We have received an extremely touching letter from the Russian prisoners who are interned in the camp of Souhesmes, near Verdun.

These unfortunates, after they had shed their blood for the common cause, were imprisoned by the Germans. They have known the horror of the Prussian prisons. But now they write us that they look back with longing to that incarceration, since the French officers have shown themselves to be superior to the German militarists in the use of persecutions. They lack everything. For eight months they have not had a piece of soap. Their food is insufficient, and the commandant has confiscated the milk and meat which they bought from the people of the country. Their money has not been returned to them.

They complain above all of bad nourishment, of insults to which they have been exposed daily on the part of the French officers, who have removed the young Americans whose compassion brought some alleviation to these unfortunates.

For the honor of France, these infamies must cease; all the Russians detained in our concentration camps must have full liberty again; they must be permitted to return to their country.

—*Le Populaire*, August 14.

Gorky the "Anti-Bolshevik"

By S. SECHOOER

IN their effort to discredit Soviet Russia, the reactionaries and counter-revolutionists neglect no means; they distort news dispatches, misquote independent opinions, and do not hesitate to invent stories of popular discontent and open revolts against the revolutionary government.

Most of their energy they spend in an endeavor to misrepresent the attitude toward the revolution of the great Russian leaders and intellectuals.

Soon after the revolution, the Social Revolutionary Party as a whole and its individual leaders were utilized by the counter-revolutionists to discredit the revolution. When all these efforts failed, when even the importation of Babushka Breshkovskaya into this country proved to be a tragic failure, the name of Andreyeff appeared in the headlines of their publications. His articles on the revolution and his opinions about the Bolsheviks were so mutilated and so embellished that no intelligent person could be misled to believe that Andreyeff, would make such petty accusations even against his personal enemies.

Later Gorky became the victim of distortion and misquotation. From the scanty and censored news that we are here getting from Russia, the average reader is unable to know the real state of affairs and the counter-revolutionists are utilizing this situation to poison the public mind.

They are republishing articles written by Gorky two years ago, at a time when the revolution was in its most chaotic stage, when it had not yet assumed any concrete form; and Gorky, not having the scent of a practical revolutionary leader, doubted the feasibility of the Bolshevik methods at that time. He feared that the Russian people would have to pay dearly for that scientific experiment—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

That Gorky was never against the Bolsheviks and never openly opposed them is proved by the fact that in July, 1918, he joined the Bolshevik Government and took the position of Commissary of Public Instruction, but let us see what Gorky said about the Bolsheviks when he was supposed to be against them; at the time when we were told here that he was imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and had died later as a victim of Bolshevik mistreatment.

In an answer written to letters addressed to him by some aristocratic women, in which he was charged with complicity with the Bolsheviks, who were "leading mankind into corruption," Gorky explains to these women the substance of the revolution, its aims and its prospects and at the end says:

"Am I defending the Bolsheviks? No, I am working against them,—but I defend the men whose honest convictions I know, whose personal honor is known to me just as I know the honesty of their devotion to the well being of the people. I know that they are conducting a most cruel scientific experiment on the living body of Russia. I under-

stand how to hate, but I prefer to be just. Oh, yes, they have made many grave mistakes—God also made a mistake, when he made us more stupid than we should be—nature made mistakes in many things—shall we judge them from the standpoint of our wishes, which may contradict their objects or their imperfections? Without knowing to what political results their activity will finally lead, I assert that from a psychological standpoint, the Bolsheviks have already done the Russian people a great service in that they have called forth in the masses an interest in present events, without which interest our country would have been destroyed.

"Now it will not be destroyed, for the people have awakened out of their apathy to a new life, and new forces are ripening, which fear neither the madness of political innovators, nor the greed of foreign robbers who are altogether too certain of their invincibility.

"Russia struggles convulsively with the dreadful labor pains of delivery—do you wish that as soon as possible, a new, beautiful, good, human Russia shall be born? Let me tell you, oh mothers, that rage and hatred are very bad midwives."

As to Bolshevik methods, Gorky says: "I believe that the ideal maximalism is quite useful for the uncontrollable Russian soul, it can awaken its long needed activity and stir its great desires. It can put life into that withered Russian soul, shape it and develop initiative in it."

These words show that Gorky was not against Bolshevism, but that he feared its practical application; he considered it premature.

This was said by Gorky about Bolshevism and the Bolsheviks at the time, when we were here made to believe that he was their most ardent opponent.

There were times, before and after the October revolution, when Gorky really did criticize, and sometimes without mercy, the tactics and methods of the Bolsheviks, but that criticism was not that of a political opponent, or of a counter-revolutionist, but that of a prophet, who criticizes and condemns everyone and everything that seems to him wrong and unjust.

Gorky knew that the road of the revolution was not strewn with roses, that it would require many victims, that the Russian people would have to make great, superhuman sacrifices in the process of their regeneration, and he was prepared for this; but at times the prophet arose in him and his noble soul could not tolerate what bloodshed, rage and hatred were necessary. Gorky the prophet, with his high sense of beauty and harmony, with his great love and devotion to the highest ideals and aspirations of mankind, feared that in the struggle the people were becoming cruel, savage, vulgar and dishonorable, and they would not emerge from the struggle as purified and beautiful as he dreamed they should be. To Gorky the prophet, the present sufferings

of the people were too great a sacrifice, no matter what aims were afterwards to be attained.

But Gorky the revolutionist realized that it was not the revolution that had brought these sufferings, and he exclaims pathetically: "Not we have desecrated the world. Three years of cruel, senseless butchery are the chief factors."

To the imputation against the Bolsheviks, that they have demoralized the masses, Gorky answers: "Is it not natural that people infected by the strong poisons of the old order—alcohol and syphilis—should not be generous? Is it not natural for people to steal—if theft was the law of yesterday?"

This was Gorky's attitude toward the revolution before he joined the Soviet Government, more than a year ago.

To assert that Gorky was in any way or at any time against the great revolution is not only a personal insult to him but it is a desecration to his great noble personality, such as can be uttered only by people who care not what means they employ as long as they serve their purposes.

Gorky is a product of the Russian masses; he lived together with them and suffered together with them, his literary works are full of love and devotion to the Russian people; Gorky is the conscience of Russia, and only brainless reactionaries and shameless renegades can pretend to believe that he is against the great revolution of the Russian masses.

Gorky's literary activity, all his works, are full of faith in the creative potentialities of the masses. His types, taken from the lowest depths of society, appear before us fully conscious of the monstrous spectre of present-day society, of the injustices and cynicism over which the fabric of the existing conditions is woven. With his great genius, Gorky shows how slowly but inevitably there grows up in the masses a self-consciousness, a belief that the time is not remote, when justice will reign on earth. They are ready to make the greatest sacrifices to destroy the old outlived forms of society and to create instead a new world order under which there will be no master and no slave, no exploiters and no exploited; a world order under which happiness will be guaranteed to all and not to a few only. The world will be one big community of individuals and each member will contribute as much as possible to the welfare of the many, and the community will provide the individual with all the necessities of life.

If we think of Gorky as an anti-Bolshevik, we might just as well say that Lenin is not a Bolshevik, as Gorky is in literature what Lenin is in sociology and economics; with the only difference that Gorky is a teacher and Lenin is a leader.

They both equally understood the masses.

Their greatness and the reason of their gaining the confidence of the people is that they did not come to the people as innovators, as promulgators of strange ideas, that were foreign to the Russian mind; they are organic products of the masses. After years of study of the psychology of the Rus-

sian people, they had arrived at an understanding of their impulses and desires; they became aware of the enormous creative forces which were hidden in the masses, and at the first opportunity they came out and took the lead. They became the guides who stimulated the gigantic forces of the great giant—the Russian people, who had been awakened to action.

* * *

GORKY came out courageously against those complacent intellectuals who idealized the warm atmosphere of "self-perfection," of gradual development and petty accomplishment.

During his literary career, Gorky did not cease to attack the existing social order and its active and passive ideologues. He bitterly denounces those who reconcile themselves with the present forms of life and who feel that they have no ground under their feet and endeavor to prove that they came to this state through long years of study and research, arriving at the 'conclusion' that life is not worth the struggle, that there is no sense in life and then exclaim cynically: "Is it worth while to live?" And then they offer proofs of their assertion that it is not worth while but they themselves in the meantime live complacently, in satiety and tranquility. Because, if it is not worth while to live, still less is it worth to do anything to enhance the course of life.

In a series of allegoric tales, which were written recently, and published in Petrograd in 1918 under the name *Russian Tales*, Gorky ridicules all those cynicists, who prostitute themselves, cringing before the authorities, in their efforts to adapt themselves to the existing conditions, as this means getting out of life as much as possible and to contributing in return only ignorance and misery.

One of Gorky's characters offers his services as a professor of philosophy and promises to propagate the ideas of self-abnegation, that life is senseless and a submission to the impulses of nature useless. He writes books on the same subject and he does it only because it pays.

Poetry, fiction, art, everything is penetrated with the poisonous spirits of the existing social order.

The state, the church, the press, the conventions of society—all have one and the same function: to prove the expediency of the existing social order. If it brings misery and suffering to the majority, if ignorance and superstition are prevalent, it is because the masses are not yet fully civilized and therefore they must be lead by the chosen few, who are "perfect." When they see the masses becoming impatient, the approach of unrest, they start to teach them the virtue of forbearance and self-control, and that nothing can be attained at once, but only through gradual self-perfection.

Very interesting is the very last of the tales, which characterizes the relations between the Russian people and the intelligentsia. Russia was groaning under the yoke of the most cruel despotism and was in need of good practical leaders, but none came, as all those who claimed to have come to redeem Russia were too small to be noticed by the Russian people.

In the 25 years of his social and literary activity, Gorky's mission was to arouse the people to action. He knew that the people were an unexhausted source of energy and he believed that only when the people would take their life into their own hands, would they make of it what is really is and proclaim new forms for a new culture. He was arousing the people to throw off not only their physical chains but also the spiritual

slavery into which they had been thrown and in which they were held with the assistance of the cynicists and prostitutes of all ages.

And these same cynicists and prostitutes want to make the people believe that Gorky is now coming out against the goal of his twenty-five years of work—the Russian Social Revolution.

The Candor of the Soviet Government

THE intelligent reader of news about Russia could not fail to notice that the reports sent out by the Russian Soviet Government, unlike all other reports, have always been correct and timely. An editorial article in "The Springfield Republican" of September 24th, calling attention to this fact, writes:

"For both political and military news Moscow is coming to be the principal center. Little of consequence comes from Paris at present, and the silence of the peace conference gives the Soviets a chance to score. Whether the news is good or bad seems to be quite immaterial to the Moscow wireless, which lately has several times scooped its rivals by publishing the first report of defeats for the red armies. The other day it announced the loss of Kursk, now it chronicles the fall of Lgov, further west, and loss of ground on the Volga front. It gives the news, too, of a new anti-Soviet conspiracy with headquarters at Moscow, and of the effort of the Moscow government to negotiate peace with the Ukraine.

"If all these things had been concealed, their revelation might well lead to the belief that Lenin's downfall was near; their significance is reduced by the whimsical practice adopted by his government of publishing the news without discriminating between the good and the bad. Whether this amazing candor is to be ascribed to policy or to vanity and the desire to suggest an invidious comparison with other governments in respect to veracity, it has made Moscow the main dependence of the press for live news, and we sometimes have had the odd spectacle of a belated dispatch from the headquarters of Kolchak or Denikin being described as a "corroboration" of a report from Moscow of a reverse for the Soviet armies."

Judging by editorials appearing from time to time in "The Springfield Republican," its editor is unusually well informed on Russian affairs and is comparatively unbiased. Nevertheless, he fails to perceive the true reason for this "whimsical practice" of the Soviet Government. The candor of the Soviet Government is not an accident, nor is it dictated by the "desire to suggest an invidious comparison with other governments with respect to veracity," though it does suggest such a comparison. The Soviet Government's candor is not

limited to its reports on the military situation nor to its accomplishments in the internal reorganization of the country. It extends not only to its diplomacy and to the internal situation but, what is more significant, even to its plans for military campaigns. The Soviet Government publicly outlines its plans for offensive or defensive campaigns months before they can materialize. The readers will recall that in the early fall of 1918, in a speech which was delivered before the Petrograd Soviet, and which received wide publicity, Trotzky announced that the effort of the Red Army against the counter-revolutionary bands during the fall and winter will be concentrated in the South, and that the Eastern and Northern fronts would be ignored. In the spring of 1919 the Soviet leaders and Soviet newspapers declared just as openly, that Soviet armies would be concentrated on the Eastern and North-Western (Petrograd) fronts, leaving only a small force in South Russia to resist Denikin. Surely, such candor, laying bare the plans of the Soviet Government to enemies who are bent on the destruction of Soviet Russia, cannot be explained "by the desire to suggest a comparison with other governments." What then is the cause of this candor?

There can be but one answer: the Soviet regime is truly popular. Russia under the Soviets is not ruled by a few bureaucrats or "leaders" and "representatives," who are separated from the mass of the people, but by the masses of the workers and peasants through the net-work of Soviets covering all Russia. The Soviet Government is only the executive and co-ordinating organ of thousands of Soviets and the active masses behind them. Both the internal reconstruction and the defence against the Russian and the powerful and resourceful foreign counter-revolutionists can be successful only through the exertion of the energy of the masses, and they therefore must be and are constantly kept informed of the real situation. The "amazing candor" of the Soviet Government is, therefore, an inevitable and necessary feature of the Soviet rule, and an indubitable proof of its popular character.

The Siberian Map which we have long promised will at last appear in our next issue; it will be a double-page map.

Further Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Finland

Translation of a Wireless Note of the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs

Pravda, Moscow, May 4, 1919

THE Finnish Government, which has learned with the greatest indignation of the arrest of the members of the Finnish Provisional Economic Committee at Petrograd, protests energetically against this pusillanimous violation of the obligations of the Russian Soviet Government, all the more since the aforesaid members of the Committee were in Petrograd exclusively for the purpose of putting into effect the agreement concluded between the Russian Soviet Government and the Dutch Red Cross.

The Finnish Government categorically demands that the authorities of the Russian Soviet Republic take the necessary measures in order to render it possible for the members of the Committee to inform the Finnish Government of their liberation, said information to be conveyed to the Finnish authorities at the Russo-Finnish border before 8 A. M. of May 6, 1919.

The Finnish Government points out to the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic the extremely grave consequences, in case of a refusal on the part of the latter, particularly to the numerous citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic who are at present in Finland, in the power of the Finnish Government.

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

EHRNROOT.

Translation of a Wireless Note of the Finnish Government of May 3, 1919

Pravda, Moscow, May 4, 1919

To the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helsingfors.

WE are shocked by the tone of yesterday's wireless message of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which tempts us to believe that the Finnish Government is trying to pick a quarrel with the Russian Soviet Republic, and is using, for this end, assertions that are devoid of any foundation. The protest of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs is directed against the alleged arrest of members of the Finnish Economic Committee in Petrograd and bases itself on their alleged immunity. As a matter of fact, however, only one member of that Committee, Leineman (?), had been deprived of liberty for a short period and already set free on May 2, before the sending of a protest by the Finnish Government, which protest thus lost its basis. The complaint of the Finnish Government is still more out of place, as the Finnish Government itself is violating promises given by it, is committing arbitrary arrests of Russian citizens in Finland, and besides, in many cases, after giving Russian citizens documents guaranteeing them free passage through Finland, has caught them in a trap in order to jail them afterwards. The immunity of the members of the Economic Committee had been recognized when the Finnish Government was

not yet refusing the Russian Soviet Republic every representation within the confines of Finland, the Economic Committee having had as its aim the working out of an agreement regarding the exchange of commodities. Since then the Soviet Government has been refused the right of representation in Finland, in consequence of which the conditions proposed by the Economic Committee on January 10 make no mention of its immunity and deny mutually the right of official representation to both of the governments. The agreement signed on January 24th by People's Commissaire Krasin and the Economic Committee likewise removes every official representation as between Russia and Finland. On the other hand the question of exchange of commodities has been postponed indefinitely and the members of the Economic Committee who had already departed returned just at that time to Russia in order to take up the matter of exchanging citizens of either country arrested by the authorities of the other. The agreement between the Russian Soviet Government and the Danish Red Cross refers exclusively to the conditions of exchange of the citizens of both countries and is silent even as to the existence of a Finnish representation or a Finnish Economic Committee in Russia, and all the more as to its immunity.

The protest of the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs is thus equally devoid of a legal basis as well as of a basis of fact. Not detaining in prison the members of the Finnish Economic Society at Petrograd, the Russian Soviet Government will permit them as well as the remaining citizens of Finland, who are referred to in the negotiations now being conducted, to depart from Russia if the Russian citizens at present in Finland will be given the possibility to return to Russia and if Citizen Platten, arrested after his departure from Russia, will be permitted to leave Finland and continue his journey or, if he so wishes, to return to Russia. While continuing, as before, to give evidence of its conciliatory tendencies and peace loving intentions, the Russian Soviet Government hopes that the Finnish Government, too, will on its part put an end to the present war-like enterprises, apparently directed against Russia, whose continuation would represent a serious menace to peace between the two countries.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs,

CHICHERIN.

The Siberian Complaint

THE dark elements of the past have become active again, perhaps even more so than ever before. A good instance of this activity is the work of the police and the administration.

Heroes arise everywhere. They remind one of the notorious "foolish rulers of cities," the Borodavkins and the Bonevolenskys, with their eternal slogan of:

"Enlightenment is only useful when its character is unenlightened." —*The Far Eastern Review*, July 12th.

How the Cossacks Were Fooled by Denikin

IF any one had the least expectation that the Denikin government is in any way different from the lamented Kolchak régime, that expectation is dissipated by the latest news that is coming out of Russia. From these reports it is evident that, far from changing their tactics and profiting by what happened to Kolchak, the Russian reactionaries are repeating, step by step, the same experiment, with the sole exception that the name Denikin is substituted for the name Kolchak.

The so-called Russian Voluntary Army is neither Russian, nor voluntary, and the only real military strength that the army has is the British tanks and artillery. Under the false promise of democracy and Constitutional Assembly, General Denikin, backed up by English supplies of munitions and provisions, as well as officers in the Caucasus, forced the Atamans of the Kuban, and the Don to turn over their armies to his command. As soon as he had collected his armies, Denikin repudiated all his promises to call a Constitutional Assembly, and began his "War of Liberation." The Kuban and the Don Cossacks were immediately disillusioned. For the present, Denikin is occupied with the task of devastating the Ukraine, and the inhabitants of the Caucasus are assured relative peace, but they dread the day when he will be in a position to consolidate his conquests and will do to them what he has already done to the inhabitants of the "liberated territories." Although the Rada, the Parliament of the Kuban, was elected under the auspices of General Denikin and his British troops, no popular representatives are allowed to visit the army on the front, where the Kuban Cossacks are fighting in the supposed war for democracy.

We quote from an article in *L'Humanité* (Paris), written by M. Stalinsky, a long time resident of the Kuban, and an opponent of the Soviet doctrines:

The struggle against the policies of Denikin is becoming more and more bitter in the North Caucasus.

The military success of the Voluntary Army and, thanks to this, the increasing boldness of the counter-revolutionary elements, have augmented the unrest among the populations of this part of Russia, who have succeeded with great difficulty in preserving some forms of "self-government."

The populations who furnish the principal contingents of the Voluntary Army haven't the least doubt as to the fate which awaits them in case of the final triumph of this army: they will be crushed in the name of the sacrosanct military dictatorship, as have been the countries fallen under the power of Denikin, where local government did not exist.

Opposition against Denikin is most manifest in the Kuban, which serves as Denikin's base, but whose population is very profoundly imbued with the democratic spirit.

What worries the people of the Kuban most is the tenacious struggle carried on by the high command against the Rada.

There were recently divulged the secret orders of Denikin's Generals, calling for the arrest of any

member of the Rada who should approach the armies. A violent propaganda, with official backing, is carried on in the army and at the front against popular representation. The scoundrel Purishkevich, the famous chief of the Black Hundreds, is touring the front, propagating his rascally ideas, and a great crowd of under-Purishkeviches in uniform perform the same service.

The situation has become so threatening that the Ataman of the Kuban (recent dispatches announce his assassination by Denikin's agents) who had been himself elected as the candidate of Denikin, under Allied pressure, replied to a member of the Rada who made this declaration to the House, that "the government of Denikin is lurking in our midst, like a crow, waiting for the most favorable moment to throw himself upon our land and pluck at its beautiful eyes."

A majority member of the Rada recently summed up the situation as follows:

"Our aims and purposes have been fixed by the regional Rada. We are fighting for a Russia, reconstituted by a Constitutional Assembly on the basis of land to the workers and popular sovereignty. The political aims of the command of the Voluntary Army differ from ours. In their declaration there is no mention of a Constituent Assembly, there is only a National Assembly, which will not be elected by universal suffrage, which will have no constitutional functions, and which will have only a consulting voice. In the agrarian question, too, there are profound differences between our policy and theirs. . . ."

It is thus apparent that the Cossacks are playing for Denikin the rôle that the Czecho-Slovaks played for Kolchak and his ring. The Czecho-Slovaks thought, too, they were fighting for democracy and the Constitutional Assembly, but when they found out how they were fooled, they had to be withdrawn from the battle line in Siberia. After that the Kolchak military resistance collapsed. A similar result will undoubtedly take place in Denikin's boasted Voluntary Army.

Will the Anti-Soviet Blockade Be Raised?

The Daily Herald has twice stated emphatically that the blockade of Soviet Russia is to be raised immediately. We should like to believe the story, but it is so improbable that we cannot do so without unmistakable evidence of its truth. So far, the evidence all points in the opposite direction. It is well nigh impossible to believe that the Allies will continue their attack on the Soviets and their aid to the counter revolutionaries, and at the same time raise the blockade, and certainly there is no indication that these things are to cease. *The Times* reports: "The export of tea and coffee from Holland, except to Bolshevik Russia and Hungary, has been sanctioned by the Dutch Minis-

ter of Agriculture." Holland, a weak neutral nation, acts virtually under the instructions of the Allies in blockade matters.

The workers will make a terrible mistake if they slacken their efforts against the blockade and the intervention because rumors are circulated that the capitalists will terminate these of their own accord. It is wisest for us to assume that the attack by capitalist governments will never cease until capitalist governments are overthrown.

Germany is making preparations to trade with Soviet Russia, and has sent a commission to arrange with the Soviet Economic Council for German assistance in the building of Russian railways, in the provision of machinery, tools and technical experts. But the Big Five will probably intervene to upset these plans.

The inevitable outcome of the situation is that the German workers under the pressure of their many hardships, will rise, and, taking the power of Government into their own hands, will establish a Soviet Government and form an Alliance with Soviet Russia.

—*The Workers' Dreadnought*, July 19.

Next week "Soviet Russia" will contain an article by Joseph R. Scheftal, on "Russian Prisoners in France."

Counter-Revolution Suppresses Strike

THE following order of the Commander of the Vladivostok Fortress, dated April 3, 1919, and bearing No. 11, is translated from the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozryeniya* (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, April 6, 1919.

"For the purpose of preventing misinterpretation of current events I forbid the publication in newspapers, leaflets, and appeals, of any information, as well as of any appeals, advertisements, and orders, concerning the progress of the strike and the measures toward its termination in enterprises and institutions within the area of the fortress of Vladivostok, unless the same come from government sources.

"Violation of this regulation will be punished by a fine of not to exceed 3,000 rubles, or imprisonment for a term not to exceed three months.

"(Signed) Lieutenant-Colonel Butenko,
"Acting Commander of the Fortress."

Reactionary Even in Spelling

THE following incident reported in the Siberian press which may in itself appear insignificant, is nevertheless characteristic of the present "democratic" government of Siberia.

Professor Manuilov, the first Minister of Education in the Prince Lvov Provisional Government, introduced reformed spelling in Russian schools. This reform was endorsed by all parties except the monarchists. Recently the Central Committee of the Siberian Association of Zemstvos and Cities published a pamphlet entitled "In Defense of the New Spelling."

But, according to the *Dalny Vostok* (Far East) of Vladivostok, of July 27, 1919, the government has

issued an order among all railway lines directing that all telegrams should be written and transmitted in accordance with the old spelling.

For the Re-establishment of Monarchy

The journal *Svenska Dagblatt* of Stockholm publishes an interview with a certain Col. Cyon, so far completely unknown, whose declarations seem to be open to question. We publish them only for the sake of information:

The league is said to include persons of note residing at Stockholm and at Helsingfors, receiving their instructions from the seat, which is at London, and whose central decorative figure is the Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna. The Dowager is assisted, according to M. Cyon, among other persons, by Prince Dolgoruki, by Gen. Ermolof, by Mr. Trepof, by Gen. Dragomirof. More recently at Paris, Gen. Youdenitch; at Stockholm it is Counts Orlof and Davidof.

According to M. Cyon, persons interested are said to have obtained easily the visé of passports for England, although other persons cannot do so.

—*Le Temps*, August 12.

The Attack on Kronstadt

There are two accounts of the affair of Kronstadt. One, the officially inspired British account, strains language to breaking point with "epic triumph," "heroic victory," and so on, and announces the certain sinking of two Bolshevik battleships and a cruiser. The other—issued by the Soviet Government—is much more dignified and denies the sinking, although it admits the damage, of the battleships. No sane man, knowing the British Government, will hesitate as to which version to accept. Five officers and eight men died that British capitalism might live. We sincerely regret their deaths in such a cause. The sympathies of the British Socialist Party are unreservedly with the men they fought against; and the mass of the people are with us. Despite the frothing of the newspapers the "victory" has been received with a chilly silence that is an omen in itself. There is no enthusiasm for these triumphs. The workers are sick to death of the statesmen who engineer them. The very papers which print the glorious news, print also accounts of strikes of British soldiers against being sent to Russia. The whole business is an act of desperation on the part of a Government too incompetent to live, too dishonorable to die. Kronstadt is a desperate gamble to retrieve a position which public opinion has rendered untenable. It is no victory. And if it were it would be the duty of the working class to repudiate it.

—*The London Call*, August 28th.

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau herewith thanks Mr. Boardman Robinson for the gift of the original of his splendid drawing, "Soviet Russia," which appeared in "The Liberator" two months ago. This picture, which is much appreciated, now adorns the walls of the Bureau's office.

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DESPITE invasion and civil war, famine and plague, and all the vicissitudes, real and alleged, of life in Soviet Russia, we have yet to hear of any foreign newspaper correspondent or merchant, or any person travelling in Russia on legitimate business, who has come to harm or even suffered more than the unavoidable discomforts. Countless travellers, filled with tales of rapine and murder, have trembled on the frontier before taking the plunge into those pictured horrors. The sequel is always the same. They go in, move about their business in comparative comfort, and come out unscathed. "It is needless to tell you," reports Capt. Pettit, of the American Military Intelligence, returning from Petrograd last March, "that most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, immorality, are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors, or Stockholm."

The perils of travelling to Moscow do not arise, it would appear, until the traveller returns and steps over the frontier once more into well-ordered capitalist civilization. Such seems to have been the experience of Mr. W. T. Goode, the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*. Further information only increases our interest in the extraordinary treatment accorded him upon his return from Moscow, to which we recently referred. It appears that Mr. Goode, returning to Reval from Moscow, was arrested on September 3rd by the Estonians, at the instance of the British Consul. After spending twenty-four hours in prison, he succeeded in communicating with an American newspaper man and was subsequently released. He then went to the British Consulate to protest and was

there offered transportation to Helsingfors on a destroyer. On the way he was kidnapped and taken to the British naval base at Björkö, where he was kept prisoner. Meanwhile, the reactionary English press, in advance of any report from Mr. Goode, and while he was thus forcibly restrained from making known the results of his observations in Moscow, carried on a violent propaganda of abuse against him, with the obvious purpose of prejudicing anything he might have to say. The whole incident, if it has no other significance, clearly shows the dread with which the reactionary powers view the possibility of having the slightest morsel of truth escape from Russia, and the desperate measures to which they will resort to suppress it. Here is the accredited correspondent of one of the most prominent newspapers in England, who came out of Russia on September 3d; more than a month has elapsed, and as we go to press the American public has still not heard a word of anything he may have to say, or may have said, regarding conditions in the Soviet capital. Such is the extent to which all our much vaunted modern means of rapid communication and enlightenment have fallen under the power of censorships and forcible suppression.

Writing from Paris on September 16th, a correspondent of the "Guardian" said:

"The mystery which surrounds the return of Mr. Goode from Russia is a topic of great interest here in Liberal and Socialist quarters. It has been reported from Finland, and widely believed, that Mr. Goode is in possession of a new peace offer from Lenin and that the British authorities have attempted to suppress this by confining him on a cruiser off Björkö.

THE correspondent of the *New York Globe*, writing from Lithuania, Sept. 29th, contributes some interesting information upon the sentiment in that country. Lithuania's elation over Great Britain's recognition of its *de facto* independence is marred by the fact that similar recognition does not come from all the powers. "It is no secret," writes this correspondent, "that the French are not yet ready to recognize Lithuania. In fact in the quarrel between Lithuania and Poland, France is supporting the Polish claims." The Lithuanians will have nothing to do with any concerted attack upon Soviet Russia. In reply to a question as to whether Lithuania would take part in a campaign against Petrograd, the prime minister emphatically disclaimed any such aim: "In the first place, we have no power to undertake so great an operation; in the second place, we are afraid an invasion of Russia will demoralize our troops." The prime minister and others plainly told the correspondent of their opposition to any plan to help the imperialist reaction in Russia. "They are under no illusion that General Denikin, Admiral Kolchak, or the other leaders, are not at the head of this imperialist reaction. . . . The prime minister said that every soldier now felt that by helping Kolchak

and Denikin he was helping to dig the grave of his own state."

The reward of Lithuania for aiding the powers in their war upon Soviet Russia has been financial ruin. "Seventy-five per cent of our resources have been spent on the war against the Bolsheviki," said the prime minister. The receipts of Lithuania from taxes for the nine months of the current year were \$6,250,000. In the same period the war against Soviet Russia alone cost \$21,250,000. This is the price the Lithuanians had to pay for assisting the Allies in their attempt to restore in Russia that very imperialism which would destroy Lithuanian independence. In addition, the Lithuanians are now suffering from a Polish invasion supported by France. The lot of a buffer state is not enviable. Very rapidly these peoples are recognizing where their only security lies. The Kolchak-Denikin imperialism threatens their extinction. The European coalitions use them only as helpless pawns in their military and commercial intrigues. Soviet Russia offers them political and economic freedom.

THE United States again refused, today, to join in the blockade of Soviet Russia, now maintained by the French and the British, on the ground that it is against the traditional policy of America." These are the fair words of a press dispatch from Paris, September 29th. Do they mean that American merchants may ship their wares to Russia? Not quite that. From Washington it is announced that Americans may now trade with all countries except Soviet Russia, for which licenses are still refused. "The United States," says the Paris dispatch, "does not at all disapprove the blockade, but from national policy of long standing could not participate in it." The United States merely refuses to license shipments to Russia. France and England, less scrupulously bound by tradition, do the actual work of blockading. Vessels from Holland, Denmark and Sweden, bound for Soviet Russia, have recently been turned back by the warships of the blockading powers. According to another dispatch, the Economic Council has given "consideration" to the necessity of strengthening the blockade, "in view of the difficulties which might result if Germany should renew relations with Russia." These difficulties, and others no less serious, which arise from their piratical interference with the trade of the northern neutrals, are the cause of the anxious efforts of the powers to induce the United States to join them in the blockade. The correspondent of the *New York Herald* notes that the American position was "not entirely satisfactory" to the European powers, who "desire American co-operation in the blockade, not only of Soviet Russia, but of certain neighboring states through which it is believed the Bolsheviki are receiving supplies."

Thus, against the desperate efforts of the Paris statesmen, the blockade is slowly but surely breaking, along with the shattered *cordon sanitaire* and all other schemes of the interventionists and star-

vationists. The blockade still exists and still inflicts suffering and death upon the people of Russia, and still prevents the normal resumption of industrial production and exchange throughout the world. But it cannot last. Even now it is not totally effective. Here and there a shipment of supplies eludes the blockaders. Neighboring states and the northern neutrals are growing impatient of the Paris despots. The blockade will not be broken by the humanitarian sentiment of Mr. Lloyd George, who told his friends in the office of M. Pichon last January that the "death cordon" around Russia was "a policy, which, as humane people, those present could not consider." It will be broken in the end by the resistless pressure of economic forces which defy all artificial barriers; if, indeed, it is not broken before that by the outraged conscience of the workers of the world.

THE ways of propaganda are many and strange. Almost like a scene from the Arabian Nights reads the story of how the foreign correspondents were taken in to feast their eyes upon the gold in Kolchak's coffers. "The visit was arranged by the Minister of Finance," says the *New York Times*, for the purpose of backing up statements made by the officials of the Omsk Government." Thus we learn for the first time that even the correspondents at Omsk, whom we never suspected of the slightest lack of confidence in the outgivings of the Admiral's press bureau, were becoming uneasy. They required ocular demonstration. It was increasingly difficult to write of the victorious advance of an army tumbling helter-skelter back into Siberia, or to praise the democracy and popularity of an "All Russian" government so palpably unable to enforce its will upon an outraged population. Something had to be done to restore the morale of the correspondents. Perhaps already there was some doubt of the Admiral's solvency.

The stage was carefully set. "Ingots and gold coins were arranged for display on tables." The scribes were led into the treasure chamber and allowed to view this dazzling spectacle—"under heavy guard." The guests were "escorted past these tables," and departed "satisfied that they had not been hoodwinked"—or so says the "dispatch from Siberia."

M. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, was not so easily satisfied. In the course of a discussion of credits in the Chamber of Deputies, he recently asserted, according to a dispatch, "that no credit was extended to Admiral Kolchak, or to General Denikin." M. Pichon, one of Kolchak's most loyal adherents, admitted that commercial relations with the Omsk government were not resumed, "because the Allies feared any material sent there would fall into the hands of the Soviet Government."

Plainly the Admiral's gold bricks did not restore confidence. He was compelled to fall back upon the familiar last resort of tottering despotism. In

the final hour preceding collapse, it has been the habit of all autocracies, and a particular characteristic of the Russian monarchy, to make a last desperate gesture of democracy. So the Admiral calls a Zemstvo Congress. To anyone knowing the condition of servile impotence to which Kolchak has reduced the Zemstvos, the act is one of most ironical hypocrisy. The official declaration from Omsk calls upon the Zemstvos to help "replace the military régime," by a "new régime fit for peaceful life, founded on respect for law, and safeguarding the rights of the individual, of property and civil liberty." A naive statement, which is doubly re-

vealing, both of the character of the Admiral's present "military régime," and, to any one familiar with the monarchist conception of "respect for law and property," equally indicative of his future plans. Yet even within these reactionary limits, the Zemstvos, which Kolchak has deprived of all trace of representative character, are not to be allowed any authority. According to the official declaration, the Congress will be graciously accorded "advisory power" and the "right to express its opinion." Surely the mockery of this fraudulent bid for popular support will excite the derision of even the most gullible.

The New Russia

By PAUL BIRUKOFF

(Third and Last Instalment)

The Economic Difficulties

THE economic situation is an extremely difficult one. Russia is great and rich in products of all kinds, but innumerable obstacles prevent the exchange and distribution among the population of these various products. In the first place, there is the dislocation of transport caused by the shortage of locomotives—which cannot even be repaired in consequence of the lack of any spare parts, resulting from the Blockade. There is a shortage of fuel; petrol is held up by the British (the Baku oil wells); and coal is held up by Denikin, who is supported by the Entente. The only fuel obtainable in the winter was wood, which was extremely dear. A load of blocks equal to about two cubic yards cost 400 to 500 roubles.* Many factories were compelled to close down in consequence of the lack of raw materials and fuel. As the result of this, the people lack such absolutely essential things as linen clothing, boots, soap, etc. The shortage of these things is especially noticeable in the country. Peasants who have wheat and other farm produce are always glad to exchange it for industrial products, but these are not easily come by.

Money has gone down in value ten or twentyfold, and prices and wages have gone up in the same proportion. But there are even more exorbitant prices charged in the "free markets," where things can be obtained without cards at enormous prices. A pood of wheat (36-lbs.) cost in January, 1919, six hundred roubles. But the price of provisions distributed under the card system was moderate.

There were cards of three kinds. In the first category were included productive workers and all workers who were registered in Trade Unions. They received one pound of bread a day. The second category included intellectual workers and officials, who are entitled to three-quarters of a pound of bread per day; and in the third category are professional people, who receive half a pound of bread

per day. Other provisions are distributed according as circumstances permit.

Wages have been fixed by the State; the minimum for a laborer is 600 roubles a month, and the maximum for a skilled worker is 1,000 roubles a month. The People's Commissaries (that is, the ministers) receive 1,300 roubles a month.

I am not able to give information on a good many subjects which I am sure would be of the greatest interest to the public, because I did not have time enough to make a close study of the situation in that enormous country.

The Attitude of the Peasants

In the country districts the peasants are not yet communists. They have a traditional collectivist tendency in the working of common lands under the system of the *Mir*, a kind of village moot; but that system is, however, far removed from communism. This is the source of the continuous struggle between the Government and the peasants.

The Russian peasants are as a rule conservative and do not trouble themselves much about the forms of government. A good many fables have been told about the peasants' love for the Little Father, the Czar. We have seen in our own experience that the downfall of the Czar aroused no protest from them. As we said above, the present Government had won the confidence of the peasants by issuing decrees giving them peace and land. The renewal of the war, which has been forced upon the Government, and the subsequent mobilization, have done a good deal to make the people lose confidence in the new Government. But it has no thought at all of overthrowing this Government. The revolts of the peasants, which took place during last winter, were fomented by revolutionary agitators, belonging to the parties opposed to the Government. But these revolts, serious though they were, were put down without difficulty.

The Government distinguished three classes of peasants, the poor, the moderately well-to-do and

* The pre-war rate of exchange was about two roubles to the dollar. At present any translation into terms of American currency is almost meaningless.

the rich. At first it tried to base its support on the poor element, but the attempt was not successful. The poor element, the proletariat, is not held in great esteem in the country. In order to live decently a peasant must have land, a house, a wagon, cattle and implements, etc. The peasant who possesses these things is not poor, and the peasant who does not possess them is no longer a peasant, and therefore loses all influence in his village.

This is the real reason why the Poverty Committees, organizations of the Proletariat, were not successful. They were formed from transitory elements which were quite unable to exercise any authority in the villages. Recognizing this, the Government has abandoned that experiment and has made up its mind to look for support from the mo-

derately well-to-do element, which, beyond doubt, is the largest. The Poverty Committees have been dissolved, and new Soviets have been formed.

The richer elements among the peasants are opposed to the Government, but they are in exactly the same measure enemies of the people, oppressors of the people; they and the small bourgeoisie of the towns were the strongest supporters of the Czarism, and it is from these elements that the Party of the "Black Hundreds" was recruited.

They are the people who are now engineering discontent with the authorities and who are the breeding ground for plots. They are also the people who suffer most when repressive measures are taken, and who have to pay extraordinary taxes and other imposts.

In the following, concluding section of his article, Mr. Birukoff writes from the standpoint of a Tolstoian pacifist. We reproduce his words as he wrote them, cautioning the reader, however, to remember that the philosophy of the Soviet Government is not that of Tolstoian pacifism. The author proceeds to discuss the religious movement among the peasantry.

AMONG these movements the most powerful is the Tolstoian. Communist Marxism is the basis of the policy of the Russian Communist Party, and it is a non-moral doctrine. Individual consciousness of right and the understanding of scientific truth are not enough to rouse peoples. They need an ideal outside their daily life, which they feel is always full of compromise.

Hence the void which Communist doctrine cannot fill produces a spiritual thirst which they cannot quench; and the political pamphlets spread broadcast by the Party in power are not enough to satisfy the people. It is all very well to wave flags on which are written the great words, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Justice, and so forth. The people knew too well that they have been carved on the buildings of a neighboring republic, and that they failed to lead the nation towards a moral end.

Now, therefore, the people are turning towards the man who has been for a long time looked up to as expressing the consciousness of humanity—Leo Tolstoi. What a deep antagonism between the doctrine of love and non-resistance and the doctrine of violence and terror and dictatorship! And yet Tolstoism plays a leading part in Russia today, and the dictators tolerate the followers of the great apostle, and even give them a certain preferential treatment as compared with the members of other parties and movements. What is the reason? It is quite a simple one. The political party now in power is much disturbed by the struggles of the other political parties which desire to overthrow it and to take its place. The Tolstoians are not a danger in this sense, because a sincere Tolstoian could never accept a responsible position in a State based on violence; and, in fact, the Tolstoians have no desire to seize power from those who now hold it. It is to this political disinterestedness that the Tolstoians owe their relative liberty.

But there is an even deeper cause which allows the followers of the great apostle to pursue their activities without hindrance. The purity of his ideal and his whole life work, directed as it was

for the good of the working classes; his severe criticism of the idle possessing classes; his true forecast of the world catastrophe; his impartial judgment in social questions, and his fervent belief in the coming of the Kingdom of Love and Friendship—all this has won him such respect and has drawn towards him such a compact mass of the Russian people, or rather, I might say, of the peoples who inhabit Russia, that a Socialist Government could never oppose the active propagation of his ideas.

Apart from the powerful Tolstoian Movement, there are parallel religious groups, acting independently, which have come under the saving influence of Tolstoian ideas in so far as the immediate application of Social Christianity is concerned. To name a few of these, there are the old Russian Protestants, the Stundists, the Baptists, the Adventists, the Evangelists, the Dukhobortsi, the Malevanti, and many others. All these religious groups are united on the most important question in social life at present, compulsory military service. Those who belong to these groups regard military service as incompatible with their religious beliefs, and refuse to respond to the military summons.

Under the Czarist régime they had to put up with more or less severe persecutions which sometimes meant fifteen years' hard labor. During the last war about a thousand refusals to undertake military service, on religious grounds, were registered by the authorities. The Revolution set them free from prison, and in its earlier period they enjoyed complete liberty. But now once again a new summons to arms, to defend the Revolution from the attacks of reactionary Europe, brought them again into danger of persecution.

A special Council of delegates from many religious groups was therefore set up under the Chairmanship of Vladimir Chertkoff, an intimate friend of Tolstoi. This Council sent a formal request to the Government asking for freedom from compulsory military service on religious grounds. Lenin, the head of the Government, declared in

answer to this appeal, that the Socialist Government, which in principle was itself anti-militarist, could not persecute those who refused military service on conscientious grounds, and the Central Soviet of Moscow issued the following decree:—

Decree of the Soviet of Commissaries of the People, dated 4th January, 1919.

Freedom from Military Service on the ground of religious convictions.

(1) People who on account of their religious convictions are unable to undertake military service are obliged, in accordance with the decrees of the National Tribunal, to substitute for it an equal term of service to their fellow creatures by such service as work in hospitals for contagious diseases, or some other work of public utility to be chosen by the individual concerned.

(2) The National Tribunal in deciding questions as to the substitution of civil work for military service is to be assisted by "The Joint Council of Religious Groups and Communes of Moscow," for each individual case; the Joint Council to report as to whether the religious conviction concerned makes military service impossible, as well as on the sincerity and honesty of the applicant.

(3) In exceptional cases the Joint Council of Religious Groups and Communes may have recourse to the All Russian Central Executive Committee, with a view to securing complete freedom from service, without the substitution of any other service, if it can be shown that such substitution is incompatible with religious convictions; the proof to be taken from writings on the question and also from the personal life of the individual concerned.

Note.—Steps to secure freedom from service may be initiated by the individual concerned or by the Joint Council, and the latter can require the case to be tried by the National Tribunal of Moscow.

Signed, President of the Soviet of Commissaries:
Lenin.

Commissary of Justice: *Kursky.*

Chancellor of State: *Bontch-Bruevitch.*

Secretary: *Fotnieva.*

Dated from the Kremlin, Moscow, January 4, 1919.

The Attack on the Capitalist System

The battle has been opened on the whole length of the front. Capitalism and private property are in danger. Communist Socialism is developing its attack in strength and now for nearly two years has held in its hands the destinies of many nations. Are we to side with one party or with the other? We can side with neither. The Christian law which we profess prevents us from entering into the ranks of combatants who use violence and cruelty against their enemies. We are living at an exceptional period, at the turning of the ways. The world perhaps has never known such complete reversals of its habits of life. But nevertheless we can find in the history of humanity periods when similar ques-

tions were claiming solution, though perhaps on a lesser scale; times when perhaps they have even been solved; and we may therefore be able to follow the example of those who have found the pacifist solution in the midst of bloody struggles.

Let us turn to the example of the war of secession in the United States of North America. The two parties were almost equal in strength, and the struggle was bitter. In the midst of this bloody struggle, a society of non-resisters arose, headed by Lloyd Garrison, who declared that they were in full agreement with the highest aims of the combatants, but could not have recourse to arms, because their convictions prevented them from taking the life of any person whatever, and ordered them to love their enemies and pardon those who did evil to them. This society won numerous adherents and did a great deal to make the struggle less bitter, and contributed to the final victory and pacification of the country.

In Bohemia in the Middle Ages a Communist Movement grew up among the disciples of Jean Huss, who was burnt alive by the Pope at the Council of Constance in 1415. The Hussite Communists withdrew to Mount Tabor, near Prague, and took the name of Taborites. It seemed as if the movement was likely to develop. Then the Catholic troops, commanded by the Emperor Sigismund, marched against them to crush the movement. The Holy Father preached a Crusade. The Taborites weakened in their faith. They took up arms and defended themselves heroically against the imperial troops. The movement became a popular one. The struggle extended, and the Hussite Wars, as history has come to call them, lasted thirteen years. The Imperial Party in the end proved stronger, and the disciples of Jean Huss were absolutely exterminated.

But a group of these disciples, headed by Pierre Chelchitsky, had refused to take part in the struggle, remaining faithful to the Christian principles. When the struggle came to an end the people of Bohemia and Moravia recognized them as liberators, their faith spread abroad, and the country became covered with Communist Organizations of Moravian Brothers who marked the most flourishing epoch in the history of the Slav peoples. I believe that a similar role is marked out in the present day for the Tolstoian movement.

The Tolstoian Attitude

We believe that Communism is a very high form of social order, but we cannot approve of the use of constraint in imposing it upon the people. Nevertheless we look upon the Communist institutions of Soviet Russia as an accomplished fact, and we believe that we can collaborate in the free education of the people in Communist ideals.

We understand by Communism the recognition of the duty to work and the guarantee of material existence. The abolition of that awful anxiety with regard to material needs in the life of each individual would be without doubt an enormous step

forward, and this may indeed be realized. There is no doubt that the luxurious life which the possessing class lives at present cannot be guaranteed to all. The people will have to content themselves with the necessary minimum. When that time comes we shall be able to say aloud the words spoken by Jesus:

"Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them."

This is indeed the greatest beauty of the collectivist system—the free enjoyment for every human being of all of nature's treasures, and of all the treasures of the sciences and the arts.

Conclusion: An Appeal

The absence of moral basis, of the "categorical imperative," of active moral force, compels the Communists to have recourse to external force, to violence and terror, in order to make themselves respected. They are building up beautiful buildings on a foundation which cannot last. We fully approve their plans of construction, we admire the beauty of their architecture, but we fear that the whole building will come to destruction if a more solid foundation does not replace that which has been used in the passion to build quickly.

Our aim is not the destruction of anything which has been built, but to put in well-shaped stones for the support of the whole building.

There is one other aspect of the present system which wins our sympathy, and that is the recognition of the workers' rights, which formally did not exist at all. The capitalist system must resign its power, in the name of Eternal Justice. We turn towards the two parties that are struggling with each other and speak these words of reconciliation. We should like to say to the workers: "You are right. You are the creators of the world, but in order to attain and preserve your supremacy, do not revenge yourselves on your oppressors." We would like also to say to the possessing class: "The time has come for you to give place to those who, up to now, have maintained and created your life; and if you are willing to meet them with goodwill, you, too, will have your humble place at the banquet of New Life."

It is our duty to step in between the two struggling sections and to bring in a new current of love and peace and of eternal justice.

The Lot of the Jews

The Vienna correspondent of the New York Jewish daily *The Day*, Mr. M. Frostig, in a letter on "Reaction and Anti-Semitism in Europe," makes the following statement:

"Denikin's army is fighting in South Russia against the Bolsheviks with the slogan that the Jewish Bolsheviks must be driven from the country, and Kolchak too is trying to win by an anti-Semitic program the sympathies of the populace for his government. During the past few weeks, we had the opportunity to talk

with many Jews and Christians who had just arrived from Russia, and they all asserted that the whole Russian Jewry is living in an awful state of fear and in a constant panic. *Should the Bolshevik rule fall, they say, then the world will witness a horrible catastrophe: the Russian Jewry will be exterminated.*"

This statement is significant, coming as it does from a writer strongly opposed to the Bolsheviks, and appearing in a paper whose editorial policy is outspokenly anti-Bolshevik.

New Northwest Russian Notes

Guaranteed By England at the Rate of 40 Rubles to the Pound

HELSINGFORS, Aug. 26.—The provisional notes issued by the Northwest Russian Government some time ago, which were provided with the signature of General Rodzianko and Colonel Polyakov, will soon be replaced by new notes which will be printed at Stockholm, to an amount of at least 350,000,000 rubles. England has guaranteed these notes at a rate of 40 rubles to the pound. (At the present rate of sterling exchange this would make each ruble worth about ten cents.) The notes will be provided with the signatures of Commander-in-Chief Yudenich and Minister-of-Finance Lianozov. Their circulation on Russian territory will be obligatory. Three months after the occupation of Petrograd, the National Bank will redeem these notes with national banknotes in unlimited quantities, ruble for ruble. The new currency is guaranteed by the entire wealth of the Russian empire.

—*Stockholms Dagblad*, August 28.

Editor's Note—The English Government guarantees to pay out the entire wealth of the Russian empire, which it does not possess, to redeem notes which are being artificially held at a higher rate than the exchange conditions justify.

To the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic

By F. W. Stella Brown, in the London "Call"

Beyond the dawn a vision and a cry,
Above the thunder an immortal word,
—Thanks to the gods that we—we too—have heard
That voice, before we die.

Oh flag of blood, oh flag of dreams unfurled!
—They ringed thee with starvation and with steel,
But still the peoples see thee, still they feel
The torch that lights the world.

Kindle across the mountains and the foam
The sacred flame that grew beneath the snow,
And for the famine clutch and felon blow
—Straight blows and hard, send home.

Denikin Massacres Jews

THE anti-Bolshevik Jewish Daily "Der Tag," of this city, in its issue of September 27, carries the following cablegram from its special correspondent, Mr. A. Frank, dated Paris, September 26:

"Reliable information has reached Paris about a number of pogroms in the territory occupied by Denikin's army. There was a terrible pogrom in Ekaterinoslav: all the Jewish houses on four streets were plundered; hundreds of Jewish women were outraged; many Jews were killed.

"In Kharkov every day witnesses dozens of cases of robberies and murders.

"A similar situation prevails in many smaller towns: Gryshina, Avdeyevka, Enakyevo, Sinelnikovo, Lozovaya, Volk, Durovka.

"The newspapers carry on a fanatical anti-Semitic propaganda; leaflets urge pogroms; Jews are not allowed to become officers; even the Jewish volunteers are driven out of the army; Jewish passengers in railway trains are robbed, beaten up and murdered.

"At the railway station of Sinelnikovo, soldiers and officers dragged out the Jewish passengers, and tortured and murdered them.

"In Lozovaya, Denikin's volunteers arrived in the beginning of July. The Jews offered them 50,000 roubles, but this did not save the Jews from being plundered and maltreated.

"Two Jewish salesmen, one a Zionist and the other a non-partisan, were shot as Bolsheviks. But this did not satisfy Denikin's soldiers, and on the 12th of July they organized a "regular" pogrom. The large synagogue was wiped out.

"In Mikhailovka, in the province of Taurida,

Denikin's volunteers on the 15th of July made a general pogrom in the Jewish section. In addition to this, the commander on the next day levied on the Jewish population a tribute of 250,000 rubles in currency and in various goods; food, clothing, candles, tobacco, gold watches, etc. Lastly, the commander forced the president of the Jewish community organization to sign a statement to the effect that the Volunteers had behaved decently and honestly by them.

"In Volkis, Denikin's army on June 18th and 19th, took twelve Jewish hostages.

"One of the most horrible pogroms occurred in Kremenchug. The pogrom started immediately after the Volunteer army had entered the city. All the Jewish houses of this large Jewish community were plundered; 350 cases of outrages upon women have already been recorded; the beasts did not spare even twelve-year-old girls and old women of sixty; after the outrages had been committed the children were drowned in outhouses."

This report confirms the reports published in the "Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie" (Far Eastern Review) of Vladivostok, of August 3, 1919, concerning the anti-Semitic spirit of General Denikin's Volunteer army. According to that paper the windows of the Black Hundred newspapers, published in the Cossack territory, were adorned with posters bearing the following motto in enormous letters: "The Czar of Judea—Bronstein-Trotsky, Dictator of All the Russias." This agitation has evidently borne fruit.

The Fate of the Russian Jewry

(The Jewish daily, "The Day," of September 24th,
from its Copenhagen correspondent, S. Pan.)

I HAD the opportunity to interview Captain S. W. Nyholm, a leader of the White Guard, who had just returned from Russia, where he had been at the head of the Danish "Volunteer corps," which is still fighting the Bolsheviks. Captain Nyholm came to Denmark for a short time for the purpose of raising funds for the "Volunteer corps."

"The condition of the Jews in Russia before the war was truly pathetic, but it may become catastrophic after the fall of the Bolsheviks"—said the leader of the White Guard.

"What is the cause of this tragic fact?" I asked Captain Nyholm.

"This is due to the fact" replied the captain, "that horrible tales about the Jews in connection with Bolshevism are circulated among a large part of the Russian population. These tales are spread by a great number of the opponents of the Bolsheviks, who incite the dark masses against the Jews by

telling them that all the Bolshevik leaders are Jews. That this is not true"—added Captain Nyholm—"can be seen from the fact that among all the Soviet commissaires only Trotsky, Zinoviev, Joffe and Kamenev are Jews, while Lenine, Chicherin, and Lunacharsky are real Russians (Slavs). The supreme commander of the Russian fleet, Rasokolnikoff (a political pseudonym) is a Russian; the Chief of the general staff, Vasetz, is a Lett; and the Commandant of Petrograd, the "tyrant" Peters, is also a Lett. But the dark Russian masses don't know this. To them it seems that all Bolshevik leaders are Jews, and that the Russian Bolsheviks are only tools in the hands of the Jews. In my recent conversations with various elements of the Russian people, both intellectuals and common people, in the districts which were cleared of the Bolsheviks, I have found a terrible hatred toward the Jews, and for this reason some of "our people" were

really worried about the fate of the Jews in the districts conquered by us."

The Danish White Guardist continued:

"The reactionary elements in the districts from which the Bolsheviki were driven out take advantage of the naiveté of the ignorant masses and tell them that the Jews have killed the czar and thus brought this great misfortune upon Russia, and that Bolshevism in general is "Jewish work," and that in this way the Jews want to revenge themselves on the Christians. And the naive Russian peasants believe these tales and are only waiting for the moment when they will be able to get square with the Jews, who have brought this great 'misfortune' upon Holy Russia.

"Take this unimportant fact as an illustration," said Captain Nyholm. "Recently I happened to overhear a conversation between Russian volunteers of the better and more educated class, who fought together with our volunteer corps. They were talking about the struggle against the Bolsheviki and the attitude of the European great

powers. I myself heard a Russian white guardist, a college student, tell his comrade the following tale:

"No, it will not be so very easy for us to beat these 'lackeys of the sheenies' who have their agents and spies all over the world. Think of this fact: England decided to give up the struggle against the Bolsheviki and is recalling her troops from Russia. Do you know why? 'Why?' naively asked the other volunteer. 'This, too, is a piece of Jewish handiwork. The Jews are afraid lest, when the Bolsheviki will fall, they will have to give an account of their dark deeds, of the tortures they have inflicted on the Russian people. That is why the American and English Jews got England to recall her troops from Russia and to give up the struggle against the Bolsheviki. They are thus saving their Russian brethren.'

"These and many similar tales circulate among the Russian people, and there is, therefore, ground for anxiety for the fate of the Russian Jewry after the fall of the Bolsheviki."

The Strategy of the Russian Blockade

THE Allied and American blockade against Russia, like the other phases of the Russian policy, is not a reasoned manoeuvre but a conglomeration of fag ends of policies. The blockade began as the reconstitution of the Eastern Front against Germany; after the armistice it became, in the utterances of the Entente statesmen, a "cordon sanitaire"; but as the months wore on it evolved purely and simply into a military blockade, as part of the acknowledged war against Soviet Russia. It is from the point of view of blockade, and not from any of those circumlocutions that the chancelleries make use of to appease the humanitarian sense of the people, that we propose here to analyse the strategy of this policy.

If we grant method to this madness of the blockade, we can trace out three fundamental aims that the Allies hope to accomplish by this means. First, they have hoped to break down the morale of the masses in Soviet Russia by starving them into betraying their principles and overturning the Revolution. Second, they have hoped so to weaken the military strength of the Soviets by preventing the importation of munitions and supplies, and by wearing out the none-too-strong industrial machine of the country, that Soviet Russia will fall an easy prey to the counter-revolutionary armies of Kolchak and Denikin. Third, the Allies—the directing men in the councils—desire at all costs to sabotage the Revolution by forcing it to carry on wars on every side.

Have any of these aims been rewarded with success? The blockade against the importation of foodstuffs has resulted in famine rations in Petrograd, Moscow and other large cities. Petrograd, dependent in former days upon imports from Fin-

land and Scandinavia, has suffered with particular severity this last winter, and the other cities suffered in lesser degrees. Kalinin, in his address last April to the Council of National Economy, admitted this, and outlined plans to remedy it. The plan of town gardens, which had already been tried out with great success, was to be extended. Greater care was also to be taken by the communal Soviets in providing the peasants with seed grain, since they had not yet become accustomed to preserve their own seeds. In the coming winter it was Kalinin's hope that the entire famine question would be obviated. From the reports issued in the last few months at Moscow, we know also that the crops in Great Russia have been exceptionally good this summer, and that the reconquered area of Siberia and the opening up of Tashkent and Turkestan will yield not only very large amounts of cereals for food and cotton for clothing but also a large output of metals and coal from the Ural region, which will go far towards improving the transportation system of the country.

The danger of breaking the morale of the people of Soviet Russia through starvation may be considered now as definitely past. But in retrospect we should like to make a few observations in regard to the stupid mistakes committed by the Allies in carrying out this policy. Whenever the weapon of starvation has been used by one enemy against another, it has always been tempered by the promise of mercy upon submission. The Allies at the beginning made these same promises. The little area around Archangel which was under Allied control was to be so well fed and so well treated that it was to serve as an example to the Russians further south as to what lot they might expect by over-

throwing their government. All the states bordering around Soviet Russia received plentiful supplies of food. It was Hoover's idea that when the people of Russia should be faced with the alternative: Biscuits or Bolshevism, they would undoubtedly choose Biscuits. But the Russian people soon found that the Biscuits had a very important string tied to them. That string was Reaction, and the complete restoration of the old régime. In Siberia, there was plenty of Allied food, it was true, but the alcohol monopoly was restored, the laboring population was decimated in order to insure submission, and the entire region was reduced to that ensemble of barbarous feudalism that was characteristic of the Czar. In Archangel and the Northern Provinces there was wholesale conscription by the foreign masters, as was also the case in Siberia, and the peasants who had thought they would get peace were sent back to the battle line to fight against their own brothers and kinsmen. . . . Bread bought at that shameful price cost altogether too dear. The net result of the starvation campaign by the Allies was to strengthen the solidarity of the peasants and workers to the cause of the Revolution.

Let us now examine the next phase of the blockade policy. The Allied Governments soon realized that they could not send much of their own armies against Russia or they would mutiny. They therefore have tried to transform the war into an economic struggle, whereby all the economic strength of the Allies was to be pitted against the puny economic resources of Soviet Russia. Kolchak was to have all the cannon he wanted, and Denikin all the tanks, and then surely the Soviets would fall. Soviet Russia inherited from the governments of the Czar and of Kerensky a dilapidated economic and industrial machine, which had broken down in the middle of the war against Germany. Despite the superhuman efforts of the Soviet leaders to rehabilitate the machine in a hermetically-sealed country, it was only a question of time before the machine would break down again. So reasoned the Allied tacticians.

But the machine has not broken down. From a military point of view, the Red Armies are operating with more efficiency today than last year. The supplies of munitions from the days of Czar have long since been exhausted, and yet the Red Armies continue to be well-equipped. The explanation lies in the interview which Trotzky gave last summer, in which he described how the Soviets, who were essentially peace-loving, had put themselves on a war basis. Without new machinery, the Council of National Economy had so organized the war industries that there has never been a serious shortage of munitions or of transport for the Soviet armies.

It may be asked how long the Soviets can keep up this performance. Indefinitely, is the answer. For while it may be true that the country is using up a large part of its accumulated wealth in the way of machinery, and railroad equipment, which

it cannot at the present time replace, one can easily underestimate the shifts and repairs that can be made in order to maintain the industrial machine for war purposes. Soviet Russia with the decks cleared for action, with every non-essential occupation eliminated, with the entire people mobilized for the one purpose of defeating the Allies, can keep up the struggle for a generation. But it has not come to such a pass yet—and it probably will not. There are two important factors which act in favor of the Soviets. One is the impossibility of maintaining a complete blockade against the country, and the other is the growing impatience of the peoples in the Entente countries. There is already a leak in the blockade dikes, since the roundabout routes supplies can now be shipped from Germany to Russia. To be sure there is no direct access, as yet, but as soon as peace is established with the Baltic provinces there will be a direct road from the factories of Germany to Moscow. The dikes, once a breach has been made, are useless.

It is a mooted question as to how long the Allied peoples will suffer their governments to continue the struggle against Russia. Thus far the war against Russia has been waged with funds made available by the war against Germany, but soon there will come the test, when the question of appropriations will have to be submitted to the representative bodies for approval. In Great Britain, Churchill is still using the accumulated stores of cannon and tanks for Denikin's benefit, but already the protest against his extravagance is strong, and is growing steadily. In the United States, Secretary Baker has asked for Congressional permission to use American warships to transmit supplies to Kolchak. Whether this consent will be granted is extremely doubtful. But if it isn't granted, it may soon be impossible to send munitions to Kolchak. The longshoremen on the Pacific Coast have already refused to load the steamship "Delight" with a cargo of guns for Siberia. Italy has long since ceased to send supplies to the Supreme Ruler of Omsk, because of the refusal of its labor to load the ships. It is only a question of time before the transport workers of Great Britain and France will follow suit. That will leave Kolchak with only the assistance of Japan, and it is questionable whether Japan has any interest in subduing European Russia, which she cannot hope to make tributary to her Empire. The chances of an ultimate victory of Kolchak and Denikin over Soviet Russia are practically infinitesimal.

We now come to examine the final aim of the blockade—which is to sabotage the Russian Revolution and thus crown its glorious efforts with failure. In one sense, the Soviet leaders have admitted that the great constructive work of the Revolution will have to be postponed until after the war. It is impossible to fully work out the Communist ideal in an atmosphere of war. The Soviets cannot organize the production of wealth so that there will be more than enough for each individual, while the majority of the industrial plants are devoted to

producing war munitions. They cannot establish complete liberty of action and thought for each individual, while all the efforts of the state have to be concentrated against the class foe from abroad.

But, in another sense, the experiences of the war, so far from damaging the Communist Revolution, may help in its realization. The supreme exigencies of the war have trained the Soviets in the methods of organization. The Red Army as a Red Army will have no purpose when peace is restored in Russia, but its masterful organization will be put at the disposal of the Revolution for peaceful purposes. The centralization of the factories, which had to be accomplished in order to equip the Red Army properly, the organization of the food distribution—another war exigency—are all steps forward in the Communist Revolution. Even the blockade and the shutting off of access to foreign markets has given the Soviets an opportunity to

invent new substitutes, and to train their engineers how to act in times of crisis.

All of these are positive gains for the Revolution. On the other side of the ledger (it is the Soviet practice never to hide the other side of the ledger) is the postponement of many phases of the Revolution. Thus, in education, great as the reforms have been, only a fraction has been attempted of what would have been attempted had there been no war and no food shortage. Arthur Ransome relates how in many of the schools, where the food supply is insufficient for demanding of the pupils a full day's work, they are merely asked to report regularly, in order to acquire the habit of attending school, and then after getting a warm meal, are sent home again. In a way this statement applies to the entire population of Soviet Russia. Under the exigencies of the war, they have been trained to attend the Communist School. The greater part of the education will come later.

Kolchak's Atrocities in Siberia

Mrs. Gregory Yarros has recently returned to New York from Siberia. We reprint below her account of her experiences, taken from a New York newspaper:

With the child who shared with her the dangers and privations of a country seething with revolt and intrigue and military oppression Mrs. Yarros has just returned to New York, after an absence of nearly two years. Her home nestles peacefully among the trees where the Mount Airy road, winding up from Croton-on-the-Hudson, gashes the hill-top. There a reporter found Mrs. Yarros with her husband and little Katherine, 4 years old.

Reunited After Two Years

The family is reunited for the first time since nearly two years ago when they became separated in Siberia and for months neither knew what fate had befallen the other.

The husband is Gregory Yarros, a newspaper man, and brother of Victor Yarros of Chicago. Mrs. Yarros, Russian born and a revolutionist against the Czar's régime, is the author of "The Life Story of a Russian Exile." It was written under her maiden name, Marie Sukloff. They journeyed together to Vladivostok in October, 1917, taking their baby, then two and one-half years old. Leaving his wife and the child at Vladivostok, Mr. Yarros went on to Petrograd with the American commission, headed by Raymond Robins, and arrived at the capital Nov. 5, two days before the Bolshevik uprising. He remained in Russia after the commission left and finally got out of the country by way of Stockholm, departing with Ambassador Francis.

Left to Struggle Alone

By this time communication between east and west Russia had been cut off and it was impossible for him to return to his family. Mrs. Yarros was forced to struggle for a living. For months she

taught school, traveling from one province to another. She introduced American kindergarten training in Siberian sections where kindergartens were unheard of. Of the Montisseries system the country knew nothing. She taught the children of the peasants by it and finally devoted much of her time to instructing teachers in child training methods. She received 1,000 rubles a month. Siberian rubles are measured by their relation to the Japanese yen. Mrs. Yarros said her month's salary was worth 25 yen according to the present exchange. That is about \$17.50.

Kolchak's Atrocities

The picture Mrs. Yarros painted in graphic words, as she sat in the garden of her home at Croton-on-the-Hudson, was curiously in contrast with the

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tranquil surroundings. At times a look of horror came into her eyes as she recalled some atrocious deed attributed to "the men who are wreaking vengeance on the poor for the overthrow of the Czar."

"It is kill, kill, just to revenge the Czar," she cried. "The soldiers of Kolchak murder unarmed people, men and women, charging them with being 'Bolshevist suspects.' They have the power to do this because Kolchak has the support of the Japanese, the French, the Canadian and the American troops. Without these the Kolchak government would be swept away."

The Japanese are the worst enemies of Russia. In the program of terrorism by indiscriminate murder, they are as bad as the Russians of the army which represents the old officers of the Czar and the officials and the bourgeoisie of the time of Nicholas' reign. The Japanese sell arms to the Bolsheviks and then fight against them. They foment trouble between different elements of Russians wherever and whenever they can and they hope by so doing to demoralize the people of Siberia and seize the country for Japan. To hold Siberia, with all its riches in mineral and timber resources and its vast area of fertile soil, is Japan's great ambition.

Real H. C. of L. Problem

The Japanese are buying up everything they can in Siberia and forcing the country into debt. No factories are being operated in Siberia because there are no men to operate them. The peasants who have the land have all the money because they control the food and charge exorbitant prices for everything. They have to pay it out in turn to Japan for Japan supplies the country with everything in the way of manufactured goods, shoes, cloth and clothing.

"I paid 500 rubles for a pair of shoes for myself—half a month's salary—and 250 rubles for a pair for my little girl. A yard of common cotton cloth costs 50 or 60 rubles a yard. A suit of men's clothes 1,000 rubles, a loaf of black bread 3 rubles. The pay for the average school teacher is half what I

received. Clerks as a rule earn about 250 rubles. It takes one two months, you see to earn enough to pay the Japanese price for the cheapest purchase of wearing apparel. The result is the people are going without shoes. They wear sandals and rags.

Japanese Financing

"The Japanese government has an issue of Siberian money which it circulates in Russia and it is not negotiable in Japan. The Japanese soldiers force the peasants to accept this money in payment for provisions and yet Japanese merchants refuse to accept it for goods because it is nonexchangeable.

"If the native Siberian objects to giving his flour, milk or eggs to the Japanese army in return for the valueless yen he is arrested on a trumped up charge of 'pro-Bolshevism' and thrown into prison to await a mock trial and a barbarous execution."

Mrs. Yarros covered her face with her hands for an instant and then instinctively caught her little daughter in her arms as the child climbed upon her chair.

Hang "Bolsheviks" as Examples

"I shall never forget," the mother went on. "From the train window while I was traveling with Katia—that is Katherina in Russian—we saw three men hanging from poles beside the tracks. There were placards on them to say they were Bolsheviks. It was a warning to others. The bodies dangled at the end of ropes. It was a present day reality of a picture Hugo might have conjured out of the barbaric past. Katia could not understand. I know and other passengers on the train knew, it was but one of the methods that were being employed to intimidate the people to crush them, to restore to power the relic of the Czar's government."

Followed by Kolchak Agents

I dare not speak my feeling of horror for, though I was an American citizen I had need to keep my identity secret and pose as a Russian. I was working with the Bolshevik, teaching them, and, as it, afterwards turned out was being watched by agents of the Kolchak government on suspicion that I was an old revolutionist. During my entire stay in Siberia I lived under assumed names.

Forced to Leave Country

"When I did leave the country it was because friends had discovered that the government's agents were tracing my connection with the past and that I was in danger of being seized momentarily. What that meant I well know. It meant to be thrown into prison by court martial, tried on a charge of aiding enemies of the Kolchak government, and either executed summarily, after a farcical hearing, or, as happened in some cases, to be thrown into prison to await trial, and then dragged out before the court martial heard your case and executed 'by mistake.'

"That may have been the fate of the three men whose bodies hung from poles beside the track between Irkutsk, and Krosnoyarsk.

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS

For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

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Charges Kolchak Massacres

"Soon after the overthrow of the Directoria Piati (the 'directory' of five) there was a mutiny at Omsk and many other places against Kolchak. The directory of five was a democratic government set up by Avksentieff in the Siberian and eastern provinces and is the same that now styles itself the 'old Russian government.' It was overthrown by Kolchak. Some of its members were shot; others were exiled. When the mutiny occurred later it was suppressed by soldiers of Kolchak, who marched into villages and killed workmen and peasants. Women were not spared, and children were killed by the reckless firing of the brutal soldiers. It was admitted by the authorities that 3,000 mutineers were slain at that time, but I am sure the number was much larger.

"There was a sickening incident at Omsk as an aftermath.

"In the prison there were thirty-six members of the constituent assembly which had been dispersed by the Bolsheviki early in 1918. They had escaped from European Russia to Siberia, and were interned by the Bolsheviks. During the 1918 mutiny all of the prisoners in the Omsk prison were turned loose, the thirty-six constituent assembly members along with others. Some of the escaped prisoners were killed and some went back to prison voluntarily to escape being murdered. These thirty-six political prisoners were among those who gave themselves up voluntarily to await trial.

The 36 Who Were Murdered

"It was the practice of the wives of the prisoners to carry food to their husbands in jail. They got little else to eat.

"The wife of one of these prisoners, a man named Fomin, I know well. Two days after her husband had surrendered to the prison authorities, she went to the jail to fetch him food. The guards told her he was not there. He grinned. He did not know where Fomin was. Another woman, with two children tagging at her heels, came to the steel door. She, too, had food for her husband, a companion of Fomin. Her husband was not there either, the guard said. The woman wept. Eight more women came bringing breakfast for imprisoned men. They were told to go away. Ten women and half a dozen children wept, pleading piteously to know what had become of the husbands and fathers. Finally a boy ran up to the forlorn little group at the jail entrance.

"Your men are out in the public square."

"These poor women ran to the public square and there spread out on the ground they found their husbands. There were thirty-six bodies. They were the constituent assembly members who had given themselves up voluntarily to await trial."

Tortured Before Death

"It was told in Bolshevik circles that Colonel Ivanoff Rynoff one of Admiral Kolchak's officers had gone to jail with a forged document calling for the delivery of the thirty-six men to his guards, and that they were taken out without trial of any kind and subjected to revolting forms of torture and then

dispatched with bayonets. On Fomin's body were eight bayonet wounds."

Mrs. Yarros's face was transfixed by a look of hatred as she reached the climax of this narrative and she burst into good Russian words, turning to her native tongue to give full vent to her emotions. Her husband sitting in the garden with the interviewer, translated the torrent of Russian sentences which Mrs. Yarros's emotion had loosed.

Promoted For Crime

"Mrs. Yarros says that Colonel Rynoff, who committed this cowardly deed to avenge the overthrow of Czar Nicholas, was ordered arrested," he interpreted. "He and other officers with him in the kidnapping of the constituent assembly members were subjected to a make-believe trial in which they were of course, acquitted. Colonel Rynoff was promoted and sent to the province of Primorskays as military governor."

"I should not mind," Mrs. Yarros apologized, as she resumed her story. "I have seen much suffering. That was only one thing, but I know one of the women who was still carrying her basket of food for her husband when she stumbled on his body among the thirty-six in the square. The shock killed her outright, and she fell with her face against the blood-smeared face of her husband.

The Irkutsk Massacre

"Just before I left Irkutsk eighty persons were arrested there because they were attending a meeting in a private house at 10 o'clock at night. One was a girl of seventeen. All the rest were men and two of them were Jews. The girl I had known because she was just finishing grammar school and came to see me to find out about applying for admission to the university. She and the men arrested with her were accused of being pro-Bolsheviks.

"I know she was not, and many of the others I knew were not. They were in prison two weeks and then there was a trial. The prisoners fell on their knees in court and cried that they were not Bolsheviks. There was no proof against them except that they were holding a meeting. The prosecuting attorney demanded that all should be executed. If not Bolshevik, he said, they should be killed for associating with Jews. In spite of their pleading that they were innocent, all were found guilty of 'pro-Bolshevism.'

"The young school girl was marched out with the others and shot.

Murders Daily Affairs

"Executions of political prisoners thus found guilty and the kidnapping from jails and deliberate murder of those against whom there was nothing more than mere suspicion of anti-Kolchak sentiment were matters of almost daily occurrence during the twenty-two months I was in Siberia."

Into the Lion's Den

Mrs. Yarros claims first-hand knowledge of the conditions she so vividly described because of the excellent opportunities for observations her position

as a teacher offered. In that capacity she even spent some time in Omsk, the seat of the government that was making every effort to run her down. She went there to establish a kindergarten at the invitation of Sapozhnikoff, Kolchak's minister of education.

Throughout her stay in Siberia, Mrs Yarros was aligned with either the Zemstvo or the constitutional Demo-parties. She was elected to six Zemstvo congresses and was invited to run as a candidate for the Constituent Assembly from the Pro-

vince of Preimorskaya, wherein Vladivostok is situated. She also was in touch with the Bolsheviki and the "Directory of Five" and her activities along these lines eventually drove the Kolchak government to action. She was warned in time and succeeded in eluding her pursuers by the narrowest margin, and, safeguarded by an American lasciapassare, given her by the United States consul at Vladivostok, made her way to Japan and thence to the United States, where she succeeded in locating her husband. —The New York Globe, Sept. 4th.

The Next Number (No. 20) of

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and will contain, among other things,
the following special features:

1. The Large Map of the Siberian Military Operations, which we have not been able to print this week, but which will be given next week, accompanied by several smaller maps, and a Chronological table of all military operations in Siberia, up to date.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
STABBING A FELLOW IN THE BACK, <i>By Max M. Zippin</i>	1	MILITARY MAPS OF SIBERIA	12-13, 14, 15
THE "NORTHWEST RUSSIAN" ADVENTURE	4	THE KEY TO THE RUSSIAN SITUATION	17
EDITORIALS	6	A LEGACY OF HARDSHIP, <i>By Z. Soloviev</i>	20
THE GUERRILLA WARFARE IN SIBERIA	7	A WRETCHED PRACTICE, <i>By Michael Gorev</i>	21
CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD OF THE GUERRILLA WAR IN SIBERIA	8	KORIBU, A Short Story, <i>By Foma Opishkin</i>	22

Stabbing A Fellow in the Back

(With Apologies to Mr. William G. Bullit)

BY MAX M. ZIPPIN

IT seems to me that the real victim of the sensational Bullit affair was the courageous Mr. Bullit himself. Trustful and enthusiastic, eagerly desiring to put an end to the endless spilling of Russian blood, Mr. Bullit leaves Paris to convince the Soviet Government of the necessity of making peace with the numerous Russian factions and "governments" that do not govern and represent nobody, save themselves, and Allied "politics" perhaps. And happy and proud he returns home to report success, only to find that the highest authorities are not prepared to grant him a hearing.

It must have been very painful to the energetic and upright Mr. Bullit. It would have been so to every honest man. Bitter disappointment, like a red thread, runs through all of his testimony before the Senate, even now that all is over. But, really, Mr. Bullit should not feel so discouraged. Those commissioning him with this most humane errand were not at all serious about the outcome. Mr. Bullit was plainly a victim of . . . well, not of honesty. By all means not.

Because, were those empowering him to speak really honestly about the outcome, were the Allied and Associated Governments sincerely concerned with the bringing peace to fratricide-ridden Russia, their representatives in Siberia would have acted in the same spirit. As it was, those that spoke for the same senders of Mr. Bullit have done their utmost to undo in Siberia the work Mr. Bullit was delegated to perform in Moscow. By their deeds as well as by their words, the Allied representatives in Siberia and the heads of the Allied governments as well, have made it clear to the Russians that the

whole peace parley with the Soviet Government was a huge joke as far as the Allies were concerned. That to Mr. Bullit they have seemed genuine and candid is probably in agreement with what we are used to call diplomacy. Others may call it double-crossing.

Mr. Bullit was representing the Allied and Associated Governments. He was their spokesman, their trusted courier to bring about an armistice in Russia and then peace. He carried their word to the Soviet Government and was received by them as one delegated by the Allies; received, as Mr. Bullit testified, with open arms. He was the messenger of those that were endeavoring apparently to bring the much-needed peace to bleeding Russia. But what should one say of peacemakers that instigate one side to make further war against the side that it was supposed to make peace with, at the very moment of peacemaking? Yes, what would be said of a mediator that would stir one side to fight against the other at the very moment of amicable parleys, and behind the back of the other side at that? But this is exactly what the Allied representatives did at the time the unsuspecting Mr. Bullit was conferring with the equally unsuspecting representatives of the Russian people. This is precisely what they have done in that Allied backyard of murder and carnage, terror and extermination, called for short "intervention"—in Siberia. The record of their doings in Siberia for this "Bullit" period, for the month elapsing between the middle of February and the middle of March, 1919, shows it.

The news about the proposal of peace by the Allies and of the explicit plan of having all Russian factions meet somewhere, has penetrated Siberia, the Kolchak censorship notwithstanding. It must be said for this censorship that it tried its best not to acquaint the population with the fact. It would endanger the "Morale" of the army, it was explained, although God knows there was never much of it in the Kolchak army. What morale would one anticipate in a people mobilized against their will, under the threat of death, for the purpose of exterminating their own people? But finding it impossible, a hot campaign in newspapers and speeches was undertaken to discredit the affair, and the Allied representatives in Siberia were even more diligent and more energetic to do their "bit." Not alone the representatives, the actual heads of the Allied governments were just as industrious.

The French Government had sent a Special High Commissioner to Kolchak before Mr. Bullit was sent by the Allied governments to Russia on a peace errand. On March 5th, this High Commissioner—Regnault was his name—left "Kolchakia" to report to his government, and sent the following telegram directly to the "Supreme Ruler": "Be so kind as to accept the expression of my profound sympathy with the patriotic undertaking which you have assumed and which you are executing with so much manliness and vigor. Also my assurance that while leaving Siberia I warmly wish the Russian armies success in the act of regenerating Russia."

The black scaffolds on his way through Siberia, the mutilated bodies in the groves on the waysides, and the Death Trains that were moving slowly from one station to the other, must surely have convinced this High Commissioner of the French Government that Kolchak had performed his patriotic undertaking both manfully and vigorously.

On top of this there came a direct congratulation from both Premier Clemenceau and Secretary Churchill. Clemenceau sent the following telegram to his representative in Siberia, General Janin: "Kindly communicate to Admiral Kolchak my earnest congratulations on the brilliant victories achieved by his armies on the Russian Eastern front. I have no doubt that the Siberian armies, under the leadership of such singular chiefs, supported by the remarkable quality of bravery and endurance they have recently shown, will accomplish the aim of freeing Russia that we all have put before us."

And Secretary Churchill wrote this to the English representative in Siberia, General Knox: "Be so kind as to communicate to Admiral Kolchak my earnest congratulations, also those of the entire British War Department, on the successful offensive by his armies against the Bolsheviks." Mr. Churchill, as can be seen, expressed himself more concisely and more pointedly. Why bother with expressions so old and worn out as "saving Russia" and with feigning other aims, when "an offensive against the Bolsheviks" is plainer and nearer to the truth? But then what would one call a game like this?

The liberal press of Siberia has exhibited a great interest in the matter of the peace parleys and almost unanimously upheld the plan, but it soon found out that it was not speaking what the "Authorities" wanted it to speak. Likewise, the readers of these journals, which appeared with big white blots in place of articles that treated the subject sympathetically. But public opinion was evidently, too strongly in favor of peace, and the Supreme Ruler himself had undertaken a little propaganda tour for the rejection of it. And he was never alone in his journeys. Allied consuls were everywhere on the spot to greet him in the name of their governments, some of them delivering little speeches fit for the occasion. At Yekaterinburg, for instance, the English Consul-General was the spokesman for the so-called Consular Corps, that is for all the Allied Consuls assembled there to greet him. What this representative of the English government said at the Yekaterinburg gathering was this: "In Europe they have a mistaken idea of the Bolsheviks, holding them worthy of parleying with. Not so the Allied representatives on the spot here. They know well what the Bolsheviks are, and are determined to see to it that no quarter is given them, and that is why they heartily wish the Supreme Ruler all success in his war against the Bolsheviks." Shall we add that before the Allied representatives delivered their speeches, and were answered, in the same spirit, by Kolchak, every one present was sprinkled with holy water and a number of old Czarist hymns were sung, with the representatives of the Allies standing at attention?

Public opinion was not to be quieted, however, and more campaigning was undertaken. Suddenly, as if by a miracle, the whole of the Siberian press started to print official notices about the aid the Allies were giving to Kolchak. One Allied government would vie with the other in its boasts of aid rendered, but it must be said that the English government came out the "victor" in the competition. It had the longest and most elaborate list of achievements.

Here is what the English have done for Kolchak, according to their own statement in the Siberian press, at the time Mr. Bullit was conferring with the government of the Russian people:

"The British government," the statement says, "has delivered to the Omsk government military equipment sufficient to provide an army of 150,000 men, and with absolutely everything necessary for successful military operations: underwear, socks, shoes, blouses, linen-coats, trousers, fur and woolen caps, overcoats, fur coats, little kettles, clothing sacks, quilts, rifles to the amount of 138,720, cartridges to the amount of 105,473,400, hand grenades to the amount of 485,448, field guns, howitzers, machine guns, projectiles for the latter, 3 and 6-inch guns, power carts, horses' outfits, saddles, ropes, spades, shovels, motorcycles, etc., etc."

"Every kopek of the value of these equipments was paid by the British Government, and every

pound of it was delivered by the same government under English guard over the 6,000 miles from Vladivostok to Omsk.

"It is necessary to remember that this enormous amount of equipments had to be assembled and dispatched at the most critical phase of the war, at a time when transportation was disorganized to the extreme. In order to reach Vladivostok, it was necessary to send the supplies 3,000 miles by sea to Halifax or to New York; from there, 5,000 miles through Canada or the United States to Vancouver or San Francisco, where it was necessary to find ships for their delivery to Vladivostok, another 10,000 miles by the Pacific Ocean.

"The English government also delivered railroad materials in great quantities and English experts are trying to revive the facilities of the Siberian roads, for which purpose the government has sent 200 commissioned and noncommissioned officers, selected from among the most experienced engineers."

Then comes a list of schools for officers that the British government built and equipped in various places in Siberia, and a list of materials and things that this government sent for the use of students at these schools. And special emphasis is laid on one particular school, on Russian Island, under English tutors, which according to the English Mission, is very promising, and it is promised that in the near future a great number of other such schools will be opened all over Siberia. And then the following words, highly encouraging for such peace missions as that of Mr. Bullit, are added.

"Owing to its geographical position, the British government was enabled to send equipment in much greater quantities to General Denikin than to Admiral Kolchak. It also had to send much help to the Archangel government and even now this government is receiving great help from the English in materials, moneys, and men. But since our decided victory on the Western front, the British government will be in a better position to help all the Russian governments on a much larger scale than hitherto."

The French, of course, also engaged in this boasting competition, and they, too, came out with tales and reports of aid to Kolchak. Oh, no, the French government would not be found lagging behind. It may not have had so many things as the English to send to the "savior," but it had a lot of money for him, and French money talks as loudly as English or American money in Siberia. "The French government," the French communication brags, "has just sent in a big transport of machine guns which are being quickly dispatched from Vladivostok to Omsk, to the address of the Marine and War Ministers. In the course of the last three months the representatives of the French Government here have handed to the All-Russian Government of Admiral Kolchak the sum of 120 millions of rubles for the purpose of equipping the Russian army with clothing and the like." The

sum of 120,000,000 rubles is surely pretty good for three months. Money in Kolchak's kingdom does wonders, even to the extent of buying off a few "has-beens" in the Socialist movement, a "thing" so vital for the task of convincing the outer world that Kolchak is truly democratic.

There remained two more governments of the "big four" that were to save Russia, the American and the Japanese. The Americans, seemingly, were quiet for that time and refrained from boasting. They were even liquidating their "Information Bureau" to make room for a like bureau of the Japanese, and the disappointed Americans of the Mr. Embry type have told us that this particular time was the worst experienced by them in Siberia. They weren't able to look the Kolchakists straight in the faces. But the Japanese government had beaten them all by miles. Aside from murder instruments, gasses and moneys, the Japanese government was sending men in great numbers, and was illustrating its true friendship towards Kolchak by exterminating whole villages. That these villages were inhabited only by women, old folks, and children, doesn't matter when democracy is at stake. The readers of "Soviet Russia" remember undoubtedly the case of Ivanovka and the other villages that were uprooted by the Japanese. Well, it happened just at the time Mr. Bullit was preparing his report on the peace parleys with the Soviet government. Besides it was greatly adding to its forces in Siberia just then.

"On my arrival in the Transbaikalian region," announces in a manifesto to the Russian population at that time, the Japanese General Ooba, "I have stated that Japan is a country friendly towards Russia, earnestly wishing to restore here a settled order, and the actions of the Japanese armies here will be in conformity with this wish of everlasting peace. And I have warned then that in case some dark groups shall show resistance or impede our work, coming as it may, undoubtedly, from ignorance of our real aim, I shall not pause before extreme measures against those that would be in our way, no matter what nationality they belong to. . . .

"I want to make it clear that while it is true that some parts of the regular and reserve Japanese forces were recently returned home, there still remain in the Transbaikalian region sufficient Japanese soldiers, and cannons, and projectiles to uphold order here. Besides, in place of those sent back home other forces are coming from Japan, armies of the regular regiments, such that have received a thorough military training in Japan, and my decision to deal unscrupulously with those persons that shall transgress the laws laid down for upholding the order of which Russia is so needful, therefore, remains unchanged." And these were not mere words either. The Transbaikalian region is devastated second only to the Priamur, which is also being "pacified" by the Japanese. And as

to the Japanese army, it numbers now about one hundred thousand men in these two regions.

The Americans in Siberia, as was stated, did not participate in that competition to show Kolchak that whatever is spoken or done at Paris this "democrat" has no reason to fear an abandonment by the democratic Allies. But then in the first place there always remained the Siberian railroad to take care of, which is to see to it that whatever England or France sends to Kolchak, should reach Kolchak in proper time, and that the Japanese forces who were bringing democracy to the Russian villages on the points of their bayonets should not be delayed on their way. And American gold was not late either to come there.

Encouraged by the Allies' representatives on the spot and by the telegrams of the heads of the Allied governments, Kolchak was within his perfect right to come out boldly with a rejection of the whole proposition. Whether Mr. Bullit knew of it or not—most probably he did not know, the Supreme Ruler of all Russia had announced in a manifesto

that he would never sit at one table with those undemocratic elements,—the Bolsheviki. It is a long and tedious affair, the manifesto of Kolchak, and there really is no need in translating it. But it says explicitly that "It would be unprincipled and inexpedient for a government that was inspired with the high ideas of right, democracy, and nationalism (?) to come to any terms of peace with an organization (?) that from top to bottom rests on consistent denial of these great truths."

This is the way the Allied governments have treated the Bullit mission in their back yard, Siberia. That they have repeated the same "diplomacy" in Denikin's "kingdom," and in the Tchaykovsky "kingdom," and all the other kingdoms in Russia that they have created, is, of course, to be conceived. The policy of the Allied governments in Russia is the same everywhere.

The most difficult road to travel nowadays is that so-called middle road, and honest liberals like Mr. Bullit have truly a hard time of it.

The "Northwest Russian" Adventure

(Editorial Article in *Stockholms Dagblad*, August 25th, 1919.)

THE rise of a "Northwest Russian Government" in Reval and its agreement with the Esthonian military authorities concerning a Russian-Esthonian offensive against Petrograd are matters of the very greatest interest, not least through the pressure they may exert on the so-long hesitating policy of the Entente with respect to Russia. Yudenich's new government is reported to have arisen on the initiative of English military authorities, and, under the same influence, to have recognized the independence of Esthonia. Should this recognition be approved and enforced by the powers that be, at Paris, as is the urgent wish of the British Military Commissaire in the Baltic states, General Gough, it would mean that the Entente had relinquished its policy of "watchful waiting," with regard to the former Russian marginal Countries, and has definitely dropped the plan of re-erecting a unified Russian empire, such as is desired by Admiral Kolchak, and represented in Paris by the Russian Military Committee residing there, led by Lvov and Sazonov. Besides this still unsolved political question, there is the purely military question of whether the alliance concluded at Reval has sufficient resources to conquer Petrograd from the Reds in an autumn campaign and to maintain itself there, a thing which depends in no little measure on the extent of the support which the Entente powers want and dare to give to such an adventurous undertaking. The events in Esthonia and the attitude that will be assumed by the Allies toward these events, should therefore be followed with the closest attention.

The first news of the existence of the new Northwest Russian Government came by way of Helsingfors; a most detailed account is given in a telegram to the Times from its Reval correspondent, which was delayed several days by the censorship. This man reports that the British military agent at Reval, General Marsh, summoned a meeting of Russian "notables of all parties," "in the name of the Allied and Associated Powers," emphasized to them that the position of the Russian army was critical and that the Russians must absolutely and without delay set up a democratic government capable of administering the Northwest provinces after their liberation and of "restoring general confidence in the democratic aims of the Russian leaders." This government should furthermore recognize the independence of Esthonia, since the Esthonian army would otherwise refuse to advance in the attack on Petrograd, and the Russians themselves were for the present not capable of capturing the capital without the aid of the Esthonians.

The result of General Marsh's proposal, which, according to other reports, is said to have had the form of an ultimatum to be answered within a very short period, was, that "as a result of a number of conferences held by the British Mission," a Northwest Russian government was formed, with the Moscow merchant Lianozov as its Prime Minister, General Yudenich as its Minister of War, and a number of members from various parties, (Cadets, mensheviks, Yedinstvo group, etc.) The correspondent names as the administrative jurisdiction of the new government the provinces (*gubernyi*)

of Pskov, Petrograd, and Novgorod, and he adds that the new government shall "be supported by the authority of a legislative congress of representatives of zemstvos, co-operative organizations, and other local workers, which shall be convoked within a short period. An arrangement was made with the Esthonians on August 12th, involving a promise of Esthonian co-operation against Petrograd in exchange for the recognition of Esthonian independence. The agreement seems to have been signed, for the Esthonian side, by Commander-in-Chief Laidoner, but, according to other Reval reports, confirmed by a Reuter telegram from Paris, the Esthonians are said to content themselves with a recognition of the independence of their country by Messrs. Laidoner and Yudenich without very definitely demanding recognition also by the Supreme Council in Paris in the name of the Allies. The British delegation in Paris has at present in General Gough a zealous supporter of this measure. But thus far nothing has been heard as to how either the British Government or its Allies regard the proposals of Generals Marsh and Gough. The Reval correspondent of the Times, to be sure, reports that Marsh was also getting the support of the British political agent, Col. Gordon; the British Consul-General, Bosanquet; the American Peace Commissioner, Col. Dawley; and the French representative, Col. Hurstel; but these military personages could hardly have had any authority to come to definite terms in a matter with such far-reaching political implications. Besides, General Yudenich nominally recognizes Admiral Kolchak, way off in Siberia, as his supreme military and political superior, and the latter has already declared himself opposed to the independence of Esthonia. The correspondent also takes pains to point out that Yudenich's measure must not be interpreted as showing a lack of loyalty to Kolchak, but is simply made possible by defective communications with the latter, who cannot, owing to the distance between him and them, have a direct estimate of the situation on the Petrograd front. The idea now seems to be to advance on Petrograd from two separate sectors, an Esthonian sector under Laidoner, and a Russian sector under General Rodzianko. The interview of the Reval correspondent of the *Hufvudsbladet* (Helsingfors) with Laidoner would indicate that the new government also has a number of illusions as to the readiness of the Finnish Government, in view of what he calls "altered political conjectures," to take up again the question of a military co-operation against Petrograd, which is a very unlikely eventuality. For the present, Yudenich is casting about for aid from another quarter also, namely from Germany. *Freiheit* has daily complaints of the recruiting of German officers and men which is carried on by "Kolchak's military mission in Berlin," and of the close co-operation which has been established in Kurland between the officers of German troops still remaining in that province, and the Russian corps of Keller and Lieven, who are co-operating with Yudenich. It is not entirely inconceivable that this Russo-German

co-operation, necessarily achieved on foreign soil, a co-operation of strictly "anti-democratic" nature, accelerated the counter-measure of the two political British generals in dragging forth from the soil a "democratic" Northwest Russian Government with political aims more presentable in the eyes of Esthonians and Letts.

But this entire Northwest Russian adventure really is an equation with a great number of unknown quantities. For instance, we do not know how long the governments of the Allies will stand behind Generals Marsh and Gough. The liberal press in England, particularly the *Daily News* and the *Westminster Gazette*, have been anything but sympathetic with regard to British co-operation in this enterprise. *Matin* expresses a corresponding dissatisfaction in French circles, which have already been made nervous as to British plans of expansion, owing to the Anglo-Persian agreement, and in this quarter presumably the aversion of the Russian emigrés against a preliminary recognition of the independence of the marginal countries, is probably shared by their French friends, for a restored "White" Russia is more to their taste.

Very little indeed is known as to the attitude of the Esthonians themselves. They have driven out the Bolsheviki and established a fairly satisfactory border guard against Soviet Russia, beyond which the poorly disciplined "Northwest Russian" bands of warriors have been operating in recent days. At present there is a severe party conflict in progress within the country, and the Left groups which are so largely represented in the governments display much greater interest in a Socialistic land reform than in a military campaign beyond the borders of the country. The Reval correspondent of *Hufvudsbladet* wrote as late as August 11th, in other words, the day before Yudenich and Laidoner made this agreement, with much concern, that "peace with the maximalists is a favorite theme in our press," and that "one fears the imaginary danger threatening from Kolchak, that is monarchic Russia, infinitely more than the advancing hosts of the Reds." As Esthonian offensive against Petrograd would presumably have to be preceded by an alteration of the political system at Reval, even if the Entente should pay for such an offensive by itself recognizing the independence of Esthonia. Among the many unknown quantities are also the strength and efficiency of the two armies for a rather extensive operation. The statements of the Finnish correspondent are not at all optimistic on this matter, particularly when they speak of the so-called "Russian Northern Corps," which have lost by desertion more than half their numerical strength at the beginning of the campaign. And as far as help from Germany is concerned, Marshal Foch seems to be extremely displeased with the beginnings of this plan, exaggerated as the reports of them have probably been.

The whole business furthermore, makes the impression of being in terrible confusion, with only one definite point outstanding—one point of great interest—namely, the request to recognize Esthonia.

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THE final phase of the war against Soviet Russia has become the visible *reductio ad absurdum* of selfish capitalist imperialism masquerading as the protector of small nations. In their eagerness to erect "barriers against Bolshevism," the powers were lavish in promises of self-determination and recognition to their wards in central and northern Europe. The Paris statesmen are reaping the whirlwind of their own sowing. They find themselves backing both sides of a dozen petty wars.

Poland, not content with campaigns against the Germans and against Ukraine and Lithuania, her foster brothers in the Entente household, dashes forth on a Napoleonic invasion of Russia, calling frantically from the shores of the Beresina for overcoats. Petlura and Denikin, former allies in the anti-Soviet coalition, are at war with one another. American munitions are supplied to Denikin and American money is supplied to the Ukrainians. Harold Williams, the English propagandist for Denikin, charges that Petlura's movement is fomented by the Germans, at the moment when it is announced from London that the United States has granted a credit of \$15,000,000 to the Ukrainians. An American officer reports that because of the ferocious pogroms conducted by Denikin's men the British have withdrawn their support from this English knight. In Denikin's rear the Georgians are openly antagonistic and an anti-Denikin movement is reported in the Azerbaijan Republic. One correspondent attributes these activities to "German and Turkish agents," while another says that at the same time that British staff officers were sent to aid Denikin other British staff officers were

aiding the Tartars and Georgians to resist Denikin's aggressions.

In Siberia the Commander of the American forces guarding Kolchak's rear holds up munitions dispatched from America to the sorely beset Admiral. Kalmikoff's Cossacks apply the knout to an American soldier and the United States threatens to withdraw from Siberia because the Japanese have "failed to protect the lives and property" of the American railroad engineers.

Turning back to the west, we meet the preposterous Von der Goltz, attacking Lithuania and Latvia, in open defiance of Paris; one day nonsensically reported in alliance with the Soviets, and the next, advancing upon Riga in company with Russian White Guards. The British and French warships in the harbor of Riga clear for action and prepare to train their guns upon the very forces which they were supporting in Murmansk and Archangel.

The munition makers prosper, finding a ready market for their left-over wares, and new contracts for their swollen industries in all this congenial business of slaughter. Meanwhile the Soviet government, in a world given over to treachery and intrigue, can congratulate itself that it has no "allies."

* * *

AMBASSADOR Morris is quoted as saying that Kolchak's manifold difficulties are "seemingly beyond the power of one man to solve alone." Certainly the prestige of the Supreme Ruler has suffered serious loss. His apologists admit that he has no control over Kalmikoff and the other chieftains enjoying Japanese favor. The president of the first Siberian Duma, which was dissolved by Kolchak, plots the overthrow of the Omsk dictatorship and accuses Kolchak of "inability even to organize national defense against the Bolsheviks." From a coalition of Cossacks under Generals Dutoff and Rinoff and a variety of local economic and political organizations, comes a demand for the dismissal of the whole personnel of the Omsk government, excepting the Admiral. Finally, the Allied commanders demand the removal of Russian troops from Vladivostok. Kolchak is said to have protested effectively against this "violation of Russian sovereignty." The Allies were prevailed upon to allow the Russians to remain in Vladivostok. Meanwhile the most interesting development in the career of the "All-Russian" government is the rumor that its capital is to be moved from Omsk to Berlin.

The Lettish premier tells the correspondent of an English paper of the plan for an alliance between Russian and German reactionaries against the Entente. The Estonian delegate in London frankly says that Estonia will not continue in a military campaign against Soviet Russia in conjunction with this Russian-German alliance. The powers, caught in a dilemma of their own making, must now decide between peace with Soviet Russia or alliance with German military imperialism.

WE quote the following from an excellent review of the potential economic and industrial wealth of Russia which recently appeared in the editorial columns of the *New York Journal of Commerce*:

" . . . The mines, the forests, the fruitful soil and the great rivers—all with which nature has so plentifully endowed Russia—are still there, awaiting the touch of industry and enterprise to supply the means of producing more wealth than ever before. . . . So far the Russian peasants have only scratched the surface of the soil with their light wooden plows. . . . By replacing Russia's primitive implements of culture with steel plows, by plowing more deeply, and by introducing more intensive and more scientific agriculture, the productivity of the Russian soil can be enormously increased, with the consequent enlargement of her exportable supply of grain. . . . In regard to the recuperative power of Russia there is little room for dispute. There is an opportunity to advance money on enormous tracts of timber

land, on undeveloped mining resources, on great construction projects and in the rebuilding of water and rail transportation lines through tracts of forest, mineral or agricultural land. While the European countries have comparatively little potential wealth left, Russia and Siberia have huge potential wealth lying at hand ready to be utilized. . . . All things considered, when the prime requisite of stable government under which life and property will be secure is forthcoming, the development of a new and reinvigorated Russia is certain to rank among the most momentous events of our time."

Here is our case most ably presented. We differ with the *Journal of Commerce* only as to the manner in which this great wealth and property will be made "secure." We see it secured to all the workers of Russia. The *Journal of Commerce*, on the other hand, appears to favor its reversion to the czarist nobles and capitalists who kept Russia in the state of industrial backwardness described by the *Journal*.

The Guerilla War in Siberia

THE cable reports which reach the United States create the impression that the so-called All-Russian Government under the command of Supreme Ruler Kolchak is in complete control of Siberia. A perusal of the Siberian press, which is under a strict censorship, discloses the fact, however, that civil war has at no time ceased in Siberia. While the Czecho-Slovak army, reinforced by the Cossacks, succeeded in defeating the regular forces of the Bolsheviks, they scattered throughout the vast virgin forests of Siberia and from their places of safety made incursions upon the Siberian trunk line. The following communication of the Information Bureau of the Czecho-Slovak General Staff, which is condensed from the *Nashe Dyelo* of Irkutsk, of June 19, 1919, gives a clear idea of the military operations of the Siberian Bolsheviks.

"The organization of the Bolshevik bands is being effected in accordance with military principles, which imparts a military character to their operations. They realize that the wrecking of the only line of communication and the economic artery of the whole Siberia, and the delay in the transportation of necessities for the urban population and of war supplies for the front would contribute to the breaking up of the rear of the eastern anti-Bolshevik front.

"The military operations of the Bolsheviks are chiefly in the nature of guerilla warfare. They have formed numerous so-called flying detachments of cavalry and infantry scouting parties, which are conducting raids in groups of larger or smaller tactical units. The aim of these raids is to injure the railroad line and to capture ammunition and supplies. The bases and the operating staffs of the Bolsheviks are situated in the villages and settle-

ments hidden in the thick Siberian forests, which are almost impassable and are, moreover, defended by villages situated near the railroad and occupied by the Bolsheviks. These fortifications are usually provided with deep dug-outs made in the winter, where, in individual places, a regular watch is being kept, with a whole chain of barriers erected in front of the dug-outs. These trenches are being dug out by the population of the neighboring villages, who are also doing the destructive work on the railroad, which requires the participation of a large number of workers.

"The Bolsheviks have organized their rear, too, in military fashion. They have established a chain of wheeled vehicles, field hospitals and first aid stations for the wounded. They have tried to build mills for the production of ammunition. It has been ascertained that in many villages bullets for rifles and machine guns are manufactured.

"The Bolshevik bands commenced their operations last winter along the trunk line from Krasnoyarsk eastward as far as Nizhneudinsk. Taking advantage of the inaccessibility of their nests, to which only scarce country roads lead through thick woods and deep snow, they gathered their forces unimpeded and directed their attacks on the main Siberian railroad line almost without any resistance. Running on their snow-shoes they would rapidly attack and just as rapidly hide back in the woods. Their life in the woods as huntsmen has trained them for such actions; they are good marksmen. Their attacks were met with only passive defense since, owing to the inaccessibility of that section, it was impossible to operate with large units. Cossacks were sent against their nests, but fighting in

snow-covered thick forests against the small and mobile squadrons of the Bolsheviki did not bring the desired results. The Russian (Kolchak) guards patrolling the bridges, depots, etc., were subject to frequent attacks by the Bolsheviki."

This communication fully corroborates the information reprinted on another page from the Moscow *Pravda* of May 21st. We give in the present issue a map of Siberia which shows the points where guerilla warfare has been going on. These points are indicated by black dots. As in some sections they lie very close together, three subsidiary maps, drawn on a larger scale, are given, where the names of the principal places are indicated. These maps are brought up to the middle of August.

According to latest cable dispatches the city of Tomsk has been taken by the Soviet forces. It was surmised that those were local forces. From the scattered reports in the Siberian newspapers it appears that those forces had been gathering since last May.

It must be noted that our information is very incomplete owing to the irregularity of postal communications with Siberia. A glance at the detailed

map of the Maritime and Amour provinces shows, nevertheless, that practically the whole country has at one time or another been in revolt against the Kolchak rule.

The sources of information upon which the maps are based are given in the explanatory notes to the maps. They are arranged chronologically in the order of the dates of the Siberian newspapers from which they have been compiled.

In conclusion we reprint from the *Manchester Guardian* the following wireless message from Moscow dated September 15th:

"Some sixteen miles to the east of Krasnoyarsk (800 miles east of Omsk), on the Trans-Siberian railroad the Zvansk Soviet Republic has been in existence for more than six months, the population of which amounts to some 60,000. The army is equipped with artillery, machine guns and rifles, and numbers 10,000 men under the command of a certain Kravchenko. Throughout the territory of the Republic the factories are producing rifles, cartridges, and powder for the army as well as agricultural machinery for the peasants. All efforts of the Omsk Government to destroy this Republic have failed."

A Chronological Record of the Guerilla War in Siberia

April 9

AMUR PROVINCE

Red raids were made at the stations Ekaterinoslovskaya, Pozdeyevka, Ledianaya and the junction Unta, Vozzhayaevka, Bureya and No. 20.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

April 10

AMUR PROVINCE

Habarovsk. April 7th the Bolshevik movement in the Amur region has been suppressed.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

April 25

YENISEISK PROVINCE

Taishet. The Reds in the Taishet region have reached the railroad line from the village Tasseev and captured several settlements from which they attack the railroad lines, deranging tracks and shooting at trains.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

April 29

IRKUTSK PROVINCE

Ilim tract. A band of Reds appeared near the counties of Kezhemsk and Karaphjchansk. Bolshevik detachments driven out of the Kansk district are penetrating north into the Ilimsk region (Kezhemsk). *Nashe Dyelo.*

April 30

AMUR PROVINCE

Reds attacked us in the village Kurunzulay on March 28th.—*Golos Primorya.*

* * *

May 9

TOMSK PROVINCE

Several Bolshevik detachments are carrying on their operations in the district of Mariynsk, province of Tomsk. They have the support of a certain part of the population. Skirmishes are occurring in the vicinity of a number of villages.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

June 11

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

Our troops defeated a Red detachment in the Stepno-Badjeysk district about 3,000 strong. A Czech unit in the Tinskaya direction and another near the Ingashskaya station routed the Reds in the district north of the Reshety-Tinskaya-Ingashskaya line and occupied about 30 versts. Bolshevik stronghold numbering about 700 men was in the village Mucherovo. Osjarovskaya, Volkovo, Fokinskoye, Budniki, Kucherovo, Sulovskaya Alexandrovka and Berikovskaya were taken. The enemy was pursued to the villages Rytvino and Kozlovo (34 versts north of Tinskaya). The enemy has fled further towards Dolgy Most. The village Berikovskaya was burnt.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

June 12

MARITIME PROVINCE

June 12.—Shmakovka and Krayevka Stations. A party of Bolsheviks attacked the Krayevsky patrol June 9th on the Ussuri railroad line, and took the station. Simultaneously another Bolshevik Company took the Shmakovka station.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

AMUR PROVINCE

June 12.—Zeya. About May 26th in the Zeya district the steamer Michael now in Japanese hands was attacked by the Bolsheviks. The captain (a Russian) brought the vessel to Zeya, though wounded.—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

June 14

MARITIME PROVINCE

Drozdovsky—north of Spasskoye region. About 40 Bolsheviks attacked this point. A skirmish between them and the Americans followed. June 12th, the Bolsheviks attacked Knorring, south of Spasskoye. The same day they appeared at Rosengartevka, north of Bikin, and occupied the station.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozrynie.*

* * *

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

Taishet Front. The nucleus of the Bolshevik bands now operating were formed from undiscovered Soviet troops in the woods and remote villages, owing to the rapid Checho-Slovak movement along the main line of the Trans-Siberian railroad last year. Later these Bolshevik bands communicated with Soviet Russia through Bolshevik agitators in Siberia. (Similar organizations were found in Ekaterinburg, Omsk and other cities.) Some Bolshevik detachments number 1,000 men. South of Krasnoyarsk Bolshevik bands have organized brigades and divisions and procured machine guns.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

June 17

MARITIME PROVINCE

Nikolsk-Ussuriysk Region. In the Nikolsk-Ussuriysk district Chinese bandits (Hunhuzy), with about 600 Reds, burnt the Pyankov mill, near Kondratenko.

Glukhovka was taken by a detachment of 130 men on June 14th. The Reds have requisitioned grain and vehicles for transportation.

100 Reds attacked the Golenki station on June 16th.—*Ussuriyski Krai.*

* * *

June 18

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

In the Tasseyskoye district, in the village Novoselskaya a battle was fought. Our troops captured the fortified village Kulakovo. In the south Kansk-Svishevo district the operations on the river Mana are impeded by the erection of obstructions. On June 11th a Checho-Slovak battalion engaged in fighting with the Bolsheviks, of

whom 100 men crossed over to the right bank of the river Mana to the village Karvinskoye. Part of the Bolsheviks dispersed near the village Karvinskoye. Along the Tulun-Karvinskoye front heavy rifle and machine gun firing is going on.

A Cossack unit at the village Kozhelak was forced to retreat to the village Uskanskaya which the foe occupied.

On June 12th two Bolshevik companies with two machine guns attacked our outposts. Our front lines retreated. Our troops have cleared the heights on the left bank of the Mana river and the mouth of the Limya river. 35 versts south of Rybinskoye we took an important ferry at the village Koyanskaya. Rozanov's detachment is fighting on the left bank of the Mana river.

On the same day 200 Bolsheviks armed with machine guns attempted to cross to the north of the Golubovskoye district. The village Kubinskoye was attacked by 200 men with two machine guns.

At the Alzamay-Tayshe-Kansk station Checho-Slovaks have taken the village of Nizhne-Zaimskoi, 32 versts north of Taishet June 12th.

In the Tasseyskoye region a part of our troops advances from Momotova to the village of Sumobasharovskaya.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

IRKUTSK PROVINCE

Train 101 was fired upon by the Bolsheviks at the station Kuryat in the Nizhneudinsk district.

—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

TOMSK PROVINCE

In the Maryinsk district, west of the Bogotola station the railroad track was deranged. Bolshevik scouts were seen at the Bogotol district.

—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

June 19

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

June 19th.—Taishet Station. Station Taishet twice occupied by the Reds finally cleared of the Bolsheviks.—*Ussuriyski Krai.*

* * *

June 20

TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

June 20th.—June 12th, Reds routed in the Nerchinsk mill district near Bolshoy Zerentouy. Zalisvansky settlement taken after a battle June 4th. Argun captured. The fortified settlement of Tansky and two lines of trenches captured June 5th. Also the village of Kurdukanskaya after a battle.

—*Echo.*

* * *

IRKUTSK PROVINCE

Allied troops attacked Ukar, 17 miles north of Nizhneudinsk, which was fortified by the Bolsheviks, and routed a considerable band of Reds. About 150 men were drowned in the Ouda River, the others were destroyed by strong artillery fire.

—*Echo.*

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

South of Kansk-Svishevo Railroad Line. The enemy has retreated towards Novo-Voznesensk. The majority of the population of the village joined the Bolsheviks and went south of Narvinskaya. Our forces have taken Novo-Vasilyevskoye, 10 versts east of Badjeya. We reached the river Gryaznaya Kirza, pursuing the enemy 20 versts south of Stepnoye Badjeya. There was a skirmish at Verkhne-Ryblinsk.

In the village Ingashet there is a Bolshevik detachment of 40 men. The Red detachment in the village Bodarma was defeated.

June 20th.—Zanzo-Algashet-Bakirskaya-Kaltosha-Syergeno Shelekhovo district is cleared of Bolsheviks.—*Nashe Dyelo*.

June 21

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

North of Nizhneudinsk-Krasnoyarsk railroad. The Czechoslovaks, on June 15th seized village Buzikanova, 27 versts north of station Mishkino.

On June 19th they took village Shitkino, 50 versts north of Taishet.—*Nashe Dyelo*.

AMUR PROVINCE

Bureya River District. The Reds are located in large numbers along the rivers Maly Corbyl and Zhelova, where messengers from Soviet Russia join them.—*Echo*.

June 22

MARITIME PROVINCE

Shkotov-Nikolsk Region. The band which attempted to cut communications north of Iman was dispersed. Owing to the serious injury of the railroad bridge in the Ussuri region railroad communication with Khabarovsk had not been resumed. A detachment was sent out against the band organized in the Beytsukha region, to clear the valley of the river Khor. One detachment was left in the Poletninsky district.—*Echo*.

June 22.—Telegraph communication between Muchnaya and Evgenievka discontinued at 10 A. M. today. Station of Knorring deserted by the administration and out of use. Telegraph communication between Harbin and Nikolsk-Ussuriysk discontinued June 15th. News of an encounter on the 18th on the railway line near Nikolsk between Bolsheviks and guards, resulting in damaged wires.

Region of Pogranichnaya-Nikolsk.—Many Bolshevik bands observed between Pogranichnaya and Nikolsk. A large Company of Red Guards near the village of Mikhailovka, near Nikolsk. The Nikolsk-Ussuriysk railway line in use only to the station Sviagino.—*Ussuriysky Krai*.

AMUR PROVINCE

The Reds have cut off railroad communication in the Gonzha station district.—*Echo*.

TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

About 200 Reds raided the station Ildikanskaya. After pursuing the Reds along the river Ourukman from June 3rd to 5th our troops took Boordukamsk. June 6th they took Curupinsk. A detachment having pursued the Reds along the river Argun captured Zalisinsk, after a battle, June 3rd, and Zhoktanskiy June 5th. Large forces of the Reds, concentrated in the Transbaikalian province, have been defeated after strenuous fighting.—*Echo*.

June 22

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

Tasseyevo Region. On June 15th after a successful battle against 300 Reds at the fortified right bank of the Shishina river, Lt.-Colonel Romerov's Russian troops advanced on Troitzko-Zavodskoye.

The Bolshevik small bands failed to break our lines and reach the village Sukhovo to the south.

—*Nashe Dyelo*.

Verkhne-Rybinsk Region.—A completely equipped rifle factory has been taken by us in the Verkhne-Rybinsk region.—*Nashe Dyelo*.

June 24

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

Tasseyevka Region. Romerov's Russian troops have taken villages Nikolskoye and Ustye, and are advancing towards Nizhnyaya. The enemy is moving towards village Srednyaya.—*Nashe Dyelo*.

June 25

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

The entire Mana river has been cleared of Reds.

ALMAZAY-TAISHET-KANSK

The Czechoslovak detachment has broken up small Red bands in the Nizhne-Zaimsky district.

On June 15th the village Dolgy Most was raided and 10 Bolshevik scouts caught at Kluchinskoye. On June 18th the enemy forces were destroyed; 500 infantrymen and 100 cavalrymen had fled to the forest before that.

Tasseyevka District.—The Russian troops of Lieut. Romerov are pursuing Bolshevik bands fleeing towards the villages Fanachetskaya and Pecherskaya. Another group is operating against Ponomarev's detachment.—*Nashe Dyelo*.

TOMSK PROVINCE

Province of Tomsk, Taiga Station District. In the Sudzensky mining district a Bolshevik band appeared under the command of Lubkov.

—*Nashe Dyelo*.

June 26

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

In the village of Tasseyevskoe, district of Kansk, the strongly fortified settlement of Tasseyevskoe has been captured by us—the center of insurrection in the northern part of the Eniseysk provinces.

Our troops captured the Stepnoye-Badjeya settlement—the center of the mutiny in the Province of Eniseysk and district of Nizhneudinsk, Province of Irkutsk. 250 wounded and 400 dead Reds were left in Stepnoye-Badjeya.

—*Dalneyevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

* * *

TOMSK PROVINCE

June 23rd Lubkov's band attacked station Ishmorskaya. The Bolsheviks have destroyed the railroad between that station and the river Yaya and fled northward.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

June 28

AMUR PROVINCE

On the Amur railroad at the Ekaterinoslavka-Zavitaya junction the Bolsheviks burned a bridge on June 18th.

—*Dalneyevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

* * *

Telegraph line between Chita and Blagoveschensk has been destroyed by the Bolsheviks.

—*Ussuriysky Kray.*

* * *

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

District South of the Yelanskaya-Kansk Railroad. Troops were sent to the district south of the Yelanskaya-Kansk railroad to clear it of the Bolsheviks.

* * *

TOMSK PROVINCE

Lubkov's band on June 23rd approached the village Beketskaya and divided into two groups simultaneously attacking the bridge from the river Yaya and the station Izhmorskaya.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

June 29

South of Paishet-Kansk Railroad Line. June 20th, Checho-Russian troops went from Kansk to the country of Alexandrovsk to end Bolshevik activities there and arrested several people.

* * *

Tasseyevskoye District.—Col. Romerov's Russian troops took from the Reds 300 heads of cattle, a telephone apparatus, telegraph apparatus, 100 rifles, 5 revolvers. They pursued the Reds in the direction of Shushiha and then towards the Katym river, where the Bolsheviks had entrenched themselves on the right bank.

In Achinsk district about 400 to 500 Bolsheviks have crossed the Chulyn river in Achinsk district.

—*Nashe Dyelo.*

* * *

July 2

MARITIME PROVINCE

Shkotov Region. On June 25th the Reds burnt the railroad bridge on the Suchan branch line, near the village Romanovka and blew up the underground mine machinery near the Tigrovaya station. Railroad and telegraph communication with Suchan was interrupted.

Anuchin Region.—In the Anuchin district the Reds looted the village Osinovka on June 28th. At the Manzovka Station-Khalkidon mountain passage, an armored car was subjected to severe firing. About 200 Reds fled from here following the shooting to which the armored train responded. The railroad has been deranged before station Muchnaya. Next day our troops with the Japanese forced the Reds to flee beyond the village Chernigovka. Our troops found the Manzovka station pillaged on their return. The Reds have divided into small bands along the railroad, injuring it wherever possible, also destroying the telegraphic lines.

* * *

MUCHNAYA AND EVGENIEVKA

On June 28th all telegraph and telephone communication in the Nikolsk-Ussuriysk region was interrupted. Rails were deranged at the 181st verst. At the 180th verst, 6 telegraph posts were cut down and the wires cut. Cross-firing took place in the Chernigovka village. Japanese and government troops engaged against the Reds. It is reported from Nikolsk that an explosion occurred on the railroad at the 172nd versta near Manzovka. On June 28th, at the 209th verst from the starting point an armored train was wrecked and fired upon by the Reds.

—*Golos Primorya.*

* * *

July 5

MARITIME PROVINCE

On July 1st our troops took Ryechitza, the Bolshevik troops leaving for Kazarichi. After a skirmish at the village Nolelly Mys the Reds retreated south.—*Dalneyevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

* * *

July 8

MARITIME PROVINCE

On July 3rd the Reds burnt a bridge, about 14 feet long, 203 versts from Muchnaya, on the road towards Knorring.

* * *

SHKOTOV

The Reds pursued by our units fled. In persuading them valuable documents of the 18th battalion of the Petrovsk valley were seized south of Petrovka. In the village Nolelly Mys we have taken a hospital.

* * *

IMAN REGION

July 3rd the Reds attacked the road between Kraevskoye and Swiagino, burnt the barracks and cut down all telegraph posts.

—*Dalneyevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

* * *

July 9

AMUR PROVINCE

Blagovyeschensk. Near Blagovyeschensk a large Bolshevik force—about 3,000 men appeared. A Japanese expedition was sent against them.

General Map of the G



THE BLACK DOTS SHOW THE POINTS WHERE THE KOLCHAK AND THE JAPANESE FORCES WERE FOUGHT BY THE CUP
CHAK ARMIES ARE FACING THE ARMIES OF SOVIET RUSSIA. THE THIN LINE REPRESENTS THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY. THE RECT

About 100 Reds are advancing towards the vil-
lage Bolshaya Sazanka. 20 Red Guards came to
the village of Innokentyevka.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie*.

July 10

MARITIME PROVINCE

Spassky Region. On July 3rd the Japanese
scouting detachment forced the Reds out of Odar-
kovo (25 versts east of Spasskoe).

IMAN REGION

Our detachment has driven the Reds out of the
Novotroitsky monastery and adjoining districts.
They are being driven from Sviyagine-Uspenska.
In Iman two prominent commissars were arrested.
July 4th a detachment of Russians and Japanese
surrounded the village of Dukhovskoye and ar-
rested 12 Reds.—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie*.

Guerrilla War in Siberia



GUERRILLA BANDS OF THE SIBERIAN BOLSHEVIKI. THE THICK LINE EAST OF TOBOL RIVER SHOWS THE FRONT WHERE THE KOLYANSKIES INDICATE AREAS OF WHICH LARGER SCALE MAPS WILL BE FOUND ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

July 11

MARITIME PROVINCE

Shkotov Region. Our troops have taken Tigrovaya. Near Brovichi they were subjected to cross firing by the Reds. We had help from the Americans in Gordeyevka. Our troops attacked Red scouts in the Muchnaya region.

—*Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 15

MARITIME PROVINCE

Nikolsk-Ussuriysk. On July 8th, after an successful attack on the village Krounovka, the Reds retreated towards Yakonovka, 10 miles from Borisovka.—*Dalny Vostok.*

July 16

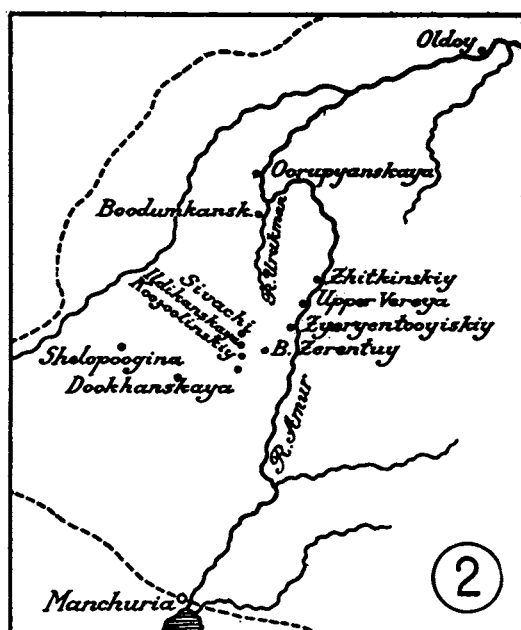
MARITIME PROVINCE

The region Shkotovo-Novorossiia-Novomoskov-

PART OF THE PROVINCE OF YENISEISK



PART OF THE TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE



THE DOTTED LINE REPRESENTS THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

skaya-Bronvichi is cleared of Reds who have retreated towards the village Khmelnitzkaya.

About 60 Reds were found in the Muchnaya district, village of Chernigovka.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 16

AMUR PROVINCE

Amur Region. Bolshevik bands are attacking the railroad. Two bridges were burnt at the Ulmin-Bureya tract. Red bands are operating along the river Zeya.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 17

MARITIME PROVINCE

Our troops took the village Khmelnitzka, Frolovka and Novo-Vesely. The Japanese are operating between Iman and Nikolsk.

According to the unofficial information, on July 12th, the Reds concentrated their forces in the Shkotov district around the village Anuchino and in the village Voznesensk, in the Nikolsk district.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

AMUR PROVINCE

Amur Region. On June 28th seventy Reds attacked the mining camps of Vasilyevsky and Petrovsky. Another band of Reds has surrounded the village Bolshaya Sazanka, near Alexeyevsk.

On July 1st 400 Reds attacked Vovevodin's mining camp in the Zeya district.

On July 13th the Reds attacked the Bolongovo station. On July 1st the Reds attacked the Peschano-Ozerskoye station. About 60 Reds ap-

peared near the Oldoy station. About 500 Reds appeared in Chuevka and Kuteevka. On July 3rd the Reds appeared in Pavlovtsy. Later they went toward Tarbogatay. A detachment of 50 Reds attacked the station Vozzhaevka.

Near the village Kraznoyaroovo, east of Alexeyevsk, Red cavalry detachments were defeated on July 10th. Red forces are increasing near Blagoveschensk. There are about 700 Reds in the Tarbogatay district.

In the Magdagachi districts the Reds are attempting to mobilize the population.

A band of Reds with the "Hunhuzy" (Chinese bands) attacked the Mikhailovsky estate, Ianokentievsky county.—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

In Upper Vereya and Sivachi Reds have been seen. In the Ildikan Talanguy region the Cossacks defeated a large band of Reds. The Red band defeated in the Kyra and Kulinka region split into two parts—one moving towards Aksha, and the other towards the Kyra river.

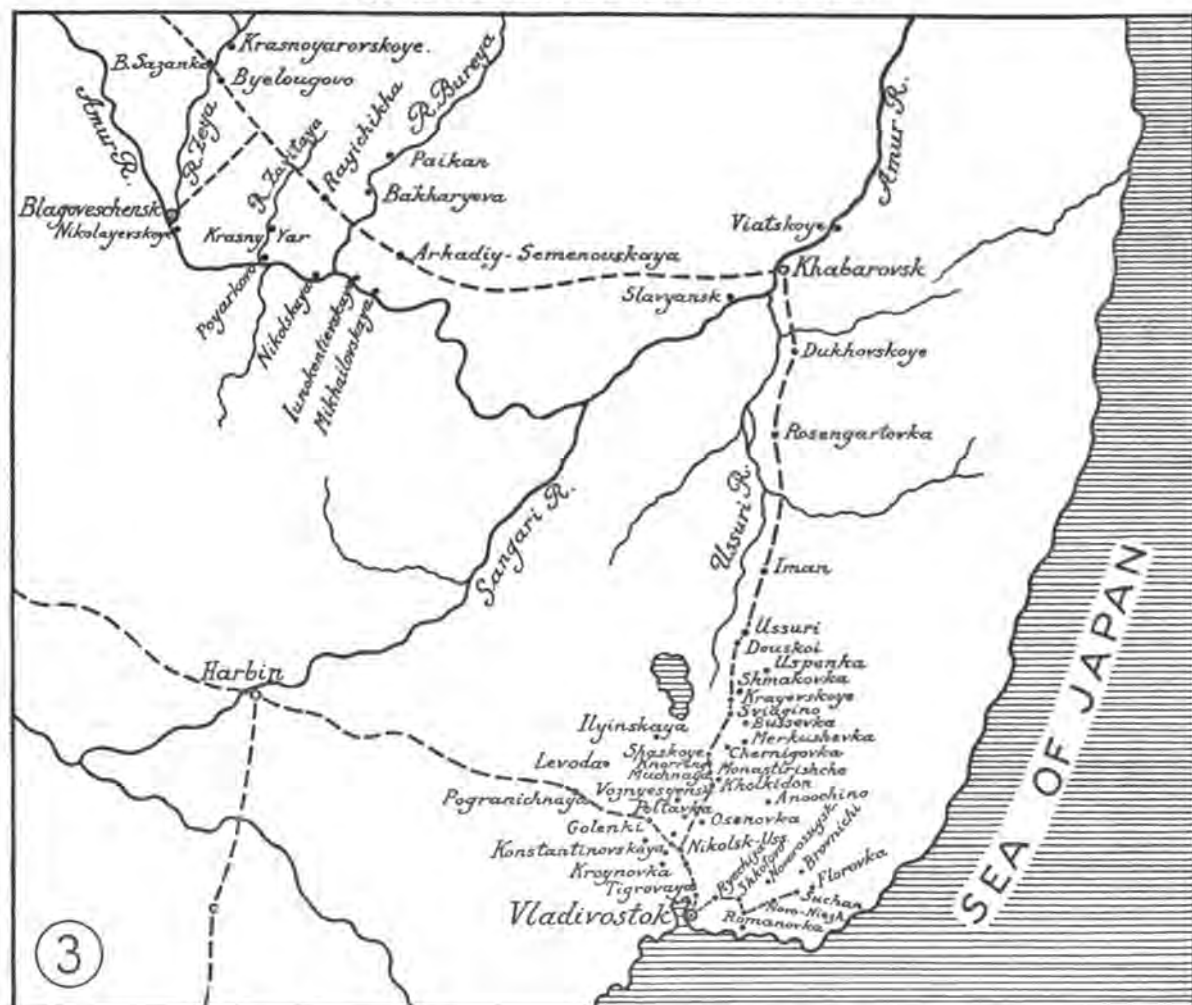
—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 19

AMUR PROVINCE

Vicinity of Blagoveschensk. Following the evacuation of the Japanese 12th army division, from the Amur province, the Red forces concentrated themselves near Milhailovsk, south of Zaritaya and Krasny Yar to attack the village Poyarkovo.—*Priamourye.*

PARTS OF THE AMUR AND MARITIME PROVINCES



THE DOTTED LINE REPRESENTS THE SIBERIAN RAILWAY SYSTEM.

July 20

MARITIME PROVINCE

On July 13th the villages Podgornaya, Stepanovka and Krylovka were cleared of Reds. The villages Vasilyevka and Byelaya Tzerkov were seized that day. The Bolsheviks fled. Busevka, Konstantinovka, Kalinovka, Evseevka, Merkushevka and Kronstadtskaya were also taken.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 20

AMUR PROVINCE

Amur Region. On June 28th our militia captured 42 Reds in Norsk Sklad. A Red patrol was dispersed at the village Krasnoyarevo. Near Paikan, along the river Bureya, our troops engaged in a skirmish with the Reds.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 25

YENISEYSK PROVINCE

Region of southern railroad line Kansk-Svishevo. About 40 Bolsheviks attacked the Cossack

field guards near the village Verkhne-Rybinskoye, but were dispersed.—*Nashe Dyelo.*

July 27

TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

Vicinity of Nerchinsk. In the Nerchinsk District, we have encountered the Bolsheviks, in serious skirmishes.—*Dalniy Vostok.*

July 29

MARITIME PROVINCE

July 20th a detachment of united forces, along the Iman-Spasskoye line took the villages of Anouchino and Yakovlevka—hotbeds of Bolshevism.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

July 29

AMUR PROVINCE

Amur Region. On July 17th, 300 Reds forcibly entered the settlement of Tarbogatay.

Fifty Reds were found 30 miles from Ovsianka. —*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 3

MARITIME PROVINCE

Kamen-Rybolovsky district. A force of about 300 Reds has concentrated near the villages Ilynka, Barabasha, Lavada and Drovianka.

SPASSKY DISTRICT

The Reds have grouped themselves about the villages Vladislavka, Sivakovka, Chernigovka, Monastyrishe, Halkidon, whose population is on the side of the Reds. Under our fire the Reds have fled to the mouth of the River Lefa.

HABAROVSK

Fighting goes on in the northern settlements of Poletninskoye, Viatskoye and Veselyi Kut with Red bands there.

IMAN REGION

Reds attacked the village Donskoy, but were defeated and put to flight.

GRODEVOK REGION

Encounter took place between our troops and the Reds and Hunhuzy (Chinese bandits), near the settlements of Poltavka, Mussine, and Novo-Devitza.

NIKOLSK-USSURIYSK REGION

Our patrol was fired upon by Reds in the settlement of Linevichevo.—*Priamourye*.

August 3

AMUR PROVINCE

On July 28th about 20 Reds appeared in Kanichy, 40 miles east of Alexeevsk. That same day 40 Reds invaded Pokorovka, a small village east of Mazanov.

On July 29th, two Japanese detachments at Debrianka were shot up by the Bolsheviks near the eastern side of the Zeya railroad bridge.

In the Pahirew district along the upper course of the Bureya river 40-50 revolutionists were found by our troops.

August 3

TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

Nerchinsk Region. Serious skirmishes with large numbers of Bolsheviks are going on in this district, government of Transbaikali.

—*Priamourye*.

August 5

IRKUTSK PROVINCE

On July 30th a band of about 50 Bolsheviks attacked station Budagovo.—*Golos Primorya*.

August 7

AMUR PROVINCE

August 7.—Amur Railroad. The Amur railroad line is of late open to frequent Bolshevik attacks. July 12th, the Amour Railroad between Bureya and Zavityaya was destroyed. July 22nd, a Bolshevik band attacked the Krasnaya Pad sta-

tion on the Amur railroad line, July 24, Employees of the Amur line between Hubarovsk and Bochkarevo (about 65 versts) fled to the Arhar and Uril stations before the Red advance. The track fell into the hands of the Reds. July 25th, about 40 Reds appeared on the 214 verst of the line, destroyed the telephone and left on a seized locomotive. July 26th, the Reds destroyed the railroad line between Alexeevsk and Belonogovo.

July 27.—Near Nikolsk the rails were torn off and two telephone poles chopped down.

July 31st.—50 Reds came to Oldoy. They left next day accompanied by railroad employees and instruments to destroy the railroad line.

August 1st.—A Japanese detachment discovered 10 Reds on the left bank of the Zeya river. The next morning Japanese troops attacked 50 Reds near the Yellow Yar, (Zholty Yar.)

—*Golos Primorya*.

August 12

MARITIME PROVINCE

August 12.—Our troops are successful in the Shkotov, Razdolinsk and Nikolsk districts. In the Suchan region our troops, together with a Japanese detachment, have seized a number of vehicles belonging to the Reds, ammunition, telephone and telegraph apparatus, etc.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie*.

August 12

AMUR PROVINCE

August 12th.—The detachment operating between the rivers Zeya and Bureya has cleared the district south of the railroad.

Late uprisings by the Bolsheviks were frequent throughout the Amur region, especially along the river Zeya where their central staff is located, in the Mazanovo village with about 600 Bolsheviks. Along the Amur railroad line there are about 400 men and in the Reyichikha village district about 500. These have formed into small groups and are scattered throughout the province always in touch with the bands operating in the direction of Habarovsk. The existing Russian military guards are not sufficient, the militia cannot cope with the Reds.

On July 25th about 40 Reds appeared along the Londok-Birakan railroad tract.

July 30th Reds burnt two wooden bridges on Amur railroad between Bochkarevo and Alekseyevsk. Communication stopped between the two stations. In the battle under Bakhirevo the staff of the Zavitsinsky district was taken.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie*.

TOBOLSK PROVINCE

It is reported under date of August 2 that in the district of Tara a Bolshevik company of 250 men have been troubling the rear of the Kolchak forces.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie*.

August 13
AMUR PROVINCE

August 13th.—July 25th, the Reds recruited about 3,000 young men in the Bobryanka north of Belonogovo.

August 4th, about 50 Reds were recruiting men in the village Arkadia-Semenovskoye. Large numbers of Reds are coming to Nikolaevsk from Blagoveshensk and Habarovsk.

August 5th, about 30 Bolsheviks were seen near Belonogovo with two guns.

August 6th, the Reds were in the village Slavianska, 3 versts east of Spasskoye.

The Japanese troops came across 50 Bolsheviks in the forest near Slavianska.

Budun District.—On August 8th a Japanese detachment engaged in battle with 400 Reds in the western part of the Amur region district of Budun. A railroad bridge was burnt and 4 telegraph posts cut down between Alexeevsk and Belonogovo.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 15
AMUR PROVINCE

Amur Railroad. The activities of the Reds, who are burning wooden bridges, and lack of locomotives and hindering the repair of the Amur railroad track.—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 16
YENISEYSK PROVINCE

August 16th.—Kansk-Svishevo railroad line district. August 2d an expedition was sent to clear out the district of the villages Petrovskaya, Innokentievskaya, Nayskoye and Verkhne-Rybinskoye.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 16
MARITIME PROVINCE

August 16.—In the Shkotov region 30 Cossacks surprised and captured 22 Reds in Novo-Bessarabia, Crimea and Dunay region.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 16
AMUR PROVINCE

August 16th.—The northern Russo-Japanese detachment has cleared the region between the Zeya and Bureya rivers of the Bolsheviks. Only two Bolshevik bands have resumed operations in the Alexeevsk region.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 16
TRANSBAIKAL PROVINCE

August 16th.—The Reds have begun to concentrate their forces south of the Nerchinsk mill.

The Reds have now been pushed back northward by Chief Semenov's detachment co-operating with the Japanese.

The Nerchinsk mill, the station Argunskaya, the Ducharsky district, Zerentoy Kozulinskoye and Godymboi have been cleared of Reds.

There was a battle at Potoskuya.

The Bolsheviks have increased their scouting activities around the Nerchinsk mill up to Shelopugino.—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

August 17
YENISEYSK PROVINCE

August 17th.—Krasnoyarsk. July 30th an armed uprising broke out among the Russian garrison and war prisoners at the military town.

—*Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie.*

The Key to the Russian Situation

By B. G.

ÆSOP'S fable of the wolf and the lamb has found its counterpart in the attitude of the interventionists toward Soviet Russia. "Why are you creating disorder," howled the interventionists, from the very first bent on forcing intervention. "We are not creating disorder," the Soviets replied. "On the contrary, we are building our governmental structure on the basis of order and true proletarian democracy." "Well, in any case you have stopped fighting Germany," said the interventionist wolves. "But Russia stopped fighting Germany even under Kerensky, because the corrupt officials of the Czar had exhausted the resources of the country." "We are going to intervene anyway in order to protect the westward-moving Czechoslovaks* from attacks." And without much more ado, the interventionists sent huge armies into Russia to attack a peaceful population bent upon preserving the friendship of the entire world.

To be sure, there is a slight digression from the original fable. The interventionists themselves,

who originally included nobody else but Russian bondholders and émigré nobles, had no army of their own. To carry out their policy, they had to persuade the Allied and American governments to send the Allied and American armies to serve their own wolfish purposes. They took advantage of the preoccupation on all sides with the war with Germany to spread falsehoods about Russia, to persuade the Allied and American governments to believe that the Bolsheviks were in the pay of

*Secretary Baker's innocent remark in his report about the American troops in Siberia quite naively gave away the interventionist case. The ostensible purpose of the Czechoslovaks to get to the French front via Vladivostok was not impeded by the Soviets—in fact, the Soviets co-operated fully in this effort, as Ludendorff, in his memoirs, which the *New York World* publishes, laments. To Ludendorff it was treachery on the part of the Soviets, but the Soviets always desired to help as fully as lay in their power the Allied effort against German militarism and imperialism. But if the Czechoslovaks were moving "Westward," as Secretary Baker says, it was not to fight Germany but the Russian people.

Germany, and through these means got them to commit themselves to a policy of which they had never dreamed. The interventionists not only fooled the various governments into giving credence to the manufactured reports about Russia, but they fooled even the peoples of these countries, without whose passive consent the governments would not have dared embark upon such a dangerous policy. Particularly was this the case with the American people, among whom perhaps more than anywhere else exists a deep sympathy for the peoples all over the world who are struggling for democracy and justice. The American people took no part in the attempt of the European powers to crush the French Revolution, and were it not for their physical weakness as a nation at that time, they might have even gone to the aid of the struggling revolutionists.

If the American people had been informed of the facts, as they are now informed, they would never have given their consent to the ill-advised expeditions to Archangel and Siberia. Unfortunately, the remark of Colonel House, that Mr. Bullit quotes to the effect that President Wilson has a single-track mind and was too much occupied with the subject of Germany to be able to pay the proper attention to Russia, applies with equal force to the American people. The American people applied all their energies, all their thoughts to the immediate task of winning the war with Germany. They did not have the time to inform themselves properly about Russia, and when a number of smooth-tongued propagandists told them that Bolshevism was a branch of German imperialism they believed it, and allowed the troops conscripted for the war with Germany to be used against Russia. The American people were not the only people to be so taken in. All the Allied nations succumbed to the poison-gas of the Russian émigré propaganda. The Czecho-Slovaks were deluded into thinking that they were fighting German agents when they were really fighting the Soviets. A number of the moderate Socialist and bourgeois leaders in Russia also fell under the spell of the belief that the Bolsheviki were in the pay of the Kaiser, and for a very short while acquiesced in—mind you, not invited—Allied intervention.

But now the eyes of all the world have been opened to the truth. German imperialism is now overthrown, thanks partly to the assistance rendered by Bolshevik revolutionary propaganda in Germany. There can be no doubt of that, for do not the German military leaders—Ludendorff, Hoffmann and Hindenburg admit it? The whole world today has seen the truth of the gigantic conspiracy engineered by a few interested financiers and runaway nobles for the strangling of the new Russia. The whole world is indignant at the unsavory machinations of the infamous gang who were behind the interventionist movement. But how to make amends? The Czecho-Slovaks, when they discovered their mistake, when they found out that they were fighting not for democracy and a constitutional assembly in Russia, but for the restoration

of the old regime in Russia, rebelled. They refused to fight, and Kolchak had to withdraw them from the battle-line, as they were already contaminating his own conscripted troops. President Masaryk, who felt himself more or less responsible for the whole Czecho-Slovak adventure, has protested forcibly against the continuation of intervention in Russia. The moderate Socialists of Russia, when they learned the truth, put aside their doctrinal differences with the Bolsheviki and rallied to the defense of the Revolution against the reaction and restoration of Kolchak and Denikin. The whole world stands amazed by the determined stand of the Red Army, surrounded as it is on all sides by numerically greater troops, plentifully equipped with munitions and supplies from France, England and America. The explanation of this feat is simple. All the population of Russia stands united behind the Soviet Government in its fight against the foreign foe.

The labor movements in all countries, as soon as the war with Germany was finished, began their unceasing campaign against intervention. Italian laborers, six months ago, put an embargo against munitions for the counter-revolutionists of Russia, and since that time not a single gun has been sent from Italy to Kolchak or Denikin. The British Trades Unions and the French Confederation of Labor have held repeated protests against the continuation of the insane policy against Russia. . . . This is how these peoples, and these movements are making amends for damage done against the Russian Revolution. Will not America do her part in making amends?

But how? What is to be done? These are the questions that the American public, disgusted with the entire Russian policy, are asking of one another. The mothers and fathers of the American boys in Siberia and in Archangel are sending memorials to Congress, and to the Secretary of War, but apparently without avail. It would appear that the commitments already entered into by the American government with the Allies and with the counter-revolutionary factions of Russia block the way. It would appear that the American government is tied hand and foot by these commitments and seeming obligations. Nobody seems to know how to cut the Gordian knot. Nobody in practical-minded America—the America that is famed for its ability to cut through meshes of red tape—seems to know how to put an end to an obsolete policy, which is costing the country hundreds of millions of dollars and hundreds of lives of her best manhood—and a policy which is costing the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent little children in the interior of Russia. Thomas W. Lamont, one of the greatest of American bankers, writes in the *Atlantic Monthly* that the Russian question is the crux to the peace of the world, but can offer no practical suggestions as to how this question can be solved. Russia must heal herself, he says in effect. Does he mean that Russia must heal herself by fighting the blockade and the mercenary enemies on thirteen fronts?

Does a doctor cure a wounded soldier by sending him out to the front line to encounter new shot and shell?

Even American liberal papers—those that are not distinctly radical—are bankrupt of practical suggestions as how to get America out of Russia. A whole nation of a hundred million people wants to extricate itself from the Russian muddle, but cannot find a responsible leader wise enough to direct her how to extricate herself! The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic does not want to interfere in the internal affairs of America, but in a matter of such vital importance to both republics, might perhaps make some blunt, but pertinent, suggestions. *If the peculiar genius of the American Constitution is the established system of checks and balances, the system whereby the legislative and executive departments mutually co-operate to prevent mistakes, then surely it is time for the legislative department to take in hand the Russian policy of President Wilson and revise it in accordance with the desires of the vast majority of the American people.*

The American Senate, it would appear at this writing, has practically decided to amend the peace treaty with Germany, in order, as it thinks, to make it conform more with the wishes of the American people. In doing this, it will disregard the commitments entered into—or at least it will revise these commitments—by the executive branch of the American Government with the executive branches of the Allied governments. This is within the constitutional power of the Senate. It is similarly within the constitutional power of the American Congress as a whole, through its control of appropriations, to revise the commitments entered into by the executive department in regard to the Russian policy. The executive department—the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War—are bound by an understanding with Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Baron Makino not to revise the Russian policy except through joint action. No such understanding binds the American Congress, which merely by passing a rider on an appropriation bill can prevent the further use of American troops in Siberia or in Archangel, or the further expenditure of American money for the diabolical purposes of Kolchak and Denikin.

So much for the feasibility and constitutionality of such action. Let us take up the other factors which might enter into it. The press agents of Kolchak in this country are harping upon the solemn obligations which the American Government has entered into with his government. America, say these upholders of the sanctity of international obligations, cannot withdraw her troops without violating her solemn word given in the letter of the "Big Four" to Admiral Kolchak. Very well, for the sake of argument we will grant that a contract is a contract even if entered into with the devil himself. But has Admiral Kolchak, the appointee of the Czar and the great exponent of

righteousness—has he lived up to his side of the contract? He has not. At the very time when Kolchak and his cohorts were accepting help from the Allies, they were intriguing with the junker element in Germany. Under the guise of recruiting an army from among the Russian prisoners in Germany, Sazonoff made an arrangement with Noske and Erzberger to recruit an army of Germans led by German officers. The Von der Goltz Army, which was ravaging the Baltic provinces, is a part of that army for the restoration of the old regime in Russia. There are detachments, less advertised, which have landed in Lithuania after Von der Goltz. They are fully equipped with all the modern appliances of war and include an aeroplane division. The recruiting of this army, with the consent of the junker elements in the present German Government, means only one thing. If Kolchak is successful and overthrows the government of the Soviets, Russia and Germany will act as one. And it will not be a democratic Russia and a democratic Germany, but it will be a Kolchak Czarist Russia and a Noske-Erzberger Imperial Germany. Let the American people and the American Government ponder over this.

Besides intriguing with Germany, the Kolchak-Denikin crowd of Czarist reactionaries have also been intriguing with Japan. They have pointedly let the American and Allied Governments understand that if their troops are withdrawn, they will throw themselves into the arms of Japan. And yet a number of Americans fear that in revising their Russian policy and safeguarding the interests of justice and humanity, they might offend Kolchak and the sanctity of international relations!

The press propagandists for Kolchak in America, so far from denying the intrigues of their chief with Japan, do not hesitate to use them as a club to force the United States to keep her troops in Siberia. Thus J. W. Landfield, in a recent article of his, presses both the argument of obligation to Kolchak and the threat of retaliation by Kolchak. These two arguments should in the minds of all sensible persons neutralize each other. Let America first adopt a policy in accord with its own enlightened self-interest and in accord with the enlightened interests of humanity. If then there are any after-results in the way of an alliance of spite between Kolchak and Japan, the American Government ought to be able to protect its interests in due course of time.

And as for the troops of the other nations in Siberia and North Russia, once America withdraws her soldiers, the others too, will be withdrawn in short order. Without American supplies and the moral backing of American troops, the other nations could not prosecute their interventionist policy. Before the program of intervention was agreed upon, American consent and co-operation had to be obtained. Once the same American consent and co-operation is withdrawn, the other powers will have to abandon intervention.

With intervention of course, is included the blockade. American manufacturers made hundreds of millions of dollars worth of contracts with the Soviet Government, and are waiting only for the lifting of the blockade before shipping and receiving payment for their goods. The blockade has never been legally declared against Russia, and

if American troops are withdrawn, no power on earth could stop American business men from selling their wares in Petrograd, Kola or Archangel.

The key of the Russian situation is in the hands of the American Congress. By a stroke of their hand, they can free the United States, they can free Russia.

A Legacy of Hardship

By Z. SOLOVIOV

Izvestia, April 13, 1919.

AMONG the opponents of the Soviet power there is a favorite manner of trying to discredit it—to accuse the Government of all the hardships from which the people suffer. It is alleged to be guilty of the fact that famine is undermining the young Socialist Republic; the railroad catastrophe is due to it; it was the government that caused the appearance of the cholera epidemic; and of course, it is only the government that is to blame for the spotted typhus epidemic, etc.

The most average citizen, who is not fooled by these impossible statements, knows very well that the cholera and the spotted typhus are old acquaintances of ours, our old enemies. For decades, from year to year, they gathered large harvests in the working men's quarters and the huts of the peasants. Both cholera and spotted typhus are a legacy from the overthrown czarism, from the dying bourgeois society.

Like all social diseases, cholera and spotted typhus are the unavoidable shadows of oppression, slavery, poverty, and exploitation. And only men of short memory, clouded by hatred against the Soviet Government, can forget this, can forget that almost on the eve of the October Revolution, waves of cholera and typhus surged over all of Russia.

It is useful to recall this once more.

Spotted typhus is an old acquaintance of ours. There was not a single year of famine in czaristic Russia, which was not crowned by an epidemic of spotted typhus. The well-remembered famine of 1902-1903 yielded in two years, 332,904 cases of spotted typhus. In the bad harvest years of 1908 and 1909, there were about 280,000 cases of spotted typhus. The imperialistic war brought with it a new epidemic of spotted typhus. During the war, which tortured the people worse than any famine, the results of the torture could be well seen in the fact that only in the one year, 1916, more than 150 thousand people fell sick with spotted typhus.

There is nothing marvelous in the fact that the same epidemic continued to affect the country in the following years also. The masses of the people cannot recover very quickly from such staggering affairs as wars.

Who are those who are most affected by spotted typhus? There is only one answer to this question—all those on whom the yoke of bourgeois contradictions falls most heavily; all those who are sucked dry by the Moloch of Capitalism, "while

there is a single nerve, a drop of blood, a single muscle to be sucked."

Science has established the fact that contagious diseases develop best among those whose organism is weakened and cannot fight the contagion. And everybody knows that such a weakening of the organism depends on the conditions among which a human being lives, on his food, on the amount of work he does, on the amount of rest he takes, on the character of his dwelling, etc. It is equally well known that the organism of man is weakened from overwork in badly ventilated buildings, from continuous undernourishment, from living in poor quarters. All this is a portion of the sad privilege of the city and country proletariat.

Bearing from childhood the germs of all diseases—tuberculosis, ricketts, scrofula—the young workman, when he goes to the factory, becomes the prey of all the evil consequences of factory work. Driven to the outskirts of the city, the prey of continual exploitation, poisoned by factory air, partly a victim of alcoholism, he is a fertile field for spotted typhus.

Look at the following figures. Their language is more eloquent than any description.

In Moscow, during 1909-1918, 14 people fell sick with spotted typhus in the Myasnitskaya faubourg, 20 in the Gorodskaya, 118 in the Hamovnicheskaya, 286 in the Mestchanskaya.

In Petrograd in 1900-1906, 30 out of 10,000 fell sick in the faubourg of Alexander Nevsky; and only 4 in 10,000 in the faubourg of the Admiralty.

What do these figures say? Hamovnicheskaya and Mestchanskaya faubourgs in Moscow, and that of Alexander Nevsky in Petrograd are working men's quarters, populated mostly by the poor of the city; the faubourgs of Gorodskaya and Myasnitskaya in Moscow and that of the Admiralty in Petrograd are populated by the bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and nobility. And it is evident that spotted typhus makes its permanent home in the working men's quarters, sparing those of the rich.

There is nothing wonderful in the fact that during the above mentioned years, the poor in Petrograd contributed 95% of all cases of sickness; the small bourgeois, 3.5%; and the rich only 0.8%. The inhabitants of night-lodgings made up 82% of all the sick.

Even now, if you want to know where spotted

typhus is most prevalent, you will find it in the working men's quarters. In Moscow, in Petrograd, and all over, even as in the past, the first to fall before spotted typhus by the thousands are the inhabitants of the working men's quarters. The proletarian living in these quarters has not yet been able to live down his capitalist legacy. Century-long slavery and oppression continue to demand their harvest. Many thousands of workmen still live in cellars and attics. The organism of the workman, weakened by capitalism, has not become strong enough to fight very successfully with contagion. The Angel of Death still walks in the suburbs of the cities and points at the dwellings of workmen with his terrible hand.

Is it not clear how ridiculous, foolish and hypocritical it is to talk of the responsibility of the

Soviet Government for spotted typhus?

We have received a legacy of hardship from the fallen bourgeois order, and with it all its deep-rooted chronic diseases. Their curing must take a long time; it must be done by those radical means, which are brought by the Socialist order.

The living conditions of the working masses must be made more healthful, and this is not an easy thing to do, but there are no other ways to do it, and there cannot be. The struggle with spotted typhus cannot be disconnected or torn away from the social order of Socialist Russia.

Only the working men and working women themselves, the red guards and peasants, will be able to do anything serious to combat spotted typhus. Only their mass action in this work will assure its success.

A Wretched Practice

BY MICHAEL GOREV

Izvestia, April 16, 1919

SERGIUS of Radonezh was one of those "saints" whose worship, but a very short time ago, was widespread in Russia.

His tomb in the faubourg of Sergeyev was the central point of all church life in Central Russia. In the Troitzko-Sergeyev monastery, whither the superstitious brought their last hard-earned kopeks, there had been accumulated an untold amount of wealth; here was the home of the Moscow Spiritual Academy, a huge publishing house which issued "spiritually deadening" literature, here there was a printing plant with machines that were the last word in the art, etc.

This exploiting order, headed by the members of a dynasty which was later deposed by the people, recognized in the person of Sergius its friend and protector. Sergius—as he is depicted in church prayers—is the symbol of the "national union of the fatherland." Here at the foot of his "incorporeal" relics, politicians buried by the great October Revolution received inspiration and were "illuminated by new fires."

So the church assembly conducted by the Olsufievs, Rodziankos and Troubetskoys, in the very first days of its existence, decided to conduct a pilgrimage to the Troitsko-Sergeyev monastery. Kornilov, who thought to overthrow Revolutionary Russia in August, prayed here; here also, several days before their attempt to become the "saviors" of their country, Germogen and Patriarch Tikhon prayed.

The simple, obscure, ignorant people went to Troitsko-Sergeyev in great crowds, moved by the legends spread by the monks, of the wonder power of the relics and also of their "incorporeality."

What a mass deception was revealed by the opening of the relics of the saint to public view on April 11th! Archimandrite Kronid, the abbot of

the monastery, in the assembly room of the Moscow Spiritual Academy, before the entire crowd that had gathered to witness the opening of the relics, stated that they had never been seen by anybody since the day of their solemn sanctification, which, as is well known, took place in 1422, thirty years after the death of Sergius. Then how did it come about that in the skull of the "saint" there was found a package of reddish hair wrapped in wax paper which was doubtless of recent origin?

It is self-evident that the relics had been opened at some time; it is self-evident that there had been a moment when the "princes" of the church, hiding from the gaze of the layman crowd, opened even this half-rotted skull and these putrefied human bones. The history of the monastery tells us that in 1907 there was a fire near the tomb of Sergius.

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Then the relics were opened and even carried to the altar.

Patriarch Tikhon, as the head of the monastery, and his viceroy, Archimandrite Kronid, and countless hosts of other church dignitaries, knew very well what lay in the tomb, but all of them lied to the people, talking of "incorporeality," because otherwise they would have been shorn of their power of hypnosis, of their tremendous riches, their vast moneys which flowed in a golden river to the walls of the monastery.

The grave of the "saint" was necessary to these black-robed merchants only because it helped them to hold in their grip the dark masses and exploit the national ignorance. If it were not for the tomb, the people would not have followed these blind leaders, with whom words were so often far from deeds, who in the open were holy men, but—alas—in private—charlatans.

And the happier and gayer the monastic life became behind the walls of the monastery, the deeper the streams of madeira and tokay which consoled these holy brethren, the more veils and many-colored bags did they take to put on the "incorporeal" body, with their trembling hands. The instinct of self-preservation is not strange even to those who wear black robes.

It was worth while to see the utter helplessness of the monks as they were getting ready for the opening of the relics, how frightened were the eyes of the deacons who prayed for the last time before the "unopened" mystery.

On the day before the opening, I was in the cathedral. I clearly saw the skull, which rested as if on a pillow, and the outlines of the body in the coffin, which seemed to be really "incorporeal." Evidently the monks had taken everything into consideration. Even the smallest detail had been prepared. They were masters of the affairs of the grave.

On the next day began the opening of this "mystery" of the grave, which had held the people in a religious frenzy for five centuries. And as the hierarch Iona, all red with excitement, with the cross of St. George tattooed on his breast, for he had been a sailor, lifted one veil after the other, with measured movements of his hands, ripping

with scissors the innumerable colored bags in which rested the cotton-covered bones—the impatience of the crowd grew, and the heads of the monks fell lower and lower.

And when the bones were opened to view, the crowd could hardly restrain its wrath against those who not long ago had told them of the holiness and "incorporeality" of the relics.

The crowd, the very crowd which only a moment before the opening sang prayers in religious ecstasy to the saint before the walls of the monastery, the crowd which was waiting for a dreadful miracle, which it hoped would kill those who had dared to open the relics, this crowd now stood as if lost. There was no miracle. There was no "incorporeal" body. The crowd had come with the fire of faith burning in its heart, but when going away, many cursed the age-long oppressors of the people.

The representatives of districts, which had been, up to the opening of the relics, neither hot nor cold on the religious question, once the relics had been opened, sent a collective petition to the Executive Committee.

"We demand that the relics be left in their present condition as long as possible. We will explain the matter to the peasants. Let them come and see things with their own eyes."

But every right-thinking person, even if he is a believer in the orthodox creed, must at last understand, that man is the desecrator of the memory of this or that saint, who did not even spare the bones of the dead, who made them the means of securing gain, who today, in his pursuit of the worldly dollar, sang at the grave with the voice of a hypocrite—"Now, like the sun that hath arisen, have thy bones arisen from the earth, and their odor is like that of many flowers," and on the morrow spent the night in wild orgies with evil women behind the walls of the monastery.

But he who exposed this century-long deception of the people, who put an end to the speculation on the religious feelings of the people—who did not allow the monks to laugh at the poverty and ignorance, happily, of late, of not very many people, who said in a strong voice to these men, to these worldly hypocrites—"Put your cards on the table"—he is not a desecrator.

K O R I B U

By FOMA OPISHKIN

Translated from the Russian by L. Z.

A PALE young man stepped into my office, glancing furtively about him. He stopped at the door and, his whole body trembling, remained there staring at me.

"Are you the editor?"

"Yes, the editor."

"Honestly?"

"Upon my word."

He remained silent, looking at me frightend.

"What do you wish?" I asked.

"Joking aside . . . are you really the editor?"

"Be assured. Of course I am. Have you anything to communicate to me? Or perhaps you have brought a manuscript?"

"Don't ruin me!" exclaimed the young man. "If you say a word of this to anyone, I am lost."

He searched in his pockets, found a scrap of paper, threw it upon my desk, and made a quick movement towards the door.

I snatched his arm, pushed him away from the door, pulled him into a corner, and, turning the key in the lock, exclaimed sternly:

"Oh, no, my dear, you are not going yet. Who knows what kind of a paper you may have thrown upon my desk."

The young man fell helplessly upon my couch and burst into a storm of bitter tears.

I unfolded the paper he had thrown upon my desk.

This is the strange thing I found written upon it:

"Disorder in Africa.

"The statement made by several conservative people to the effect that affairs on the western bank of the Kongo are not running as smoothly as they should, and that the petty native princes are abusing their power and authority with their subjects—all this is not without foundation. Not long ago, in the district of Delibum (village of Khukhuri-Mukhri) the following took place, showing how far these sun-scorched sons of the distant Kongo are from understanding European Law and Order:

"The chief of the tribe of Beri-Beri, one Koribu, sitting in the council of government officials, was informed that his adjutant, Musaki, had not been permitted to enter a dance-hall where the subjects of Koribu were making merry. Without inquiring into the affair, the petty prince Koribu dashed off to the hall, drove out all those present, and, closing up the place, plastered the doors with the sticky juice of the aloe. Later it was discovered that the adjutant was at fault, but this is not the point. The question really is: How long are these unfortunate, sun-scorched natives going to tolerate the absolute autocracy and the wild orgies of a petty prince like Koribu? This is, indeed, a matter to which the serious attention of Norway should be brought!"

I turned sternly to the young man, who, weakened by his tears, was lying still on my couch.

"Do you want me to print this?"

"Yes," with a timid nod.

"We will never print such nonsense! Who of our readers, do you suppose, would be interested in the inhabitants of this Kongo, or your aloe-juice, or their peculiar dance-halls, or Prince Koribu? Just think how important this must be to us Russians!"

He rose from the couch, took my hand, put his face near mine, and whispered hoarsely:

"I will confess, then. This was written about Tolmatchov of Odessa, and how he dispersed the meeting of the nobility."

"What nonsense and absurdity," I roared in anger. "Why all this duplicity? Why drag the affair way off to the Kongo, plaster up a door with the foolish juice of the aloe, when all was so simple—just write about the affair in Odessa and openly

tell of Tolmatchov's conduct. Besides, you've bluffed a lot, telling of things that never happened. Where did you learn that Tolmatchov was sitting in any 'council of government officials?' He simply drove up to the place at three o'clock in the morning, from a cabaret, and dispersed the meeting of the nobility, detaining a colonel, whom, according to the laws, he had no right to arrest. Why, then, this 'council of government officials?'"

"I thought it was safer."

"And what sort of wild mad-cap fiction is this: He plastered up the door with the sticky juice of the aloe? Why not plainly—sealed it up?"

"But then, they might have realized that it was Tolmatchov,"—the young man winked.

"Your pardon," said I, "but there is another passage, all the more monstrous because of its absurdity and folly. Here it is: 'This is indeed a matter to which the serious attention of Norway should be brought.' With your hand on your heart, tell me, why Norway?"

The young man placed his hand over his heart, and replied ingenuously:

"But then someone might have understood that this is Tolmatchov, after all. We'd catch it then—both of us! While, as it is now—well, let them break their heads guessing. Ha! Ha!"

Tears rose to my eyes.

"Unfortunates, that we are, you and I," I whispered in sobs, embracing the clever young man tenderly. He, too, embraced me.

And thus we stood and wept for a long time.

And our colleagues entered, and learning the reason of our conduct, exclaimed:

"Poor editor! Poor author! Poor we!"

And they, too, wept over their bitter fate.

And the clerk came in, and the cashier, and the boy whose duty consisted in licking the envelopes. And even the boy could not bear the sight of our group, and, opening his sticky mouth, bawled in a heart-rending manner.

And thus we all cried together.

Hey, deputies! To the devil with you! Will you ever pity us? Us—and our bitter cry?

* * *

A Note on the Above Translation

The above appeared in the Menshevik paper "Novaya Sibir" of Irkutsk, and depicts vividly how the Russian press is driven by Kolchak to the use of the Aesopic language.

But the "biggest joke" of all is, that the name of Tolmatchov, which is mentioned, and the city of Odessa, are in themselves part of the Aesop "scheme." Tolmatchov of Odessa has been living in Japan since the February revolution, in complete retirement from politics, having saved enough of his fortune to enable him to live in comfort with his family outside of Russia. What actually happened was this: The notorious Cossack Ataman Semionov had paid a visit to Irkutsk. Some

Russian Generals and Colonels, a little less black than himself, debated the question of his visit as well as his "policy" in the officers' club. On being informed of the affair by one of his numerous spies, who had been re-

fused admission to the club, Semionov appeared upon the scene with a Cossack detachment, closed the club, sealed the doors, and arrested a number of the assembled officers.

The Next Number (No. 21) of

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
HOW BRITISH SOLDIERS ARE FORCED TO FIGHT IN RUSSIA	1	SWEDISH TRADE WITH RUSSIA	10
THE WAR IN RUSSIA (Political & Military Reflections)	2	OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA	
ADDITIONAL REFLECTIONS, UP TO OCT. 21ST	5	AND POLAND	11
IN THE REAR OF KOLCHAK'S ARMY	6	THE RUSSIAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE,	
OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOV-		By Joseph R. Scheftel	12
ERNMENT BUREAU	7	AGAINST UNLOADING BRITISH TANKS	15
EDITORIALS	8	VARIOUS SMALL ITEMS	16

How British Soldiers are Forced to Fight in Russia

The *London Daily Herald*, of August 25th, prints the following article on the treatment of English soldiers who refused to be sent to Russia from Southampton:

GUNS TRAINED ON SOLDIERS EX-SERVICE MEN'S STORY OF THE TROUBLE AT SOUTHAMPTON

AN account of the disturbances at Southampton on Friday evening, which culminated in a number of troops being surrounded by a battalion of soldiers with fixed bayonets and machine guns and driven off to the docks to service abroad, has been supplied to the *Daily Herald* by the Southampton and district branch of the N.F.D.S.S.

"The ground of complaint put forward by the men (says the statement) was as follows:—That the despatch of troops who enlisted prior to July 1, 1916, or who attested under the Derby Scheme, or are under specified age, to any part other than the Army of the Rhine is contrary to War Office orders and to the promises given by the Secretary of State for War in the House of Commons."

After describing how the men assembled outside the offices of the Association and selected a committee, consisting of three men from each unit, to formulate their case in writing, the statement proceeds:

"The G.O.C. of the Garrison, with his staff, and accompanied by the Mayor, arrived on the spot whilst this was being done. The men's representatives were again appealed to by the officers and the Mayor to obey the orders and go on board the

ship in the docks, which they resolutely and unanimously refused to do. After this they were told that the General wished to see the deputation at the Rest Camp.

"He gave his word that there should be no victimization of the men concerned, and on this assurance the deputation marched to the Rest Camp after having obtained the authority of their comrades.

THE G.O.C.'s TERMS

"At midnight their spokesmen returned to the Clock Tower, where the men were assembled, and announced the result of the interview with G.O.C. It was to the effect that, 1, their case as formulated would be sent to the War Office; 2, they were to obey orders and go back to the ship; and 3, no accommodation would be found for them at the Rest Camp for the night. The question as to whether they were prepared to go back on the ship was put to the men and unanimously rejected. This finished our part in the affair, and the men then proceeded to settle down for the night on doorsteps and in the parks.

"In the morning there was the great show of naked bayonets and the deliberate training of Lewis guns on men who considered they had fulfilled their contract to the full.

"In order to obviate the recurrence of these regrettable incidents, we respectfully suggest that the men should be allowed to remain in this country while the points raised are dealt with finally, and in a manner worthy of the civilization which they and we are reputed to have saved."

The War in Russia

(Up to October 17th, 1919.)

POLITICAL AND MILITARY REFLECTIONS

IN 1812, a great crime was committed against humanity. The author of this crime, Napoleon, was punished, and England was his executioner.

In 1914 a new criminal arose over Europe—the Kaiser. This criminal escaped Napoleon's fate; England did not dare to punish him, because she planned a similar crime upon Russia.

The crime of 1919 will be registered by history as a most dreadful crime against humanity and civilization, being committed not by a single tyrant, but by a nation which called itself: "humane" England. . . .

What we foreshadowed in our article "The War In Russia," which appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA of October 11th, has happened: England approached Germany in her fight with Soviet Russia, thus showing her real impotence to overpower the heroic Red Army even with the help of her numerous Allies.

In despair, neglecting all the principles of honor of a great nation, neglecting also the protests of her Allies, England, "alone" has determined to enlist Germany in the enterprise to extirpate the "Soviet form" of government in Russia (*N. Y. American*, October 16th, a telegram from Washington.)

This fact alone will be sufficient to make clear how hopeless must be the strategical situation of the invaders of Russia in spite of all the "victories" of Kolchak, Denikin and the other monsters, "victories" which were continuously created by the London Press Bureau, especially for American consumption.

England looks for co-operation with Germany! It is England who encourages the Germans to go into Russia; the same England who spoke so much about the importance of protecting Russia from German penetration!

It is too much! Such a wanton movement, is beneath criticism: beyond any criticism!

In order to understand the reason for this strange policy of English diplomacy we have to study the recent military events in Russia.*

Fortunately we are in possession of a military map of Russia which we have recently received. This map is very interesting because the front lines of the invaders were marked on it by the aviators of the Soviet Flying Corps at the end of August. This afforded us a possibility to compare the maps which were published in SOVIET RUSSIA with the one recently received. To our very great satisfaction we have noted that the maps previously published by us show very precisely the real disposition of the enemy's forces.

After the confession of Mr. Harold Williams, published in the *New York Times* of October 6th,

in which this British agent described the unsatisfactory position of Denikin's army, which "inspires a possibility of danger," London and Helsingfors started to bombard the American press with communications of such nature that even an experienced military expert is unable to understand what is happening in Russia.

"Lenin has fallen" was said (*The Sun*, Oct. 6th) from Helsingfors; Dzerzhinsky is the new head of the Russian Government, while London sent a despatch to the effect that Lenin was alive and had been thrown into prison because he had ordered the arrest of Trotsky. It was said that terror had been inaugurated in Moscow by a counter-revolutionary party, and on the same day the *Globe* published a cable from Stockholm, saying that the representatives of the Baltic States, in session at Dorpat, have decided to notify Chicherin, Bolshevik Foreign Minister, that the Baltic provinces were willing to open peace negotiations at Dorpat, the terms including the recognition of the independence of these States by Soviet Russia. An answer was requested before October 25, as was reported from Reval. All this was later confirmed.

The situation became alarming for the Allies, because, in case the Baltic provinces had signed a peace treaty with Moscow, the Russian-Allied forces of the Generals Yudenich and Rodzianko (the nephew of the former President of the Russian Duma) which are occupying positions to the east of Lakes Peipus and Pskoff, will be unable to undertake an offensive on Petrograd, which England and France so ardently desired. Therefore a question of great importance has arisen before the Allies: how to stop the coming peace negotiations between the Baltic States and the Soviets?

It certainly was of extreme urgency for the Peace Conference in France to prevent a peace which several nations, exhausted with bloodshed, had decided to establish independently.

The Allies knew very well that Kolchak had for a long time been in negotiation with Germany in regard to military support against the Bolsheviks. They knew well also that the Russian prisoners in Germany were enlisted by force in a new Russian Anti-Bolshevik army which is to reach Estonia in order to join the army of General Yudenich. So, in order to camouflage the real intention of the Allies towards the Baltic Provinces, long and fruitless pourparlers were started with General Von der Goltz, respecting the withdrawal of his army from the Baltic States.

As far as can be ascertained, the real destination of the Russo-German army under Von der Goltz and the Russian General Avaloff-Bermond (there is a rumor that his real name is Prince Oursouff) was to support Yudenich and Rodzianko in their dash on Petrograd. In order to get from Mitau

* Our earlier military accounts, written by the military expert of SOVIET RUSSIA, were published in No. 16, 18 and 19 of SOVIET RUSSIA.

to Narva, Von der Goltz and Avaloff's forces inevitably have to go through Riga. This puts the Allies in a very difficult position: Supposing the Germans under Avaloff to have been stopped by the Allies, and Yudenich, instead of having received a timely support, had been attacked from the rear, then his movement on Petrograd might have been a failure. The movement of the Von der Goltz army through Lettland would have been a real disaster for this little state, which, like the other Baltic states, will lose its independence in case Soviet Russia should be crushed.

France certainly hesitated to permit the German army to join the Russian reactionaries. It was too clear to such a strategist as General Foch that once the German army should be permitted to operate together with reactionary Russia, it would mean the restoration of Prussian militarism throughout all Germany, and this would crush the barely re-established independence of Poland. It was clear enough to France that even in case the Russian counter-revolutionists had been able to restore the monarchy in Russia, even without German aid, such events would have been followed by a Russo-German Alliance and probably a restoration of Kaiserism in Germany. Therefore France is so anxious to create a strong independent Poland as a buffer state between Russia and Germany and has energetically protested to the Von der Goltz plot.

While the notes were issued by General Foch to the German Government, and Berlin was, as usual, doing everything possible to gain time, the Russo-German army started its advance from Mitau to Riga. The consequences of this movement are well known.

The Allies became alarmed, and, as far as we are informed, the Allied Navy was ordered to defend Riga against the advancing Germans. It was said that 50,000 Letts were landed from the British battleships, but, as transpired later, they were British troops. The fall of Riga was reported October 11th.

The German-Russian troops operated under the command of a Russian officer, Colonel Avaloff-Bermont, whose superiority was humbly accepted by the German General. After having accomplished his task, in spite of the alleged intervention of the Allies, Colonel Avaloff-Bermont, with cynical frankness, addressed a note to the German Government expressing Russia's thanks for the "unforgettable service of the German troops in saving the Russian border provinces from Bolshevism."

It seems to us that all these events, which certainly were planned by a certain Entente Power, developed so unexpectedly that neither Yudenich nor General Foch could realize in time what was happening. General Yudenich even called Colonel Avaloff-Bermont a traitor, while General Foch appointed a special international Commission to supervise the "evacuation" of the Baltic provinces by the Germans. More radical measures against

Germany, which is breaking the Peace Treaty, the Allies were unable to apply.

Meanwhile news of a most alarming character reached New York from Siberia and Southern Russia.

According to a cablegram from Stockholm, of October 10th, (*The Evening Sun*, Oct. 11th), the Soviet forces in Ukraine have inflicted a heavy defeat on General Denikin.

Kieff, the capital city of Ukraine was recaptured by the Reds in their advance; this news, which was lately recognized officially, confirmed the despatches received some time ago, as to the uprising in Ukraine and the existence of a state of war between the Ukrainians and Anti-Bolshevik Russians. Taking into consideration the fact that the hostile feeling to Denikin amongst the Caucasian population, and in reality, a serious revolutionary movement in the Caucasus and Trans-Caucasia, whose population is more than 7,000,000, as well as the separation from Denikin of 30,000,000 Ukrainians, put the Denikin army in a very serious position. It was several times reported that Denikin succeeded in covering a part of Russia populated with 40,000,000 people, including Ukraine. He later lost thirty millions of Ukrainians and about six millions of Caucasians from that number, and, even considering that he has lately increased the sphere of his influence, all his strength is now based upon his existing forces, which are not more than 300,000 men, of which number the casualties from the beginning of the present operations must have cost him about thirty per cent. From the population now under his control he will be unable to recruit sufficient reserves to replace even his losses. This is according to Colonel Roustam Bek's statement in the *New York Call* of October 17th, 1919. But we consider this figure to be slightly exaggerated. According to the newspaper *Izvestia*, of Petrograd, of July 31st, 1919, which we have just received, the total strength of the Denikin army was estimated by the Soviet General Staff as 140,000 men, half of which are Kuban Cossacks, Terek and Don voiskos and very few Caucasians (10,000 officers, 70,000 men and 10,000 Caucasians). The copy of *Izvestia* states, that Denikin's losses were very heavy and his army completed mostly by the element whose political ideas were far from adapted to the needs of a counter-revolutionary army. Since this statement, only three months have passed, and in view of the most unfavorable circumstances, it is doubtful that Denikin would have been able to enlist 150,000 fresh men. We are prepared to consider the total forces of the Denikin army as 250,000 men, together with the Allied troops which are at his disposal. Estimating the Southern Anti-Bolshevik army so high as 300,000 men, Col. Roustam Bek said to the *New York Call*: "It was on May 28, 1919, that the *Call* published the information which I very willingly put before your representative. I said that Kolchak's defeat, from a purely military point of view, was inevitable and I was right. I can say with confidence today that

the Denikin adventure in the South of Russia, will not escape the same fate, and consequently, the Allied plot against Russia will be a failure."

In August, Denikin's right flank, operating between the rivers Don and Volga, had gotten as far as Saratov, and, in spite of the fact that his army was superior in technical equipment to the Reds, they succeeded in pushing him back to Tzaritzin, more than 200 miles southward, only for the reason that the Reds were numerically preponderant over their enemy, and that the fighting spirit of the Reds was higher than that of the reactionaries.

Being hard pressed on both extreme flanks, and heavily engaged in the center by the Ukrainians from its rear, having lost so important a strategical and political center as Kieff, and thanks to the hostile Caucasus far in his rear, being unable to retire to the South, Denikin is forced to make every possible effort to advance his center towards the North, hoping that the success of the Northwestern Anti-Bolshevik army may save his position. He knows well that after the first serious check his whole army will collapse immediately, and he is going forward directly into a trap which has been carefully prepared by the Soviet General Staff for the invaders.

The Soviet strategists realized well the situation of their enemy, and, in order to avoid unnecessary losses they are offering him but slight resistance, automatically forming a semicircle and awaiting the more favorable moment to force his army to capitulate. The appearance of the enemy in Orel and even north of Orel did not frighten the Red General Staff because the farther he may penetrate into Russia, the sooner his army will be annihilated.

Realizing the seriousness of Denikin's position, the Allies feverishly started their movement on Petrograd, and even the Germans were invited to support it. According to the wireless from Moscow (*N. Y. Times*, Oct. 12th), Denikin's best general, Maximoff, was killed and Generals Mamontoff and Shkuro were injured, while Generals Guselnikoff and Tetchkin were wounded during the recent fighting south of Orel. The same telegram informed us that the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish army, Dovbor-Musnitsky, was also killed. The loss of six generals suggests that Denikin's army suffered tremendously, and on the other hand we must not forget that Generals Mamontoff and Shkuro were the officers who accomplished the famous raid in the rear of the Soviet army as far as Kozloff and Tambov, and there was even a rumor that their Cossacks had been seen in the Moscow Government. As this wireless was received from Moscow and reached New York from London, we are sure that it underwent considerable alteration from the pen of the British censor, and we are very suspicious that these officers have escaped to fall in the hands of the Soviet army; how then otherwise could the Reds know the names of the wounded and killed Denikin generals? In view of the shortage of officers in the Anti-Bolshevik army, which has several times reported such a loss, must be considered as a heavy blow to the invaders.

Even Harold Williams in the *New York Times* of October 12th, reported that about the end of September the position of the Denikin army was critical. The Reds had driven a wedge through Valuiki and Kapiansk, to the South of Kharkoff. They forced back the Don Army, they drove back the Caucasian army (10,000 Caucasians who are with Denikin), and, using the reinforcements which arrived from Siberia, heavily pressed Denikin's troops. Harold Williams admits that the plan of the Red General Staff "was cleverly conceived by experienced officers." "That plan failed," categorically says Harold Williams. But he does not explain at all how this plan failed. From later news we know that the Reds established themselves at several points in the rear of Denikin's forces, viz. in Zhitomir and Kiev.

We must not forget that a swift advance into enemy country is very dangerous. "The invading army melts like the snow in the spring," said Napoleon. During a civil war the army penetrating too far into the hostile country is more in danger than an advance into a foreign country, and most unexpected surprises might await the invaders. Both lack of severity and extreme severity, lead to the same negative result: uprisings in the rear if sufficient forces are not left to maintain order. Where can Denikin get such forces, having only, say even 300,000 men at his disposal? We must remember also, that ideas cannot be crushed with bayonets.

Taking advantage of the general development of military operations in European Russia, Kolchak started his "victorious" movement from the Tiumen-Ishim line to the southwest, advancing on Kurgan, a town situated on the river Tobol, and on the railway line between Cheliabinsk and Omsk. According to the latest despatches, he is advancing almost without resistance five miles per day. This movement has certainly been expedited by the Soviet General Staff, whose task in Siberia was—to defeat Kolchak and force his army to retreat so far back, that he would be unable at the moment when serious operations would develop in European Russia to support either Denikin or Yudenich. This task was fully accomplished by the Soviet army. At the moment of the final victory over Denikin, Kolchak will perish automatically. The approaching winter is the best protector against a Kolchak advance on the Ural industrial district which is in the hands of the Soviets and it is even foolish to suppose that Kolchak can be considered a menace to Soviet Russia.

Summing up all the news about the military situation in Russia which reached America up to October 14th, and taking into consideration that this news passed through the British censorship, the general impression is in favor of the Soviet army. We were therefore absolutely astonished by the cable from London, which appeared in the *New York Times*, of October 16th. According to this despatch, everything has been lost for the Soviets: "Orel is captured (Orel is 238 miles south of Moscow). The Poles have begun an offensive, the North-Western Russian army is closing in on

Petrograd; the Soviet Government is facing a crisis. Yudenich and Rodzianko expect soon to be in Petrograd. Luga (30 miles from Petrograd) has been captured by the Whites. Denikin is approaching Tula (105 miles from Moscow)—the center of the military industry of the Republic."

The Evening *Sun* of October 15th, published a despatch from Helsingfors, stating that Leon Trotsky, the Soviet Minister, when in Penza, admitted that the Bolsheviki could not withstand a winter campaign and that there is no hope for victory. Another British correspondent, John Pollock, in a cable from Reval (*The Sun*, October 15), reported that the Bolsheviki are everywhere panic-stricken and that there is a wave of patriotic enthusiasm on a front of 100 miles along the way of Yudenich's march . . . and similar rubbish.

This news certainly produced a certain confusion in the minds of the American public. Unfortunately such important news as the resolution of the Finnish Workmen which appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* of October 10th, passed unnoticed by the general public. The Finnish workmen demand the abandonment of the plans for carrying on the war against Soviet Russia and the immediate opening of peace negotiations. If we recall that earlier in the year the same workmen forced their Government to withdraw the Finnish volunteers from the Murmansk railway and practically stopped the military campaign of Finland against the Soviets,—the importance of such a telegram is obvious.

The news published in the New York press on October 17, with the exception of the canard on the "Fall of Petrograd," was very unfavorable for the invaders. The *New York Times* in its editorial on the prospects of the counter-revolutionists is rather pessimistic and the experienced reader could not fail to detect real anxiety for the approaching catastrophe.

Summing up the strategical and political situation of Soviet Russia and her enemies, we have no desire to belittle the gravity of the military situation of Soviet Russia, which is serious enough, as might be expected when we take into consideration that the invaders are making their last effort to crush the Soviet army by a general offensive on all sides. It certainly would prove disastrous for the newborn Republic if the strategical situation on all fronts would be worse than it really is.

In reality the position of the Red army is not such as some newspapers pretend to believe. On the contrary, it is probable that, regardless of their boastful claims, the armies of the anti-Soviet forces are in a desperate position.

We can only admire the determination and the titanic efforts of Soviet Russia, which for two years has been constantly struggling not only for her own freedom but for the freedom of the whole world. Such a nation cannot be beaten. Such a nation must have the most glorious, the most prosperous future.

Additional Reflections

(Up to October 21st)

ACCORDING to the cable from London of October 18, Petrograd is so closely *invested* by the anti-Bolshevik forces, that military experts believe that little short of a miracle could save the hard pressed Bolsheviki. (*The Sun*, Oct. 19.)

From Stockholm we have news that the enemy cavalry is already in Petrograd.

So the Russian capital can by no means be invested, but should rather be considered as already taken. Well, we shall see, and there is no doubt that in the near future the facts will speak for themselves. Now we shall try to draw the attention of our readers to the fact that strategy never recommends an attack on a fortified town or fortress unless the field army of the enemy is defeated and inactive.

The Germans, during their first dash on Paris, did not dare start the siege, not because they did not desire to besiege, but only because General Joffre, by means of very skilful manoeuvres, avoided a decisive battle and withdrew his army intact, while on the eastern German front, the Germans were fiercely engaged by the Russians.

We have also an example in the capture of Prshemysl by the Russians before the Austro-German army was defeated in the field; the result was very bitter for the Russians, who were attacked by the phalanxes of Mackensen and the fallen fortress was retaken.

The same might be the case if the Allies had succeeded in taking Petrograd at this moment.

The Red army in the field is far from being destroyed; on the contrary, it is menacing the main bulk of the Allied invaders, gradually defeating the Denikin group, which, according to the statement of Colonel K. Shumsky, of the Russian Information Bureau, published in the *New York Tribune* (Sunday, October 19), is the main force of the invaders, and Colonel Shumsky authoritatively prophesizes that "the decisive battle for Moscow is destined to take place in the province of Tula."

By the way, we can not pass by in silence some of the prophecies published by this famous military expert of the "Birzhevia Vedomosti" (*Bourse Gazette*) in Petrograd, and reprinted by many English and American newspapers. In March 1915, Colonel Shumsky firmly expressed his belief that the war would be ended in July 1915—he expounded fully his strategical reasons for the statement. He also foresaw that Warsaw would not fall. Several times he repeated that the war would be decided not on the Western front, but on the Eastern (Russian) front, which was more important, both for its length as well as for the more numerous armies engaged on that front.

How right Colonel Shumsky was in all these cases we leave to the judgment of our readers; and it would not be difficult to prove that Colonel Shumsky published them, by looking over the files of the

Bourse Gazette in the Public Library. Now, Colonel Shumsky is foreseeing the imminent failure of the Soviet armies.

In his most mischievous statement he describes the Reds as an undisciplined band without an organized rear and placed in the most unfavorable strategical position, while he does not say a thing about the rear of the advancing enemy. We know in what a state this rear is and we know the reasons why Colonel K. Shumsky is silent about it. We also noted that this famous military expert said that Kieff, the capital town of Ukraine, had been captured by Denikin, and never mentioned that the Soviet army had recently recaptured that town. This was officially recognized by the British War Office, and the recapture occurred in the rear of the Denikin army, which, according to Colonel K. Shumsky, is in perfect order. He does not say a word about the complete collapse of Mamontoff's raid and he does not say anything which can explain to Americans the real military situation in Russia. He accuses the Soviet General Staff of having committed a great strategical mistake in starting the energetic offensive against Kolchak, thus permitting Denikin to invade a great portion of Southern Rus-

sia and recapture the Black Sea ports. Whether this was a mistake or not, coming events will show, but in reality the Reds have become the masters of the richest and most important industrial district of the Ural, which for them was more precious than the undeveloped and devastated Donietz district.

Naturally, being in the service of the Russian Information Bureau, Colonel K. Shumsky has to follow its policy: he must emphasize the importance of what the reactionary press has already recognized.

In conclusion, we may say that, supposing Yudenich might succeed in taking Petrograd, the strategical situation of Soviet Russia will not greatly suffer. The necessity of protecting Petrograd seriously complicates the problem of the Soviet General Staff and yet the city practically has little strategic value, and its fall would have little effect on the morale of the Soviet army, because, as we have repeated several times before, the heart of Russia is Moscow, not Petrograd, and the fall of the latter would have no effect except to support chicanery and speculation in the London and Paris stock exchanges as most of the news posted in the British Press Bureau has done.

In the Rear of Kolchak's Army

From the Moscow *Pravda*, May 21st, 1919.

(The author of this article was in Siberia since the beginning of the Czecho-Slovak adventure and escaped to Soviet Russia in the month of May of this year)

(This article should have been printed with the "Chronological Record" in our last issue, but was omitted through an oversight.)

THE darkest reaction which Kolchak has brought to Siberia has stirred up the Siberian workers and peasants. The punitive expeditions, the Cossack knout, and the fists of the old Czarist gendarmes and policemen brought back by the Kolchak regime, have opened the eyes of the average Siberian peasant. During the last six months Siberia has been aflame with revolutionary uprisings.

Since October last a long series of peasant revolts has swept Western and Eastern Siberia, embracing the provinces of Altay, Akmolinsk, Tomsk, Eniseysk, and Irkutsk. The uprisings bore the broad character of mass action, involving not merely townships, but entire Siberian districts extending vast areas.

The peasantry did not want to pay taxes to Kolchak and to give their sons for the purpose of organizing Kolchak's White Bands. Against the rebellious peasants Kolchak was sending special detachments consisting exclusively of officers and Cossacks who were suppressing the uprisings with the utmost cruelty, sometimes destroying whole villages and shooting hundreds of peasants.

The peasants did not fail to retaliate, taking revenge upon captured "White" officers. Most of the rebellions were crushed. This was to a great extent aided by the severe winter and the lack of ammunition suffered by the rebels.

However, these peasant uprisings have left deep traces, in the form of volunteer detachments which had been organized in the course of fighting and had become closely bound together in the atmosphere of battles. Driven from the scene of the uprising into hidden places and rolling like a snowball, they have been gradually increasing in numbers through the accession of deserters from the ranks of the conscripted Kolchak troops. They have been improving their equipment by the addition of rifles, machine guns, and occasionally light field guns taken from the officers of the punitive detachments. Thus the Red volunteers have been developing their forces and adapting themselves to the extraordinary conditions of warfare.

In the matter of organizing such volunteer detachments an important part has been played by the remnants of the defeated but by no means destroyed Siberian Red Army units which had been operating there last fall. Surrounded by the British, French, American, and Japanese armies of occupation, they forced their way into the Siberian marsh woodlands. Many detachments, penetrated into the woods, and wintered there. These detachments which have retained some of their arms have assumed leadership in the guerilla warfare commenced by the people.

This struggle was pursued with greatest vigor

in Eastern Siberia and in the Far East, which, in the view of the Siberian Soviet spheres, was of the utmost strategic and political importance.

The struggle has been concentrated upon the main Siberian railroad line which was the objective of the volunteer units, because the capture of the line or even a mere interruption of regular traffic would affect the Ural front.

In the eastern part of the province of Tomsk, and in the provinces of Enisseysk and Irkutsk, these objects have been partly realized. The numerous internal fronts within these provinces have been united and brought towards the railroad line, along which the Red forces have succeeded in establishing an almost uninterrupted front between the station of Kamarchaga, 80 versts east of Krasnoyarsk, and the station of Nizhneudinsk—a front of over 200 miles. Backed by the sympathies of the peasant population of that district, the Red volunteers have during the present year gathered a considerable force, with a regularly organized intelligence department, with snow-shoe detachments, and engineering units.

All punitive expeditions which appeared in those places suffered great losses and kept close to the

railroad line. There were also many cases of open desertion of the mobilized Kolchak troops to the side of the Red volunteers.

As a result of these activities trains (chiefly military) were wrecked, explosives intended for the Ural front were blown up, etc. Of late the situation has grown so serious that Kolchak and the Allied command have thrown large forces into that district. Three armored trains are repairing the damaged road and escorting the trains which are invariably fired upon. Two Czech divisions have also been sent there. But the Czechs have long ago lost their desire to fight and the command itself does not put much confidence in them, endeavoring to bring up the more reliable Japanese soldiers.

But, alas! the Japanese are bound hand and foot by the operations of the Red volunteers in the Trans-Baikal, Amur and Maritime provinces. They absolutely refuse to move west of Lake Baikal, leaving it to their Allies, the Americans and the British who fail to display any considerable casualties on the Siberian fronts, preferring to have others fight it out among themselves.

As to the Red volunteers of the Far East—we will take that up next time.

Official Statement on the Military Situation

(Received from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, too late to be printed in our last issue.)

IN the interest of truth we find it necessary once again to warn the American public against placing too much faith in the present sensational press campaign depicting alleged anti-Soviet victories.

The total absence in the alleged news dispatches of official communications from the Soviet Government is an additional reason for not taking the printed stories at their face value. It is admitted by every informed person that the Soviet Government with absolute frankness keeps the world informed as to events in Russia, regardless of whether the news is favorable or unfavorable to the Soviet Government. The foreign office of Soviet Russia sends every day wireless communications containing such information. These communications daily reach the United States as well as other countries. In most cases the news is never given out to the public except when it contains admission of some reverses. The fact that no such information is given out now, clearly shows that alleged dispatches from London, Copenhagen, Stockholm and other notorious centers of lying propaganda against Soviet Russia do not state the facts of the situation.

But even on the face of such reports, which emanate from sources hostile to the Soviet Government, it is obvious that there is not an irresistible advance of the counter-revolutionary forces. While it may be true that Orel has been taken by Denikin's forces, it is admitted in the same dispatches that Denikin's army is hard pressed on its right flank, having been compelled to abandon vast territories to the southeast of Orel, and it is

known that Denikin's rear is menaced by revolts. It is also admitted by opponents of Soviet Russia that Denikin is meeting with obstinate opposition and severe reverses not only in the territory around Kiev, but southwest and north of Kiev.

In view of these admitted facts the situation seems to be that Denikin's advance to Orel, where the Soviet Government was not prepared to place sufficient forces in the field because of the more important general offensive against Denikin's right flank, is nothing but a panicky result of his being desperately pressed on both flanks. This pressure may result in the encircling of such Denikin forces as have advanced along a narrow line to the north. They are obviously in imminent danger of being caught far away from their bases and thus face utter destruction.

The reports of the alleged advance of the counter-revolutionary forces in the north also are singularly untrustworthy. The only significant thing about this news is that it shows the boundless hypocrisy of the British pretensions of opposition to the German Baltic junkers. General Yudenich, the commander of the so-called north-western Russian army, is nothing but a tool of Von der Goltz and other Baltic junkers, who, together with Russian reactionaries of the Yudenich, Denikin and Kolchak type, are striving to reestablish monarchy in Russia. Von der Goltz has been kept in the Baltic with the connivance of Britain. The British played a double game—on one hand trying to create a barrier against Soviet Russia

(Continued on page 9)

SOVIET RUSSIA

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About Russia

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THE main driving force of the present campaign against Soviet Russia is a desperate attempt to interrupt at any cost the peace negotiations with the Baltic states. The campaign will not succeed. The Russian workers as well as the workers in the Baltic provinces understand the real significance of this criminal attempt, and the Soviet Government is prepared to thwart all attacks.

There is also another very important reason for the desperate efforts to extend the starvation blockade by asking the cooperation of Germany and the neutrals. Many commercial interests long ago lost patience with the Allied policy towards Soviet Russia, which was not only bringing untold suffering to the Russian people but was also destructive of commercial peace throughout the world. Within the past two months business men in many countries, and especially in America, have taken definite steps to open trade with Soviet Russia. They were bringing increasing pressure upon all the governments to allow the free resumption of commercial intercourse. Something had to be done to check these negotiations by those to whom the destruction of Soviet Russia appears more important than any considerations either of humanity or common sense.

Finally, the laboring masses in the Allied countries and in Germany were becoming more and more insistent in their protests against the criminal and senseless war upon the Russian workers. Their dissatisfaction resulted in mass demonstrations everywhere and in the refusal to load supplies for the Russian monarchists. The lies and evasions with which such demonstrations have been answered were being exposed and it became increasingly

difficult to prevent the spread of truth about the real conditions in Soviet Russia. It was therefore necessary to create an impression of the impending downfall of the Russian Republic and to simulate a "German menace," which in reality exists nowhere but in the acts of the Allies themselves.

The reactionaries of the world, Allied and German alike, are ready to sacrifice millions of lives of their peoples and of the Russian people in a last effort to crush the Russian revolution and thereby remove the mightiest obstacle to the establishment of oligarchical despotism all over the world. In this campaign are at stake the interests not of the Russian workers alone but of labor throughout the world. Rather than come to a sensible understanding with Russia, the reactionaries are ready to plunge the world into new chaos and bloodshed in the hope that out of the shambles they shall be able to secure their threatened class interests.

NEVER have the old powers so clearly demonstrated the gigantic ferocity of their domination over the minds and lives of the peoples as during the past two weeks. All the forces of civilization and science which predatory capitalism has subdued to its purposes have been hurled against Soviet Russia in a final desperate attempt to crush the rising spirit of the masses of the world. Tanks and poison gases are thrown against them. The economic power of the international capitalists is employed to effect their starvation. Censors control the lines of communication and the servile press of the world lends itself willingly to a campaign of deliberate untruth.

The Soviet Government with absolute frankness has endeavored to keep the world informed of events in Russia, regardless of whether the news is favorable or unfavorable to the Soviet Government. The foreign office of Soviet Russia sends broadcast every day wireless communications containing such information. These communications daily reach the United States as well as other countries. In most cases the news is never given to the public except when it contains admission of some reverses. The Soviet wireless communique of Tuesday, October 14th, announced the evacuation of Orel. Even this news was not printed in the New York papers until the 16th of October, when it was loudly proclaimed as a crushing defeat of the Red Army. Meanwhile the public was allowed to know nothing of the important strategic advances of the Red Army at other points, which were also set forth in the daily communiques. Instead, the news about Russia is supplied from London, Paris, Washington, Stockholm and the other centers where those who would control the thoughts of the world have their offices. As the New York *Globe* points out, "When for many months almost no news is available from any quarter, and then on a single day we get elaborate statements from every part of Russia, all woven together under a London date line, it is only fair to suppose that a military hand pulls the strings to which the correspondents

respond." That is certainly the most damning indictment of modern journalism which was ever penned by a member of the profession.

"A military hand pulls the strings to which the correspondents respond"—and intends that the peoples of the world shall respond to the correspondents and become, like them, puppets on the militarist strings!

THE notorious Von der Goltz, fresh from the bloody business of suppressing the workers' republic of Finland, came to Riga after the armistice, with the sanction of the Allies, who entrusted him with the congenial task of suppressing Bolshevism. The old Baltic barons, who were more Prussian than the Prussians, welcomed him. While the junkers of Germany had been forced to make certain concessions to modern capitalist civilization, the landowning barons of the Baltic remained feudal lords in a feudal society. They held the population in mediæval serfdom. It suited them to have Von der Goltz crush both the proletarian movement inspired by the Russian revolution and the feeble nationalistic aspirations which were fostered by the Allies. The world was presented with the spectacle of a German military junker encouraged by the Allies to restore in the Baltic provinces the very essence of that Prussian militarism which the Allies had pretended to destroy at the cost of millions of lives. American officers who were present testified to the ferocity of the Von der Goltz regime.

In Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia, there is practically no native middle class. The population is sharply divided between the native workers and peasants and the German over-lords. Out of this unfavorable material the Allies attempted to create a nationalist movement among such small intellectual and petty bourgeois groups as could be enticed by promises of favor and privilege. Thus the Allies were committed to the utterly impossible policy of supporting both this artificial nationalism and the despotic feudalism of the barons. They made lavish promises of independence to the nationalists, in return for which they expected the Baltic states to enforce the blockade and employ their armies against Soviet Russia. At the same time they employed the monarchical German barons in support of the Russian counter-revolution. This policy speedily defeated itself. The nationalists in Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland, as well as in Poland and the Ukraine, saw that the success of the Kolchak-Denikin imperialism meant their own destruction.

Moreover, in the Baltic states the encouragement of the nationalist spirit among the native element strengthened the revolt against the German barons. Simultaneously any weakening of the grip of the barons encouraged the strong socialist aspirations of the native masses. To add further confusion to this impossible policy there was the special ambition of Great Britain to supplant Germany in the political and economic domination of the Baltic.

The national "governments" of the Baltic states were purely fictitious instruments of Allied policy, supported by British guns, and satisfying neither the selfish interests of the Barons nor the socialistic aspirations of the masses. Thus began the movement for peace with Soviet Russia, which alone offered the Baltic peoples security, not only from the dangers of the Kolchak-Denikin monarchical restoration, but also from the counter-revolutionary schemes of the German barons and the equally distasteful British ambitions. The peace negotiations threatened the whole anti-Soviet policy of the powers. It became necessary to betray the nationalist movement and give a free hand to the monarchists. Von der Goltz and Yudenitch and Denikin and Kolchak are all of one piece and one plan. There is no distinction between the "North Western" government of Tchaikovsky, the "West Russian" government, recently born in Berlin, and the "All-Russian" government of Kolchak. They are all alike in being utterly un-Russian and monarchistic, and are merely different phases of the campaign of capitalist imperialism against the people of Russia. Support of Von der Goltz and the German imperialists, is the logical accompaniment of the policy which has supported British imperialism in North Russia, French imperialism in South Russia, Japanese imperialism in Siberia, and Russian monarchical imperialism everywhere. Only the fear of their own peoples restrained the junkers of England from openly confessing their alliance with the junkers of Germany.

Soviet Government Bureau Statements

(Continued from page 7)

by using as their tools nationalistic movements in Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia—on the other hand betraying these movements by seeking an alliance with the Baltic junkers led by Von der Goltz, who are arch-enemies not only of Soviet Russia but of the nationalistic aspirations of the Baltic peoples. Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia have no interest whatsoever to strengthen either the Russian counter-revolutionists or the Baltic barons and so the result has been that these countries, in the interest of their very existence, have been seriously considering peace with Soviet Russia. The situation in this respect has developed to the point where peace negotiations were to start at Dorpat, October 12, and they would have undoubtedly led to an understanding between these peoples and Soviet Russia.

If such a peace is reached it is obvious that it will altogether destroy the British and French plan to starve Soviet Russia and to reestablish monarchy in that country. The main driving force of the present campaign against Russia is therefore nothing but a desperate attempt at any cost to prevent such approachments. But the campaign will not succeed. The Russian workers, as well as the working people in the Baltic provinces,

understand full well the real significance of all these criminal machinations and the Russian Soviet Government is well prepared to thwart all attacks.

There is also another very important reason for the present campaign of lies, and especially for the desperate efforts on the part of certain Allied Governments to extend the starvation blockade of Russia by asking Germany and remnants of Austria to join the blockade. Many commercial interests have long ago lost their patience with the present Allied policy toward Soviet Russia, which not only is bringing the Russian people untold sufferings, but is also quite insane from the point of view of commercial peace. Within the past two months there have been definite steps taken by business men in many countries, and especially in America, to open trade with Soviet Russia. The efforts in this direction have reached a point where great pressure is being brought to bear on all Governments with the view of opening trade relations. To thwart such negotiations the present campaign of lies has been instituted.

Finally, the laboring masses in Allied countries and in Germany are becoming more and more insistent in their demands that their rulers cease the criminal and senseless war against the Russian workers. This dissatisfaction has resulted in mass demonstrations everywhere, and refusals to load supplies for the Russian monarchists. The lies wherewith such demonstrations have been answered are becoming stale, especially in view of the ever-increasing strength of Soviet Russia. It is therefore necessary to create an impression of an impending downfall of the Russian Republic and to simulate a "German menace," which in reality exists nowhere but in the acts of the Allies themselves. We feel confident that the workers everywhere will not let themselves be deceived by such obviously false propaganda.

To sum up, the situation is as follows:

1) Denikin's campaign in the south is threatened with annihilation. His "Advance on Moscow" is actually a retreat in the only direction where at this moment there is no concentrated military opposition, but where he instantly will be confronted with such, his "advance" thus making him run right into the lion's lair without a chance of return to his bases.

2) The Baltic nations are determined to make peace with Soviet Russia frustrating Allied intentions to use them as tools against the Russian workers. The Baltic peoples are as hostile to Yudenich as they are to Von der Goltz, but the British are supporting both of them—Yudenich openly and Von der Goltz secretly, thus betraying the promises given by Britain to the Baltic nationals.

3) The British pretensions of opposition to Von der Goltz are an unmitigated lie, which is being used for the purpose of deceiving British public opinion into a belief that "the German menace" demands the sending of additional troops to the Baltic coast. If such troops are permitted to be sent, they will be used not against the German

junkers but in an alliance with these junkers against the workers of Russia.

4) Far from opposing the manace of German junker designs on Russia, the Allied governments, and particularly Britain, are making an alliance with Germany and Austria against Soviet Russia. The announced demands of the Allies that Germany and Austria should participate in the criminal and brutal blockade of Russian ports is sufficient evidence hereof.

Some papers have referred to the situation in the Baltic as the re-opening of the world war. It is true in a sense, but only in this sense. The reactionaries of the world, Allied and German alike, stand ready to sacrifice millions of lives of their peoples and of the Russian people, in a last desperate effort to crush the Russian revolution and thereby to remove the mightiest obstacle to the establishment of oligarchical depotism all over the world. In this campaign are at stake the interests not of the Russian workers alone, but of every labor and progressive interest of the world. Rather than come to a sensible understanding with Russia, the reactionaries among the Allies stand ready to plunge the world into a new chaos and bloodshed on the slim chance that out of the shambles they shall be able to secure their threatened class interests.

It remains to be seen whether the plain people will stand for such plans.

Swedish Trade With Russia

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

"As was reported some time ago, many hundreds of Swedish working-class families declared themselves ready to shelter undernourished Russian children, from Soviet Russia, in their own midst. The Swedish Red Cross also was prepared to dispatch a steamer to Petrograd for the purpose, and the Swedish Government gave the necessary permission for this transaction. Now the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares that the English authorities have strictly prohibited the voyage of this steamer to Russia. A similar answer was given by the Government to the delegation of the metal workers' union, who had requested a reopening of the commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hellmer, declared that if any effort should be made from the Swedish side to break the blockade or to send ships under military escort to Russia, the Entente would frustrate such an effort. It was therefore impossible, for the present, to reopen relations with Russia."

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

Official Correspondence Between Soviet Russia and Poland

WE are printing below a correspondence that passed between the officials of the Polish Socialist Party and the Russian Soviet Government.

The Communist Labor Party of Russia is what would be called in the parliamentary language the "government" party in Russia. The Polish Socialist Party is the part of Polish national Socialists who, in November, 1918, after the revolution in Germany, which liberated the occupied territories of Poland, formed the Moraczewski cabinet and was responsible for putting in power the present military chief, Pilsudski. The Moraczewski cabinet fell, but Pilsudski remained in power, without, however, feeling himself bound by his party affiliation. The party cut a rather miserable figure at the elections to the Polish diet and at present is occupying the place of "His Majesty's opposition." Though almost disowned by its favorite "Naczelnik" (Chief: Pilsudski), it still clings to him with the persistence of a beggar.

The reader will notice that although the letter was addressed to the Russian Communist Labor Party it was answered by the Russian Government, through its official spokesman in matters of foreign policy, and that, secondly, the answer was given not to the addressor, the Polish Socialist Party, but to the Polish Government itself, through its accredited representative. The reason for this must be found in the circumstance that the Russian Communist Labor Party, well aware of the insincerity of the allegations of the Polish Socialist Party which it knows sufficiently from the past, so far as matters of principle are concerned, preferred to deal with this document through official channels rather than to consider it as a comradely expression of well-meaning opinion, and to discuss it in this light.

The Polish Socialist Party is pursuing here a policy modeled on the practices of their German brethren in spirit—the Scheidemann-Ebert-Noske group; both under the guise of Socialist principles and slogans have been and are trying to perform a vivisection of the body of the Russian people.

Since the time of this correspondence, Vilna has been captured by the Polish legionaries, and the savage actions of these able disciples of Russian Cossackdom shed a peculiar light upon the character of the "culture" with the spread of which the Polish "Socialists" profess to be so much concerned.

However, despite the insincerity of the document and despite the absurdity of the assertions made by the Polish Socialist Party that it represents the working class of Poland—the Russian Soviet Government does not neglect the opportunity, in order to show its readiness to come to terms with its enemies, though always defending the rights of the small nationalities to real self-determination.

I.

THE POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA

"Izvestia," Moscow, April 15, 1919.

To the Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Russia:

We deem it our duty, making use of this opportunity, to convey to the Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Russia a detailed formulation of the position taken by the Polish Socialist Party, which is the expression of the views and tendencies of the broad masses of the Polish proletariat.

1. We consider the full sovereignty and independence of Poland a necessary condition for the success of our class struggle for Socialism, an indispensable presupposition for the development of Polish culture and, consequently, of the culture of the Polish proletariat as well. We shall consider any attempts on the part of the Soviet troops at an invasion of Polish territory as an encroachment upon the independence of the country and shall repel such attempts with firm determination.

2. The same refers to the attempts at interference on the part of the Soviet Government in the internal affairs of Poland. Such attempt is, beyond contradiction, the fact of the formation of a Polish Soviet Government in Vilna, as well as the assistance rendered by the Russian Soviet Government to the Communist Labor Party of Poland. We categorically insist on the liquidation of the pseudo-Polish government now existing in Vilna, of which the Polish working class knows nothing, and which it had absolutely no share in producing.

3. The question of the boundaries of the Polish Republic we wish to solve by way of self-determination of the population living in the disputed territories and, in the first place, in Lithuania and White Russia. We insist upon the withdrawal from these territories of all foreign troops and the carrying out of the people's vote under the conditions of full political freedom. The will of the working class of Lithuania, alleged to be already expressed in favor of a union with Russia on the basis of federation, we consider as a fiction, because of the fact that no popular vote had been held in Lithuania and White Russia.

Being convinced of the fact that the Russian Workers' Party will not be indifferent to the opinion of the Polish proletariat, we are sending fraternal greetings to all workers and all Socialists.

THE CENTRAL WORKERS' COMMITTEE OF THE
POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY.

M. NIEDZIALKOWSKI.

II. THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO THE POLISH REPRESENTATIVE

March, 24, 1919.

TO THE CITIZEN DELEGATE EXTRAORDINARY OF THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC:

Dear Sir, Alexander Yanovich:

The letter of the Central Workers' Committee of the Polish Socialist Party to the Central Committee of the Communist Labor Party of Russia, which was handed to me, and to which the latter has called my attention, touches upon some questions in regard to which I consider it necessary to express myself in the name of the Government of the Russian Republic. I beg to request of you that my declarations be brought to the knowledge of the Polish Republic and of the Polish people.

With reference to point one of the letter of the Central Workers' Committee I must declare that no attempts at invasion of the Polish territory by the Soviet armies were or are being contemplated, and the protest of the Central Workers' Committee

is a result of absolutely false information.

With reference to point two of the same letter I declare that, so far as my knowledge goes, no Polish Government is in existence in Vilna, and that in this case again the Central Workers' Committee has undoubtedly been misinformed.

As regards point three, relating to the eastern boundaries of Poland, we find it fully expedient that in this matter a vote of the toiling people should be taken in the respective territories under the condition of the withdrawal of foreign troops, and we shall defend this standpoint before the Lithuanian-White-Russian Republic, while the details of this plan may be elaborated during further negotiations of the interested parties with our co-operation, and we think that no difficulties will be encountered on the part of the Lithuanian-White-Russian Republic.

I beg of you, dear sir, to accept the assurance of my highest esteem.

CHICHERIN.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs.

The Russian Soldiers in France

By JOSEPH R. SCHEFTEL

An American Soldier Recently Returned from Europe

"RUSSIAN soldiers chosen from the bravest of her armies have come to fight in our ranks. You will receive them like brothers. You will show them that warm sympathy which you feel toward those who have left their country to come to fight at your side.

"In the name of the French army I welcome the officers and soldiers of Russia who have debarked in France. I bow before the Russian flags upon which there will be soon inscribed the glorious names of our victory."

These were the words of General Joffre upon his welcome of the Russian forces which arrived at Marseilles, March 21, 1916.

How France Paid Russia

Perhaps one of the most abominable things to be recorded in the annals of history is the treatment accorded the Russian soldiers who came to France in the early part of the war and fought bravely to save Republican France from the designs of the German autocracy.

No sooner had Germany set foot on French soil than Russia started its steam roller across the plains of Austrian and Prussian Poland, and only by the fall of Lemberg and Halicz (Sept. 5, 1914), which was accomplished after 17 days of bitter fighting, in which the Russian hordes advanced over 147 miles of impregnable territory, was the stranglehold of Germany upon Paris broken.

So prompt indeed was the answer to the call for help that Russian soldiers to the number of 72,000 were reported as fighting in France as early as Sept. 8, 1914, and in Servia as early as November 27, 1914.

My Talks With Russian Soldiers in France

I spent twelve months in France with the American Expeditionary Forces, (June 14, 1918-June 15, 1919), during which time I came in contact with many groups of Russian soldiers scattered throughout France. From personal conversations with these men I learned of the injustice to which they have been subjected.

In piecing together the various stories told me by soldiers in different and remote parts of France, told by men who had no connection with each other, and who, what is more, knew nothing of each other's existence, I find that the stories related varied very little, and only in minor detail, as to the treatment of the Russian soldier during and after the Kerensky and Lenin revolutions.

If there are those who are loath to accept what follows as "prima facie" evidence, I need but call attention to the numerous stories which have appeared as news items from time to time, in "Le Populaire," "L'Humanité," "Le Figaro," and other French dailies, quotations from which have been reprinted in several issues of "Soviet Russia." Especially of interest, is the statement (Soviet Russia, June 28th), of L. Karakhan, Acting Secretary to the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. In it he says:

"In the above conditions there are perishing 100 Russian soldiers in Marseilles, 20 in Bordeaux, 15 in Brest, about 150 in the prisons of Levals, Rennes, Nevers, Clermont-Ferrand; they are all innocent Russian citizens.

A terrible sight is presented by the life of the Russian prisoners on the Island of Aix. There are more than 300 persons; among these are the main champions of the demand to return home: Y. Beltays, M. Volkoff, P. Kidyaeff, and Globe.

They are imprisoned in the cells of the old castle of Henry IV; their cells are below the sea-level. The absence of light and medical aid, dampness and hunger carries away daily 5 or 6 of these sufferers.

To a sure and unavoidable death are destined the Russian citizens banished to Africa. Their sufferings are increased by the fact that in a temperature of 50 degrees C., and with food consisting of 200 gr. of bread and coffee, given once a day, these unfortunates have to make exercises; they have to carry on their shoulders bags with sand about 70 pounds in weight. The result of such regime is hemoptysis (blood-spitting). Those affected are thrown aside and left without any help.

The places of torture are: Algiers, Oran, Avrville, Kreider.

Such are the outrages suffered by these deserted and isolated humans, who, far away from their native soil, are languishing in dark cells for the great crime of desiring to return to their homes.

From what I could learn it appears that the news of the revolution was received with great enthusiasm by the men in the trenches on the western front. Great was the joy with which they hailed the new won freedom. Little did they dream that it was to be the doom of 80,000 Russian soldiers then in France and some 3,000,000 who were prisoners in Germany.

The spirit which the soldiers showed upon the receipt of this glorious news did not at all suit the tastes of the capitalist allies. Republican France was itself almost upon the verge of revolution and the power of the bourgeoisie depended upon the prolongation of the war; war was the only bulwark left to the capitalists of France.

Every peaceable demonstration on the part of the Russian soldiers in favor of the Soviet government was construed as mutiny and wholesale murder and imprisonment followed. A reign of terror, the parallel of which could be found only in the famous French Reign of Terror of 1793, was instituted. Every Russian suspected of sympathy toward the working class republic was declared a traitor and shot without trial.

One who claims to have been there asserts that no less than 12,000 were massacred by French artillery shortly after the outbreak of the November revolution. It appears that France, obviously with the consent of the Allies, did all in its power to coerce the Russians into fighting, by using all the barbarous methods of intimidation known; to no avail thanks to the class-consciousness and solidarity of the Russian soldiers.

They were subjected to all manner of inhuman treatment, spies and *agents provocateurs* were placed among them, those suspected of the least sympathy toward the Soviet republic were either sent to prison or shot. What sort of prisons these were has been told in the foregoing column. Anyone who even so much as attempted to protest against the policy of the French government was brutally persecuted.

One of the most notorious of these persecutions was the arrest and imprisonment of General De Kolontayeff, a Russian nobleman who went to France as vice-president of the Czar's artillery commission, an anti-Bolshevik, who suffered considerably because of the revolution, but like many military leaders, who have a genuine interest in the welfare of their men, was sent to a concentration camp at Précigné because he dared to protest against the inhuman treatment of the Russian soldiers in France. A full account of the arrest can be found in the columns of "Le Populaire" of March 11, 1919.

Another is the murder recently of Lieut. Pyeshkov (Maxim Gorky's son) at Bordeaux for refusing to join an expedition against the Bolsheviks.

And America gave its silent aid in spite of the solemn declarations made by President Wilson in his note to the Russian people, in which he said that "The position of America in this war is so already avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force." "We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the self-development of all peoples." "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." (See N. Y. Times, June 10, 1917.)

I landed in Havre about the tenth of June, 1918, and in a small village close by, called Graville, I met about thirty Russian soldiers working in a munitions plant. They were paid four francs a day, and living under a status which may be summed up in the words of "paroled prisoners."

The Story of Nikolai

With one of these, named Nikolai, I became very friendly. He was a very intelligent man from Moscow. He wore the cross of the Legion of St. George and was at that time about to join the Russian Legion. He had arrived in France with the first contingent at Marseilles, where they were given a great ovation. Everywhere they were hailed as saviors. Girls fell upon their necks and kissed them, hotels and restaurants threw open their doors and refused pay for what these boys ate and drank. "Russe, Russe," was upon the lips of every Frenchman. Flowers were strewn in their way.

With the Kerensky revolution came a new consciousness. The soldiers began to demand the removal of certain officers, who were objectionable and cruel.

These demands were met by a court-martial of the committee of soldiers' delegates, which led to a general uprising of the entire Russian contingent. The objectionable officers were removed by the men themselves and others were elected.

This brought an order from Kerensky to shoot every insubordinate, which brought on wholesale arrests and massacres. The result of this was a general mutiny and refusal to fight any longer and a demand for a general peace. Finally there remained no one group of soldiers who could be depended upon to arrest and execute another group. This made necessary the intervention of the French government, who ordered their soldiers to whip the Russians into submission. When it became obvious that the Russians could not be counted upon as effective in the lines, the French government, without any announcement as to policy, made captive all those who were not killed or in prison, and sent them in groups to work in different parts of France. Each Russian became one of a party of thirty men, in a small village, cut off from his former comrades in arms, not to know what had happened to the rest, but supposing that they were in some similar circumstances. A newspaper in the Russian language entitled "The Russian Citizen in France," *Russkiy Grazhdanin vo Frantsii*, was carrying on propaganda against the Soviet government and in favor of the Russia Legion. So, in order to escape this unbearable life of slavery, another man decided to join the Legion, which was to leave within a day or two.

Such a reign of terror was instituted that men were afraid to trust their own comrades for fear of their being spies in the pay of Republican France. Every semblance of sympathy for the revolution was treated as treason, and execution by the wholesale was an every-day occurrence.

About four months later I received a letter from C., dated from nowhere, saying that he arrived safely at the Legion depot, but together with others had discovered that they had been duped, that the real reason for the formation of their unit was to send them along with the Poles to fight against the Bolsheviks. In consequence of their refusal they were incarcerated to prison with the prospect of being shot.

The Story of Stephen

In October I was laid up in the hospital at Allery Cote d'Or. While convalescing, I took a walk in the village and met half a dozen Russian soldiers. I immediately made their acquaintance. I may here say that probably one out of every twenty I met wore the ribbon of St. George.

One of these was named Stephen S. He was one of a group of about thirty who had been leased to the United States army. He also wore the ribbon of St. George. They worked as laborers in the subsistence warehouses and received the same pay as privates. Their lot was considerably better than those who worked for the French. However, they

were not satisfied, preferring to go home. Needless to say, no mail had reached them for months. Stephen, with four others, was of a regiment which had served in Saloniki. He had suffered misery, privation and hunger, and had lain in the hospital between life and death. This young soldier related that when convalescing, it was announced to them that they would be sent home, but to their surprise and disappointment they were landed in France, and were given the alternative of joining the Legion or being sold into bondage. A protest brought wholesale executions and imprisonment for others. The regiment was split up into working groups and his lot had been to work here. He knew nothing of what had happened to the rest of his comrades or where they were.

* * *

These two stories, told by two men that were far apart, I have selected as typical of dozens of others. How true they were I was able to judge later, when I met groups of Russian soldiers working as lumbermen in the Vosges Mountains; as longshoremen in Marseilles; as freight handlers at the railroad station at Dijon and Lyons; as farmers about twenty kilometers from Beaune; and as warehouse men at Beaune itself.

In Marseilles, while walking in company with a Russian soldier, I was surprised to hear him address a French soldier who replied in excellent Russian. Upon inquiring where he had learned the language, he laughingly informed me that he was a Russian, and that there were many other Russians held in the French hospital at Marseilles, and although they were all well, they were not set at liberty but compelled to wear hospital clothes and do manual labor. One of them had stolen a French uniform and they took turns in going out into the streets.

These men, without a single exception, were Bolsheviks, all confident that Lenin and Trotsky would rescue them from the French. I, being ignorant, could not inform them that Foreign Minister Chicherin had made demands upon the French government for their return. I could but assure them that they were not being forgotten. Their suffering was such as only a Russian can endure, without succumbing. They laughed and joked, indulging in a few curses for France and the Allies, occasionally.

Their lot was pitiable indeed as they feared to talk to their own comrades and viewed everyone with suspicion, even those who inquired as to their conditions. The French government maintained a regular staff of secret service agents, whose sole duty it was to discover revolutionary elements. Once discovered, a charge of "insubordination" was sufficient excuse for arrest and an "attempt at escape" sufficient ground for killing. The Russians had no one to complain to, no one to turn to for sympathy. I give below a translation of a Russian soldier's letter to the Editor of "Le Populaire" which expresses wonderfully the helplessness of these, our unfortunate comrades.

To the Editor of the Populaire:

By a course of events we, Russian soldiers, have become reduced to a bondage in the hands of the Allies.

The conditions of the slavery are terrible. Morally we are oppressed more than the prisoners of war. We are without defence; without protection; we have nobody with whom we could lodge a complaint. Everywhere we meet with arbitrariness in regard to us and *frequent suicides are a matter of course among us.*

We are accustomed to acts of violence committed on our persons and are submitting to them it is now well over two years since.

And still we have faith in the justice and good will of the great working people of the world and we hope for their aid.

We cannot pass with silence the most revolting acts of violence as, for instance, the following one:

A contingent of a hundred Russian soldiers became the victims of brutalities at Chartres because some of them had taken part on July 1st in a peaceful demonstration of soldiers. As a result of that inoffensive demonstration a squadron of French cavalry was sent against them, which have surrounded the unfortunate men with drawn swords without giving them time to take their meal. They have been led along the streets of the city to the railroad station. We could never forget this sinister sight. *They looked like a convoy of common criminals. The public was crying,* but our soldiers walked firmly with full consciousness of the iniquity of which they were the victims.

Afterwards, the Russian soldiers have been permitted to enter the barracks in order to take there their belongings. They were accorded but five minutes and an officer of the French cavalry has threatened with fusillade

those that should remain longer. It is understood that most of the effects had been abandoned.

We understand well our political situation and we are ready to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of the great principles of the Internationale.

No reactionary regime will be able to shatter us. We have no fear of their bayonets, nor of their sabres because we prefer death to their domination.

(Follows the signature.)

Many spirited Frenchmen have been shocked by the horrors of their government's treatment of these innocent soldiers. In "Le Populaire," there have been printed from time to time many protests, as will be seen in the quotations that follow. The French censor feared or was ashamed to make known the entire truth. Only the first and the last paragraph was allowed publicity. However, even this much is sufficient:

"There are at present in Algeria about 40,000 Russian soldiers who are suffering, with the splendid stoicism of their race all the rigors, even the most inhuman, of our disciplinary companies, which have been aggravated by the war."

End: "This is the complaint which my friends, whose names I may not state, since they are still with the colors, want me to make known to all decent people in this country. I do this through Le Populaire, since I believe that it will be heard in the whole press, and I am ashamed to be compelled to draw up such a protest against the land of the Rights of Man and of the Great Revolution." —Article by P. Vigne d'Octon, from Le Populaire (Paris), February 17th.

Against Unloading British Tanks

The "Ussuryisky Krai," published in Nikolsk, in Eastern Siberia, reports in its issue of August 21, 1919, a quotation from a newspaper printed in Denikin's territory, relating to the troubles which attended the unloading of the tanks brought on a British transport to Novorossyisk for Denikin's so called "volunteer army."

"As was to be expected, many disputes took place in connection with the unloading of the tanks. The workers went on strike, and refused to unload them. Turks were hired, but even with them the work did not go smoothly. Finally, in spite of all the machinations of the railway employes and of the workmen, the tanks were put on platforms and arrived at Ekaterinodar."

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One of the special features of our Anniversary Number (next week) will be the first publication in America of a secret communication sent by Denikin to Kolchak, intercepted in passage (see Soviet Russia, No. 8, p. 21.

The Amur Zemstvo Against Kolchak

THE agents of the Kolchak government in the United States are trying to create the impression that it stands for the principles of democracy and popular self-government. The true relation of the Kolchak dictatorship to the representatives of the zemstvos in Siberia is brought to light by an incident reported in the Khabarovsk daily "Priamurye," in its issue of August 3rd. At the opening of the session of the Amur Provincial Assembly, Representative Pashkeyev tendered his resignation on the ground that the zemstvo is interfered with in its legitimate work by the administration. In closing his address he said that "in such an atmosphere it is impossible to work, wherefore I am forced to go." The Governor of the province in his address of welcome, condemning the opposition of the zemstvo to the administration, said: "between you and the administration there is a bar. . . . I can find no justification for a further struggle, when the administration has been organized and has announced its program, and its program is order in the country. With this motto all parties can agree, except the Bolsheviks . . . and yet the zemstvo is still continuing its struggle. The government will take decisive measures against it. I invite you to do practical work without pursuing any political ends."

Occupation Statistics of Soviet Russia

THE Supreme Council of National Economy has published some figures on occupations in Russia. The total population of Soviet Russia in Europe on February 1st was given as 82,200,000. Of this number 10,500,000, that is 12.8 per cent., were wage earners and salaried employees in industrial establishments, and their families. The number of wage earners alone was 4,300,000 and the number of salaried employees 455,000; in all, 4,755,000. The number of dependents of both classes was 5,745,000, which averages 1.2 dependents to one employee. This proportion indicates that the personnel of factories and other large industrial establishments consists mainly of young men and women. One fourth of the total number of wage earners was engaged in transportation, namely, 800,000 railway workers and 275,000 workers engaged in transportation by water. The population of St. Petersburg and Moscow aggregated 2,400,000, of whom 1,800,000 represented wage earners and salaried employees with their families, and 600,000 all other classes. In other words the proletariat in the two capitals represents 75 per cent. of the total population.

Favor Americans—Hate British

Bolsheviks in the Murmansk district are friendly to the American troops stationed there, but are bitter toward the British, according to Howard S. Morrison of Crawfordsville, Ind., a Y. M. C. A. worker, who returned today on the Bergensfjord,

which reached port last night. Mr. Morrison, who was stationed 300 miles from Murmansk, with the British units composed of Russians sent by England under British officers, said these Russians murdered several of their British officers because of the way in which some of these officers treated the soldiers under them and the civilian population.

On the other hand, Mr. Morrison asserted the Russian population there treated the Americans with courtesy and respect at all times. The feeling among the Russian civilians, practically all of whom in that district are strongly Bolshevik in their sympathies, he said, is so antagonistic toward the British that if the other allied troops are withdrawn and the British remain a massacre will result.

Released U. S. Prisoners

Almer H. Walker, another "Y" worker who returned on the Bergensfjord, was stationed 660 miles from Murmansk, at the end of the railroad line. His headquarters were in a box car. He told of the capture of several American soldiers by the Bolsheviks, who, when they learned the nationality of their captives, restored their money and all articles taken from them and sent them back to the American lines.—

—From a recent issue of the *Globe*.

Anniversary Number

The next number (No. 22) of
"SOVIET RUSSIA"

will appear on

Saturday, November 1st

**and will mark the end of the second year
of the Russian Revolution.**

It will have 32 pages of matter.
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1. An Account of the Progress of the Russian Revolution, calling attention to the distinctions between its various stages.

2. **What Divides England and Russia?**
An Original Article by George Chicherin,
People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
TWO YEARS OF THE NEW ERA, (Anniversary Article)	1	BRITISH ATROCITIES IN NORTHERN RUSSIA	17
THE WAR IN RUSSIA, (Second Anniversary of the Red Army)	6	THE MASSACRE OF JEWS IN UKRAINE AND POLAND	19
THE BROKEN SWEDISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS	10	THE UNION WITH TURKESTAN, <i>by R. Arsky</i>	20
THE PROMISING SITUATION IN RUSSIA, <i>by Anton Nilsson</i>	12	RUSSIAN COUNTER REVOLUTIONISTS PURCHASING MEN IN GERMANY	23
CULTURE UNDER THE SOVIETS, <i>by Allan Wallenius</i>	13	THE MEANING OF THE STRIKES IN SIBERIA	23
HOW PRO-KOLCHAK MANIFESTOS ARE MADE	15	A REMARKABLE REPORT TO THE SWEDISH FOREIGN OFFICE	26
FOR RUSSIA, <i>by Boris Souvarine</i>	15	BOLSHEVISM HOUNDED BY PRIVILEGED CLASS	29
EDITORIALS	16	SMALL ITEMS	29-31

Two Years of the New Era

ON November 6th, before the appearance of the next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA, the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic will have completed the second year of its existence, having been founded on November 6th, 1917. This period of seven hundred and thirty days is more than ten times as long as the only proletarian government previously established, the Paris Commune, which lasted seventy-one days.

On this occasion the well-wishers of the young civilization, all over the world, will necessarily reflect on the difficulties attending its birth, and on the accomplishments of its young life. They will recall that prophecies granting the new nation a lifespan of one week, or ten days, or, when particularly generous, admitting its chances to live through part of the Russian winter, were heard on all sides. The system which has been constantly represented, from the very moment of its birth, as tottering on the brink of destruction, has not only far outlasted all the prophecies of its enemies, but has simultaneously weathered the storms of war forced upon it from without, as well as the cruel effects of a treacherous and merciless blockade.

When the Bolsheviks seized the power in Russia two years ago, their enemies within and without were sure they would not long survive. The fact that their system has withstood the severe tests imposed upon it cannot, however, be taken merely as a very fortunate and devoutly wished consumma-

tion, but is an expression of an inherent and ineluctable logic in the events and conditions that brought it forth. The fact is that the Soviet and the Bolsheviks live today because no other system that could have supplanted its predecessors was possible under the circumstances. Only a system founded, as we shall show, upon the inexorable demands of the times, could have completed not only the task of sustaining life during these two years, but in addition the reconstruction of the economic and social life of Russia on a scale so satisfactory to the great masses of people that no other people in the world cling to their government and defend it with such devotion as the Russian people today are defending the country that recognized its duty to provide all with an access to all her bounties.

The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks was an inevitable step in the course of the Russian Revolution. Externally, the Revolution of March, 1917, which overthrew the Czarism, bore all the marks of a bourgeois political revolution. Internally, however, there were already clearly drawn the lines of opposition leading straight into the proletarian revolution of the workers and peasants. Had it been otherwise, we should have found the bourgeoisie playing a much more striking role in the March Revolution than it actually did. The great stronghold of the bourgeoisie in Russian political life was the Duma, and in the Duma the political

power of the bourgeoisie found its expression. Yet the Duma was very reluctant to be drawn into the current of revolution; while the people were already battling in the streets, the Duma was still seeking to keep aloof from the struggle; it remained sceptical and detached. Only when the masses themselves had already achieved victory, did the Duma, and its masters, the bourgeoisie, put their hands to the task and assume the power. But this condition of power held by a class which had not fought to seize it, and withheld from the class which had struggled and bled for it, could not be of long duration. It was evident that a struggle would develop between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to determine who should have the power, and the struggle was assuming very definite shape even as early as the month of April, 1917. The bourgeoisie, represented by the Cadets (Constitutional Democrats), and the petty bourgeoisie, represented by the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists, tried to create and maintain a coalition government, but this government had no chance for long existence, since it was a grave danger to the toiling masses. The coalition, since it represented essentially bourgeois elements, in spite of the fact that the cabinet personnel might present, as it did, frequent alterations—could not solve in a matter satisfactory to the masses a single one of the important questions with which it was faced, and the solution of which was so vital to the masses. For the interests of the coalition were mixed and anything but proletarian, and the absence of a government really representing the toiling masses made the solution of the great questions of land and peace unattainable. The longer the coalition remained in power, the more the class interests dominating it forced it away from occupying itself with the solution of questions with which the people were so deeply concerned, and the situation thus became one of increasing tension and complexity. Thus, the coalition was faced with the demands of the people for peace: the coalition was powerless to wage war with the resources at its disposal, and yet the imperialistic Allies demanded that the war be prosecuted. Having no Russian policy to pursue, and therefore accepting the policy dictated by the Allies, the coalition gave the word for the July offensive in Galicia, which, owing to the utter unpreparedness of the Russian troops, became one of the bloodiest massacres in history.

Another question before the coalition was the question of reorganizing the industry of Russia which had gone to pieces under the strain of the war. But the coalition, being under the thumb of the powerful land-owning and bourgeois interests of Russia, knew no other way of reorganizing industry than to keep themselves in control, to the continued exclusion of the workers from any participation in determining the objects of the labor at which most of their working hours were spent. But the workers were demanding more than participation, even: they were asking for workers' control. This opposition of purposes was the starting point for the more open battle that was to come

later. Thus the workers had no other alternative than revolution, because the coalition government was necessarily clearing the ground and preparing the needed organization for counter-revolution. How far the Coalition Government had permitted the counter-revolutionary activities of the bourgeoisie to expand, and what proportions the ambitions of these classes were capable of assuming, became quite clear at the Moscow Conference (August 27, 1917), organized by the Kerensky Cabinet. And the physical, military expression of the manner in which counter-revolutionary opportunities had been utilized, was the Kornilov uprising which immediately thereafter held Russia in its clutches.

Coalition, therefore, was predestined by force of events to prepare the way for counter-revolution. As the revolution was being made by the great masses of the proletariat, and as no coalition even with so-called Socialist elements in its membership could in any way represent the interests of the proletariat, it was certain that no coalition could solve the serious problems which the workers had more or less vaguely felt when they overturned the Czarism. To continue the war, which was what the coalition did, when the people wanted peace, and in view of the exhausted condition of the country, meant to cast aside all the real issues of the revolution and to lose entirely the faith of the proletariat which wanted this question solved in one way and in one way only.

There was only one political group that was prepared, by the demands of its doctrine as well as by the exigence of the situation, to carry out the will of the toiling masses in the matter of land and war, and this group was the Bolsheviks. Workers' Control also, which the coalition was prevented by its class interests from realizing, was another integral part of the real Socialist program which the Bolsheviks had been consistently preaching from the very start. And they were prepared to carry out these principles, not merely preach them, as was the practice of all the other parties when it came to the matter of vote-catching.

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All the world still remembers the shock of surprise that ran through it when this unheard of thing happened: when a political party after securing the power actually proceeded at once to carry out in full all the demands on the basis of which it had been elevated into authority. After the Bolsheviks had seized the state, every one of the first few days of their rule saw one or more immense promises fulfilled. Immediately, the land was handed to the peasants; the decree calling for such action was an expression both of the program of the Bolsheviks and of the decade-long aspirations of the peasants; immediately a peace offer went out to the whole world, and pourparlers were offered to Germany and the other Central Powers, then the immediate enemies; within a month the Decree on the Nationalization of Banks was passed. Many will remember that much of the disapproval expressed

in November 1917 of the Bolshevik activities was based not so much on the radical nature of the steps involved, as on the alleged folly of dealing frankly with the whole world, of keeping the word pledged to the people, and supposing that any good could come of it. Old-time politicians certainly felt that a world of this sort was going to lack much of the subtlety and corruption which had formerly been its chief charm in their eyes.

The policy of the Bolsheviks was a purely Socialist policy. All over the world their doctrine had been preached as Socialist doctrine for many years, but they differed from other Socialists in that they really meant to put their theories into practice at the appropriate moment, which the facts have shown was not the intention of most of the Socialists in other countries, or in Russia either, for that matter. In internal as well as in external policy, this Socialist character of the Bolshevik position became immediately apparent in their government acts. Let us look at some of the main achievements of their internal policy.

They nationalized the banks and all other financial institutions.

In any country the banks are the real power controlling all industry; this is the case not only in highly developed economic communities like the United States and Germany, but it is also the case in economically backward countries like Russia. Any country aiming to achieve a Socialist form of production and distribution cannot omit the step of taking over the banks and financial institutions, for they are the very centre of the whole nervous system, the headquarters of the control, ownership, and general administration of the whole economic life of the country, which is thus concentrated in the hands of the great financial combines. To nationalize industry while these institutions were still in the hands of their former ownership would indeed have been an empty gesture.

And then, the nationalization of industry itself: the industries had to be remodeled, had to pass from a basis of exploitation to that of production for consumption and use by the actual producers, the workers in the industries. Workers' Control and the Nationalization of the Industries were, therefore, necessary as preliminary steps toward the realization of the communistic system of society. And the solution of the land question was, in main outline, the obvious one: the land had to go to the peasants who tilled the land. All the decrees which were promulgated in connection with these momentous questions had to provide for a transition into the Socialist State; they could not realize it instantly, but their immediate aim was to facilitate this transition, to render it less painful than so great a transformation might otherwise have been.

The most efficient organ in dealing with the problems of the transition period has thus far been the Supreme Council of National Economy, which holds in its hands the unifying threads of all the industrial enterprises of Russia. This body, which takes its origin and its authority from the workers them-

selves, is the great centre which gathers and utilizes all the data available concerning the industrial needs of the country, the materials under operation, the stocks in the warehouses, the means of transporting them, etc., and decides what measures are to be taken in order to secure equitable utilization and distribution of all resources all over the country. While there are many other Soviet Government organs and offices concerned with the elaboration of the material with which the Supreme Council of National Economy deals, it is in the last resort, the combining and directing head for the economic operation of the whole country.

It was only logical that the chief lines of external and internal commerce should be nationalized; it was necessary to do away with private ownership of the means of production as well as of the control of commerce, and this is gradually being accomplished. It is an unfortunate error to declare, as the bourgeois press has so frequently done, that this process of nationalization is tantamount to anarchy, that it is chiefly destructive in its nature and has brought Russia to the brink of desperation. As a matter of fact, the activity of the Russian Soviet Government, particularly in this field, has been constructive in the highest sense of the word; never was industry in any country so completely participation in the work and in the utilization of subordinated to the aim of securing to the whole population a full participation in the work and in the utilization of the products of the country's work as is the case in Russia today.

All the industries are in a state of constant improvement; they are constantly elaborating plans for securing greater efficiency and productiveness. Our readers will recall the article on the Committee of State Constructions (Public Works), in a recent number of SOVIET RUSSIA (quoted from Arthur Ransome's "Russia in 1919"), which gives an interesting idea of the activity of the present Russian Government in another field, that of operations on projects of national importance. But anyone who follows the information which reaches this country in spite of the censorship and suppression of news, cannot fail to notice that the same thoroughness which is characteristic of the Committee of State Constructions is also found in the management of all the great industries, such as the textile industry (see Ransome's book, above), the railway workshops, etc. One of the most widely circulated books in this country within the past year was Lenin's short outline of the problems facing the Soviet a year ago, "The Soviets at Work," and all who have read it will remember the almost passionate power of his words on organization, on the necessity for concerted action in industry, on the introduction of the latest efficiency methods, and other similar matters that must prove to all that the Russian Revolution is chiefly a matter of construction and not at all of destruction.

But those who follow the news from Russia will also recall the regrets so frequently expressed, of the necessity of diverting so much of the productive

energy of the country to warlike purposes, where it might all be devoted to the pacific needs of the Russian people. How often have Soviet officials, although they pointed with pride to the accomplishments of their administration, pointed out the sad fact that so much of their work had to be put to such purposes as equipping, feeding and transporting the Red Army, a work they would never have needed to carry out to such proportions were it not for the military campaigns directed against Soviet Russia by the imperialistic enemy from without.

To a great extent the imperialistic war devastated the country; the blockade which has long been cutting Russia off from the rest of the world has had similarly disastrous effects. The necessity for meeting the imperialistic forces from without and the counter-revolutionists from within, with every manner of defensive warfare, puts a great portion of the industry of the country under the necessity of working along military lines, but whenever an opportunity presents itself to do constructive work, every effort is made to comply with the needs of the population of the country. Exploitation is being gradually weeded out, and a sound basis for communist production in the future is being established. This holds good not only for the life of the workers in the great cities, but also for the peasants in the provinces. Only hypocrites who would consent to the shedding of the blood of a people who are fighting for their interests as they understand them, who would starve such a people and cut them off from the rest of the world, can point to the shortcomings of the economic life of the country so attacked as if they were a result of the wrong social system being established there. Need we say that any difficulty the Russian people are now having is due to the active objections of the interventionists to the form of government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and not to any inherent qualities of that government itself?

In Soviet Russia, the workers and peasants represent the overwhelming majority of the population; ninety per cent. would not be an exaggerated estimate of their proportion of the total population. And it is their interests which should be observed and safeguarded by the government shaping the policy of the country, and only the present Soviet Government really can so watch and guard over their interests. How the Soviet Government is conserving the interests of the people is apparent from the work it is doing in every field of life, in every matter that touches the every-day life of the people, in questions concerning the distribution of food, the assignment of dwellings, the organization of education, the hours and conditions of labor. And in all these matters it is only natural that the Soviet Government should be acting in accordance with the best interests of the people, since this government is the people, since through nationalization of the industries and the Workers' Control, the workers are themselves the administrators of their own industries.

In the political field the case is similar. All political power has passed to the workers and peasants. The parasitic classes—those who will not work, are excluded from any participation in the government. Only workers (be they workers by muscle or brain), peasants and soldiers may vote, for the right to vote is given to those who exercise the duty to work. For only so can a workers' government really be a workers' government. Democracy is present in Russia to the fullest extent in the world, not the false democracy which grants participation in the government to those who do not recognize their obligation to do useful work for their fellows, but the real democracy of a community in which all must labor and all participate in the fruits and dignities of labor. Immediate power of recall and re-election, and the great frequency of elections provided in the constitution, afford a real opportunity to the whole people really to participate in the affairs of the government.

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What is true of the internal policy of Soviet Russia is also true of the external policy. All the world participates in Russian affairs to the extent of being kept fully informed as to all the acts and negotiations of the Soviet Government: it is not a mere accident or a rhetorical gesture that the wireless telegrams sent out from Moscow should begin with the salutation, "To ALL," often repeated several times in succession. Even when the communications are addressed to a specific nation, they are sent out broadcast by wireless, so that all the world may read them. This policy, which was so shocking to the diplomats of the old school when it was first announced, has been practiced ever since the Soviet Government has been in control. Every step in the negotiations with the imperialistic German Government, both before and during the Brest-Litovsk conferences, was known to all the world, and the world was able to resist the campaign of lies with which it was overwhelmed in order to make it believe that the Soviet Government wanted a separate peace with Germany, and not, as the Soviet Government had definitely stated, peace with all the world. And later, in all its negotiations with the Allies and other governments, the Soviet Government has never failed to keep the whole world informed of its actions and attitudes on all matters under consideration. Of course, not all of its communications have been published, even in the countries for whose peoples they were intended, but such failure to publish has in every case been due to the fact that they were suppressed by the governments of the other countries, who often have displayed considerable eagerness to prevent Soviet Russia's messages from reaching the common people.

The first step taken by the Soviet Government after its establishment, was toward peace; peace was offered to the world, but was secured only with the Central Powers. If the Soviet Government is now at war with the Allies, it is not because it

wishes to be at war, but because war is being forced upon it by the Allies. The fact that the Soviet Government has been eager from the start to remain at peace with the rest of the world is apparent if only from the long series of offers to discuss peace which it has sent out within the last twelve months, a list of which were published to the world by Fridtjof Nansen in an article that we recently reprinted in SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 14). How could a government of workers and peasants have any other desire than peace with the workers and peasants of the rest of the world? Would workers and peasants in one country (and in Russia the workers and peasants control the policy of the country) desire to shed the blood and inflict oppression upon the workers and peasants of other countries? (If Russia is being invaded by workers and peasants from other countries, it is not the fault of the workers and peasants of Russia, nor of those the other countries either). Peace is the goal of the Russia people—brotherhood with the toiling masses all over the world.

But intervention makes peace an empty dream. The imperialistic Allied powers, egged on by Russian counter-revolutionists who had sought refuge in other countries, and by their own capitalist classes who were eager to safeguard their investments in Russia even at the cost of the welfare of the Russian people, began hurling their armies against the borderlands of the people's revolution. Imagine the dismay of the Russian proletariat, after concluding peace with the imperialistic governments with which it had been at war, on suddenly finding itself still at war, with a group of imperialists no less savage than the defeated Alliance, a war that was easier to face for the Russian Soviet Government only because the treacherous nature of the enterprise rendered it impossible for the Allied powers to recruit armies openly for this unpopular purpose. The hypocrisy of Soviet Russia's foes is so manifest as hardly to require discussion. They deplore her "inefficiency" and intrigue with mercenary bands of cut-throats to throttle her independence. They "withdraw" certain detachments of troops, but say nothing of the new forces sent to take their places. They talk about the absence of "democracy" in Russia, and are in league with counter-revolutionists of the Kolchak-Denikin stamp, who would restore a Czarist Government in Russia.

The policy of Soviet Russia toward the formerly subject races of the Russian Empire is an instructive illustration of the enlightened attitude which is necessarily involved in a political system based on control by the workers and peasants. Just as the workers and peasants of Russia could have no cause for aggression against the workers and peasants of foreign countries, so they can have no reason to deny autonomy and self-determination to the various peoples living within the borders of the former empire of the Czar. All races within Russia are therefore free to set up their own governments and live under laws of their

own making. It is interesting to note, however, that in all the cases in which the Soviet Government has recognized the autonomy of a certain nationality of the former Russian Empire, the nationalities concerned have formed Soviet Governments on the model of the Russian Soviet Government and have united with the latter in open federation. Such was the case with Lithuania, White Russia, Latvia, Esthonia and Ukraine, and if now there be governments in some of those provinces hostile to the Soviet Government of Russia, it is not the governments of the peoples themselves, but counter-revolutionary governments, which, with the aid of the Allies (in the form of bayonets, supplies, and money), have displaced the governments of the peoples and undertaken to attack the Soviet Government because it has not suffered similar displacement in the interests of imperialistic paymasters.

The Second Year of the life of the Soviet Government is ended. The situation at this moment is chiefly a military situation, for the Yudenich forces are being thrown against the city of Petrograd in a last desperate effort of the Allies to defeat the Soviet Government on this front (unless these forces have already capitulated, which is every probable). Kolchak has been definitely defeated; Denikin will be next. A tremendous campaign of lies proceeds simultaneously with the attack by Yudenich and the Northwest Russian Army, but it is not certain that this campaign has any ulterior motive beyond raising the ruble on foreign exchanges to a quotation of about six and a half cents in American money, which must have redounded to the advantage of certain investors in foreign currency.

Soviet Russia, in short, is defending herself ably. She fights hard against all her enemies, but meanwhile does not neglect the work of reconstruction within, which continues all the time, and concerning which we try to give our readers as complete an idea as the meagre information that reaches this country permits. In placing its hopes confidently in the future, Soviet Russia recognizes that much of the hostile work against it will be mitigated by the fact that many of the workers in other countries are actively supporting a policy of "Hands Off Russia!" It is fortunate for Russia that the Russian policy of the Allies is not meeting with approval in the Allied countries themselves, and that the more brutal and direct forms of intervention are therefore difficult to launch in full public view. However this may be, the determination of the Russian people to stand by their own government and the institutions which mean so much to them, will not suffer any change.

A Truthful Story More Sensational and Stirring than Fiction, is the Account in our Next Issue of "Stockholm Murderers in the Employ of Counter-Revolution." Read it. Other interesting features.

The War in Russia

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY

IN 1793 the situation of the new-born French Republic was critical; in spite of the fact that Republican troops continued to fight on several fronts they were poorly supported with reserves and some were cut off altogether from possibility of supply.

Normandy, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux and many other places struggled against the government of Paris. The royalists of Toulon asked the assistance of English and Spanish fleets and soon the most important ports of France fell under the control of the foreign invaders. The peasants of La Vendee under Cathelineau, Bonchamps, Stofflet, Lecure and La Rochejaquelin, encouraged by the confusion existing in the military organization of Republicans, energetically continued their warfare.

The Allies began to display a most vigorous activity against France, although it was not concerted. There was no common policy amongst the Allies. . . and this saved the Revolution.

The Committee of Public Safety, the Supreme Executive Power, suggested to the Convention to issue a decree for conscription. Lazar Carnot was appointed organizer of the whole military machine.

Barere, the member of the Second Committee of Public Safety, encouraged the citizens with his fierce speeches: "Liberty," he said "has become the creditor of every citizen; some owe her their industry, others their fortune; these their counsel, those their arms; all owe her their blood. Accordingly, all the French of every age of either sex are summoned by their country to defend liberty." . . .

Thus were the French "Bolsheviki" one hundred and twenty four years ago. The whole nation was bound together in one common task: to hurl back its enemies by the creation of efficient armies. This was in August 1793.

Thirteen armies, totalling seven hundred and fifty thousand men, were organized. The English and Hanoverians abandoned their siege of Dunkirk already in September, and the Duke of York retreated with the loss of his artillery. Austrians and Prussians triumphing in their victory at Weissenburg were punished some time later. Generals Hock and Pichegru attacked Alsace and in December this province was in French possession and within the French borders there remained only French counter-revolutionists. . . .

One hundred and twenty four years have passed and the world is witnessing absolutely similar events in Russia. History is repeating itself with extraordinary accuracy.

Two years ago, after the Russian army was disbanded and gradually melting away, the situation of the new-born Soviet Government was critical. A state of anarchy reigned throughout the vast country and there was little hope that any power in the world would succeed in bringing Russia in order for many, many years.

In the high military spheres of Europe and America existed a firm opinion that never would Soviet Russia be able to raise a considerable army which would be able to resist the Allies in case of armed intervention. The existing Red forces were called bands of cut-throats, murderers, robbers, looters, and traitors. . . . "They will betray their own cause," it was said, "as soon as British guns will appear in Russia." There was a general laughter in British and French War Offices when it became known that Trotsky was appointed the War Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army. The Russian reactionaries rejoiced in the idea that with the help of the Allies they would crush down "Trotsky's bands" in the course of six months . . .

Two years have passed since the Soviet Government came into power over all Russia and from the very first day of its existence, it has been challenged by the whole world in the political, economic and military fields. During these two long years the so-called "Trotsky bands" have been ceaselessly engaged on a gigantic front, attacked from land and sea, by about sixteen nations together with the Russian traitors—and not only have they shown an obstinate resistance, but in most instances have even taken the initiative and solved strategic problems of great difficulty.

Napoleon said that "a war of Revolution proves a fine testing ground for man's abilities!" and "an important quality in war is firmness, which is a gift from Heaven!" Well, the Russian Nation during its life and death struggle for liberty, it seems to us, has shown the ability of its men as well as the extreme firmness of their military leader. Therefore they have won up till now—they must win also in the future.

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Now let us see how the genius of Trotsky succeeded in organizing the glorious army of Soviet Russia. It is obviously comprehensible that we are limited by space in our description which practically would require a volume, but as much as it is possible we shall give a general idea of the most wonderful work of creation that history has ever known.

First of all there were many serious obstacles before Trotsky. A strong, well-trained and highly disciplined army was necessary for Russia almost immediately. Soviet Russia was menaced not only by native reactionaries but even by the possibility of German invasion (after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty was signed) from the one side, and by invasion of the Allies from another side.

As a War Minister of the Proletarian Republic, Trotsky had to create an army suitable to the new regime. Such an army could be created gradually according to a plan pre-arranged by trained specialists and developed by means of general education of

the coming generation. The greatest difficulty arose before Trotsky in the fact that the Soviet Republic needed this army at once and that within a period of several months it had to reach the million mark. In reality there was no base for creating such a strong military force as was required. The proletariat could neither be in possession of methods of its own for such an organization nor had it ready any system for education and administration of any army designed for regular operations against the modern armies of the enemies. There was a lack of a responsible commanding element in the existing Soviet militia which was composed entirely of volunteers. They were in terrible need of skilful instructors of every kind for every branch of the army, so important in this most complicated organization of the modern military machine.

Trotsky knew well that if he acted in accordance with the principle included in the programme of the Social Democracy, he would have been unable to accomplish his great task, at the time when the existence of the Republic was in great danger. He realized that a temporary compromise would be inevitable, and it was decided to use for creating an army, not only the methods that had existed in the military organization of the fallen regime, but even to call the officers of the late Russian army to the Red Colours of the Revolution.

It was a risky undertaking of the new War Minister. There was great suspicion expressed by the members of the Soviet Government and especially by the extremists, who maintained that the officers of the old regime when in the Red Army could easily take the first opportunity to seize power and to establish a military dictator in Russia. As far as we are informed, there are still about 30,000 officers of the old regime serving with the Soviet armies, and it was a serious question for the Government to accept Trotsky's suggestion. It was generally feared by the Revolutionists that the Trotsky compromise might in the future, as was the case in France, produce a Russian "Bonapartism."

The great Russian military organizer realized this danger as did his colleagues, and in perfecting his plan he took the necessary precautions in order to prevent the possibility of such reaction.

During the preparatory period, while creating this conscript army, and while the Soviet militia in the field were being led by Revolutionary officers, most of whom had been promoted from the ranks, Trotsky was busy educating the old regime officers in Russia. He knew well that no one orator in the world of any literature or other means of intellectual education, but life itself would be useful in that case. He realized entirely that the conscience of these people could be re-born only through a series of misfortunes, physical privation and suffering, and moral depression. He knew that during the struggle for existence, the weakest of these elements would perish and the strong-minded with the will and the high morale, would regain their reason and would uphold their own people in the moment of a life and death struggle for their

country and Liberty. Trotsky knew well that those of them who would once understand the real significance of the Revolution, the real danger of the approaching reaction supported by the Anglo-Japanese-German-imperialism, in coalition with other capitalistic states, that those would be the real members of the army which he was instructed to form. As Trotsky supposed, so it happened.

It is well known that a hard time awaited those of the old Russian army who did not volunteer to serve in the Soviet Militia (and they were in the great majority). They were compelled to struggle for their own existence and in many cases for the existence of their families. The aggressive and reactionary element was annihilated. The remainder, unable to leave Russia, had to work as common laborers in order to keep from starving. Even senior officers and generals used to sell newspapers and other things in the streets. They became nothing but the outcasts of the nation. There was general fear to help these unfortunates openly because of possible punishment for such support. Thousands of them perished and only very few succeeded in emigrating. After several months of such bitter experiences, they passed through the first stage of the Trotsky training school, and were allowed to enter the Red Army which began to be mobilized.

In a comparatively short period a considerable number of the officers of the Old Russian army were commissioned in several Red regiments, being under permanent supervision of the Military Commissaires of the Soviets.

The strong conscientious discipline introduced by Trotsky which was enforced even by capital punishment,—since the method of administration has been rendered efficient by the communistic principles which exist in the Red Army,—is fully recognized by these officers as a very important element of morale of any military organization, though lacking in the army of the fallen empire. In accordance with their position, their economic conditions became much better than they had been in the old days of their service under the old regime. Their wives and families are now protected by the state and their future is insured from misery. They understand at last that they belong no longer to the Czar nor to the bourgeois minority. Neither are they soldiers of the Trotsky army, but that they are servants of Free Soviet Russia. What a change, what a rise of morale ought to be in the soul of such an officer, after all that he has been through in the past. The same has been the experience of the generals of the most reactionary, autocratic element of the old Russian army. They, like their junior comrades, returned to their positions, to the old well-organized machinery of the largest general staff in the world, the most complicated mechanism of a gigantic war office, with all its numerous branches under the supreme superintendancy of the genius Trotsky, and started to work with real Russian enthusiasm on entirely new lines. It was a real miracle, a wonder the world war had witnessed. While this machinery was set in motion,

Trotsky was busy reorganizing the whole system of the existing military schools and academies. His main idea was to get for the new army as soon as possible, young officers who had come out of the peasant and working classes.

Thanks to the great progress which the Soviet Government made with regard to general education in Russia, Trotsky succeeded in full. The increase in the number of courses of military instruction which replaced the old cadet corps, and in the number of students attending them proved clearly that the military authorities of Soviet Russia were alive to their duty. Besides, the staff college which trained the officers for service in the general staff, the Military Engineering Academy, the High Artillery Academy, and other high academies of several branches of military technique, five schools of the middle type were formed, which were designed to be an intermediate stage between the academy and the courses of training.

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Men of great military authority, like Generals Brussiloff, Parensoff, Klembovsky, Plustchil-Plustchevsky, who have a world-wide reputation, and many others who distinguished themselves during the great war, were appointed to responsible posts; and thanks to their concerted work in harmony with other ministers of the Soviet Government, in January 1919, the first line Soviet Army, according to official statements, numbered 750,000 and was already in the field fully equipped and well fed, and ready to meet the invaders. At the present moment the Soviet army is counted by millions.

This was achieved under Trotsky in the face of a strong opposition of the moderate Socialist parties. Trotsky was accused of introducing "militarism" in the Soviet Republic. To prove that the army would be a menace to the Republican Russia, the critics brought forth the shade of Napoleon. Trotsky protested: "Bonapartism," he said, "can only appear as the expression of certain quite definite social conditions. It was the political rule of the petty bourgeoisie which created the rise of Napoleon. . . . But if that part of the peasantry which belongs to the exploiting class is one of the basic props of any phase of Bonapartism, then the social composition of our army is the very best guarantee against Bonapartist tendencies, for the simple reason that the exploiting part of the peasantry is excluded from it." With regard to the possibility of reaction raising its head in Russia, Trotsky said the following significant words: "Counter-revolution will never arise out of the rule of the proletarian dictatorship; it can only come as a result of a direct bloody victory over this rule. But it is precisely the purpose of the Red Army, of its development and its internal unity, to make such a victory impossible." And this army has justified the hopes of its creator as well as the hopes of the masses of Soviet Russia.

In 1918, being heavily pressed by the Allies from practically all sides, the Soviet army, in the period

of its formation was compelled to fight the Allies and Russian reactionaries on thirteen fronts, ceding ground on the Murmansk-Archangel front, in Siberia, and on the Western-European frontier, where there was still the danger that the Germans would renew their invasion. Then Kolchak, with Japan and the Allies behind him, started his "victorious advance" on Moscow. Denikin was gradually created by the Allies and succeeded in forming an army of 250,000, perfectly equipped in the British fashion. The Ukrainians, Poles, Baltic States, Finland, and finally the Yudenitch-Rodzianko armies, backed by militaristic Germany, all these hostile to the Soviet Republic States, partly attacked the Red armies, and partly watched for a favorable moment to rush at the weakest part of the military lines of the fighters for the emancipation of the exploited masses. But in spite of all the efforts of this capitalistic coalition the glorious Red Army of Soviet Russia accomplished wonders. The Northern invaders were entirely beaten and compelled to withdraw their troops from the Archangel-Murmansk front, leaving their Russian accomplices to their own fate; the brutal hordes of Kolchak, who dared to attempt his march on Moscow, preparing a mortal blow at the very heart of Free Russia, were defeated and pushed back several hundred miles. The Denikin army, which, thanks to the treachery of Grigorieff, succeeded in invading South Russia and started its campaign towards Moscow, was not only checked but finds itself in a strategical position which resembles very much the position of the French army at Sedan. The smaller nations, which have arisen, thanks to the Russian revolution, and which for a long period remained hostile to the Soviets, are gradually changing their attitude and are showing their readiness for an understanding with Moscow. And now we are witnessing the last act of the tragedy. Under instructions from London, Yudenitch and Rodzianko started their new campaign against Petrograd. This senseless movement had to be accomplished in a day. Since October 16th we were repeatedly informed, both officially and unofficially, about the doom of Petrograd, which was several times reported already fallen. On several occasions it was also mentioned that Kronstadt, perhaps the strongest fortress in the world, had capitulated to the British navy. A series of Denikin and Kolchak "victories" were also reported, and we read also detailed reports of a revolution in Moscow. We read all these reports patiently, and were greatly amused, knowing well the value of our two years old army, the ability of our general staff and of our commanders, and the valor of our troops. We have not forgotten the promise of our War Minister, who simply and firmly said: "After Kolchak will be Denikin, and after Denikin the Poles and Finns, if they will be aggressive to the Soviet Republic." Heretofore, as the facts show, Trotsky kept his promises, and he can well afford to make such promises, having at his disposal an army which can, without any bias, be considered the strongest

and bravest army in the world, because from a purely military point of view none of the armies which participated in the great world war had accomplished such strategical manoeuvres in the presence of such terrible circumstances as has the Red army.

The second anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic will be inscribed in the history of mankind by the glory of its glorious unconquerable army which successfully defended the Red flag of equality and freedom against the onslaught of world capitalism.

* * *

THE news about the military situation in Russia which reached us during the last ten days were of such a character that it is impossible to understand what is actually happening behind the Allied screen of journalistic lies. At last, on October 23, none of the New York papers published any news on Russia. This silence was broken by the *Globe* of October 24. On the front page of this paper appeared a "very important" cablegram from Honolulu stating that "Premier Lenin has been captured by anti-Bolshevik forces." This silly story, in this case too silly to be mischievous, is characteristic for the "news" on Russia with which the prevaricating news agencies feed the American public.

Since the attack on Petrograd was first reported and it became known that the attacking forces are composed of the Yudenitch-Rodzianko armies, and that the Esthonians and Letts are engaged by the Russo-German armies of Von-der-Goltz and Avaloff-Bermond, and that there is little hope that Finland would associate with the aggressors, we at once considered that the whole Yudenitch adventure would be a shot with blank cartridges. The slight resistance which the Yudenitch army met during its advance to Gatchino could be explained by the desire of the Soviet General Staff to let him approach closer to the fortifications of the Capital, which were prepared to meet a more formidable army than the army of Yudenitch, namely the German army. These fortifications were built according to a special plan elaborated by the late General Staff of the Czar's army, and were very much improved since Yudenitch appeared with his forces, taking the positions on the Peipus-Pskov lakes line. The Soviet General Staff had for a long time expected that Petrograd would be attacked, and, though the loss of that town would not be of great strategical significance, decided to defend it by all means, in order to prevent the Allies from even a temporary political triumph. On the other hand, the Soviet General Staff knew that, in case Yudenitch would abandon his very defensive position on the Pskov Lake lines, he could be easily cut off from Esthonia because of his want of any kind of reserves. Hence, the Reds, instead of barring the way to the advancing Yudenitch, offered but slight resistance and then unexpectedly attacked Gdoff, in the rear of the invader, where they have concen-

trated considerable forces, not less than 30,000 strong. At the same time they have immediately sent strong reinforcements to the Petrograd garrison from the South, while from Moscow the reserve army was moved and reached its destination in time. And thus, according to a despatch from London, which was published in the *Sun* of October 23, the Reds are making violent counter attacks on Yudenitch with considerable success.

The Yudenitch forces are occupying a line south of Ligovo, west of Gatchino, west of Tsarskoye Selo* and west of Pavlovsk,* this center is west of Luga and only "fighting for the possession of the Petrograd-Vitebsk railway line," which was alleged to have been cut off by the invaders. His right flank rests on Lake Peipus, twenty miles to the south of Gdoff, which is occupied by the Reds.

Consequently, only the co-operation of Finland and the Baltic states could save the Yudenitch-Rodzianko armies, but unfortunately for the aggressors, the Finnish Government was forced to refuse any support to the Russian reactionary, and there is not much hope for any help from the Esthonians and other Baltic nations, which are at present engaged in a fierce struggle by Avaloff-Bermond. A despatch from London, published in the *World* of October 24, says: "It is considered that it will be a satisfactory solution when Yudenitch reaches the line from Lake Ladoga along the Volkov River to Novgorod."

There were many similar ridiculous suggestions, which we are not prepared to repeat. Only that the above mentioned is sufficient to understand that the Yudenitch army has not even a way for retreat, except into the jaws of the enemy.

Soviet Russia, especially the center of it, is by no means a pleasant place for an enemy's army to promenade. In any case time will show the real situation of the Yudenitch army, but we are inclined to suspect that it has already capitulated.

Meanwhile the several times "fallen" Kronstadt is fiercely repulsing the "attacking" allied navy.

This news certainly did not come from military sources, because it sounds so silly.

Kronstadt is a strongly fortified sea-port situated on the island of Kotlin and founded by Peter the Great in 1710. The population of Kronstadt is about 60,000. Five forts defended Kronstadt and rendered great service during the attack of the Anglo-French fleet at the time of the Crimean war, when the enemy tried to approach Petrograd. They were repulsed by Kronstadt. Now these forts have lost their military importance. In 1856-1871 General Totleben, the Russian hero of Sebastopol, founded a new fort "Constantine" and four batteries which were planned to defend the principal approach, and also seven batteries to cover the shallower northern channel. They are low and thickly armored earthworks, powerfully armed with heavy Krupp guns in turrets. The approach to Oranienbaum, on the Russian mainland, is strongly guarded by batteries.

*Already retaken by the Reds.

So Kronstadt is practically safe from "attack" from the sea and could fall only in case of a complete blockade, which is impossible as long as Petrograd is in the hands of the Soviets.

From the air Kronstadt is absolutely protected, having a rather strong anti-aircraft defense.

According to an Associated Press despatch from London of October 23, "the position of the volunteer army of Denikin is brilliant." On the other hand, the same despatch admits a "few temporary failures." This reminds us of the series of "temporary failures" of Kolchak, which instead of bringing him to Moscow, forced him back about

800 miles to the east, into Siberia; and where there is "evidence" that "the end of Bolshevism is at hand," as General Shkuro is reported to have said (the *Sun*, October 24,), we leave to the judgment of our readers, especially since, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, all of Daghestan is in a state of revolt and Elisabetapol, which is in Denikin's rear, has been captured by the Reds.

The wireless from Moscow (see Associated Press despatch from London of October 23) stating that the Soviet Parliament will convene on December 1, is a sufficient reply to these dreams of the counter-revolutionists.

The Broken Swedish-Russian Relations

IRON WORKERS TAKE ACTION FOR THEIR RENEWAL;
PECULIAR ACTION OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER

(Translated from *Arbetaren*, Oct. 9, 1919.)

DURING the Congress of the Swedish Metal Workers' Industrial Union the blockade against Soviet Russia came up for discussion.

In addition to the adoption of resolutions, it was decided that the executive committee of the union should interview the Foreign Minister in reference to this matter. Later developments in this affair have attracted much attention.

Mr. J. O. Johanson, secretary of the union, gives an account of the interview with the Foreign Minister, in "The Metal Worker." The communication delivered on this occasion was, in part, as follows: "To the Government:

"Within the metal industry of our country great lack of orders has prevailed for some time with accompanying unemployment as a result, together with a general action on the part of the employers to oppose the workers' demands for wages which would be commensurate with the high cost of living, and with the wages paid in other industries. It has happened, moreover, under the plea of export troubles, etc., that employers have even attempted to force the workers to accept reductions in wages.

"It is and has been clear to the metal workers that the manner in which Swedish representatives have handled our connections with other countries, and especially with Russia, has been a great damage to our country. Through the government's suspension of the diplomatic and commercial relations between our country and Russia, all trading possibilities with this country have been entirely cut off. At the Thirteenth Congress of our union, which was held from August 3rd to 12th, this question was treated, and after a thorough discussion the Congress decided to express its 'disapprobation of the breaking of diplomatic and commercial relations with Russia.'

"This break is a measure which has seriously damaged Sweden's commerce with Russia, has had an injurious influence on Swedish industry and has promoted and added to the unemployment which

now prevails in Sweden. It is known that the Russian Soviet Republic is willing to place huge orders in Sweden, in case an adjustment of diplomatic and commercial relations can be brought about. These Russian orders would, to a very considerable degree, help to remedy the existing unemployment, which already assumes a threatening character, especially in the metal industry. The Congress therefore demands that the government resume diplomatic and commercial relations with the workers of Russia and it entrusts the new management of the union to notify the government of the entire seriousness of the Congress' request. Should the government continue its policy of pleasing imperialism, to the detriment of the workers, and refuse to resume friendly relations with Soviet Russia, the union administration will consider it its duty to ask the Landsecretariate to summon the representatives of the Landorganization to discuss what measures the organized workers of Sweden will take.

"We have received a commission from the Congress, as well as from the Executive Committee, to call the attention of the government to the views of the unions regarding this matter, which views prevail among the metal workers of Sweden. We submit, therefore, that the government may consider this request of the metal workers, which request is further supported by several of the greater factories within the industry.

"Stockholm, August 25, 1919."

FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE SWEDISH METAL WORKERS.

Johan Olaf Johansson Axel Svensson
K. G. Anderson.

The union secretary, Mr. J. O. Johansson, who participated in the interview, writes the following about the reply of the Foreign Minister and his later attempt to disclaim the statements made during the interview:

"After hearing our presentation of our proposition, the Foreign Minister asked if we had proof

that Russia would really buy Swedish products. We replied that a representative from Soviet Russia who had succeeded in reaching Sweden, had presented a list of the things which could be used by Russia at once, and which, as a matter of fact, they wished to receive from Sweden.

"After receiving this information, the Foreign Minister changed his manner, and stated frankly that there were no obstacles in the way of opening up trade relations with Russia, stating further that the fact that diplomatic relations were broken, played no role whatever in trade relations, that it was only necessary for those interested to start in doing business with Russia.

"To this rather absurd statement we replied with a reminder of the blockade, which the minister frankly admitted was a fact and was as effectual as it was possible for a blockade to be. We then asked whether it would be impossible for the Swedish Government to protect Swedish vessels with a military convoy, the Swedish vessels bearing Swedish products to Russia. A very decided negative reply was given to this, and the Minister added that we had too few vessels and too few cannon to adopt such measure, since *an attempt to break the blockade would be equivalent to a declaration of war upon the Allies*. To our next inquiry, whether there was not a middle way between the two alternatives of declaring war, or absolute submission, we were also given a very definite No, by the Minister.

The audience was concluded herewith, and we withdrew after having received the information that it was England and France who were blockading Russia and threatening with war everyone who tried to break the blockade.

After the contents of this interview had been given to the press the N. P. C., "through the proper official channels" received the explanation that the Foreign Minister had been pleased to "joke."

One must ask oneself what could be the reason for such a joke on the part of the Swedish Foreign minister. His statements were neither unclear nor facetious. His answers to our direct questions were direct and even a little sharp. To attempt later on at publicly making light of the interview is such a decided veering that it seems incredible that even an old "diplomat" and lawyer would dare attempt it. The situation is apparently very ill indeed. Mr. Hellner, in his eagerness to be imposing, presumably chanced to tell a little more truth than he found it advisable to vouch for afterwards, and in his anxiety to repudiate his statements he found no other method than by declaring himself a "joker."

So much the worse for Mr. Hellner. As to the metal workers, however, it is now entirely clear that behind the Russian blockade lie the English, French, and American capitalists, who will, by force of arms, starve and likewise destroy the Russian workers' Revolution, in order to preserve their own capitalistic system. And the liberal socialistic Swedish government is acting just now, with a jesting Foreign Minister at its head, as a busy errand boy to the Entente. This scandalous situation is

perfectly plain to the workers. Our first measure will be to make the metal workers of England and France aware of the part their governments are playing in this matter. To our own government we can plainly say that every last vestige of the confidence of the workers in our government has been entirely destroyed by the foreign minister's "joke."

* * *

To the above the *Politiken* adds the following critique of the *Sozial Demokraten*:

"In connection with this the queer attitude of *Social-Demokraten* is worthy of mention. After the paper had accepted N. C. P.'s very clumsy contradiction of the committee's story, it refuses to accept Mr. Johansson's categorical support of the story. The paper states that "here is information against information" and professes not to know what to believe. But the *Social-Demokraten* cannot thus relieve the minds of the workers from suspicion of its falsity in the matter. It still does not understand that the Minister has been guilty of that worst fault of a diplomat,—the telling of the actual truth. Or, does the paper, as the paper of the government, consider it a duty to uphold a member of the government in even such a sickening matter as this?"

Berlin and the Blockade

IT is rather extraordinary that we should be left to hear from Berlin that the allies have invited Germany to participate in a blockade of Soviet Russia. If the proposal could be kept secret the motive for secrecy would be more apparent. But the German government is not a member of the supreme council, and the decision which it was invited to make was too serious to be secretly undertaken by any democratic government which had not pooled its international affairs; publication of the news at Berlin was as much to be expected as the publication in Switzerland, Holland and the Scandinavian countries of the news that they declined last June a similar proposal from the Allies to take part in a new blockade of Germany if it could fail to sign the peace treaty. It is not very clear, therefore, why the allies should make a secret of what was likely to be divulged by Germany; such reticence does no good and is likely to do harm by making the people of entente countries suspicious of governments which show so little frankness.

The German government has not yet acted upon the invitation, which is spoken of in dispatches from Berlin as putting Germany in an awkward dilemma. It has protested bitterly against the "hunger warfare" conducted by Great Britain; the force of its protests would be weakened if it should participate in a similar warfare against the Russian Soviet Republic with a population equal to that of Germany and German Austria put together. Yet if the invitation is refused, the *Lokal Anzeiger* fears, Germany would risk being included in the blockade, and would simply incur

new miseries without being able to relieve the sufferings of Russia.

That this danger is not wholly imaginary may perhaps be inferred from the recent threat of the supreme council to blockade Germany if it did not recall German soldiers enlisted in the Russian armies, which is probably beyond the power of the Berlin government. Also Germany is already affected by a blockade of its Baltic ports which also takes in all the Baltic provinces of Russia. It would be but a short and simple step to complete the process if the German government should decline to share in a blockade of Soviet Russia.

It is suggested that instead of making a definite answer the German government may suggest an international commission, including neutrals, for the examination of the entire Russian question. This would be a rather astute course to take, in view of the difficult international questions in-

volved in the blockade of a country with which the Allies profess not to be at war. Hitherto there has been no blockade in a technical sense, because proclamation of one has been unnecessary, the Allies sufficiently controlling the seaways, and the Soviets being isolated by a cordon of armies. With the Baltic states negotiating peace or an indefinite truce, the situation is changed, and this no doubt accounts for the reported establishment in recent days of a virtual blockade of the whole Baltic coast. But to make it permanently effective the co-operation of Germany is needed. Thus the time seems near when the whole anomalous situation must be cleared up, and a proposal from Germany for open action upon it by an international council, including neutrals, might shift the dilemma to the supreme council, which has neither produced a Russian policy nor invited the nations to produce one.—*The Springfield Republican*, Oct. 15, 1919.

The Promising Situation in Russia

AN INTERVIEW WITH ANTON NILSSON

(From *Politiken*, Stockholm)

THE question of food in Central Russia is still very distressing, particularly in Petrograd and its vicinity, and people there are suffering a great deal. In Siberia and towards the Ural district there is access to rich food supplies of all kinds. During the summer enormous quantities of fish have gone to waste in these districts and have been used as fertilizer so that it might not be entirely wasted.

In Russia it is generally the places that are located close to a large railway that have less access to food than those far out in the country, which are usually well supplied.

As I have said, the hardest times have been in the big cities, in Petrograd and Moscow. In the former, where the suffering has been the greatest, the Soviet officials have before everything else taken care of the children. Whole trains of food have been requisitioned from Ukraine to be used by the children alone. All children under 14 years of age are fed free. Underfed women have also been cared for. They are gathered in contingents and sent out into the country districts, where they work in the fresh air and are fed on milk and other wholesome and nutritious food. Healthy and strong they return home to leave room for others who need country life.

The fuel question is another problem which disturbs the population of Petrograd and Moscow. Its solution has been complicated mostly on account of the counter-revolutionary activities.

Harvest Prospects Very Promising.

The hardest time is passed, however, by this time. The harvest promises to be of the very best, and one is particularly hopeful. Grain problems do not worry the Soviet Republic any longer. Of last year's harvest, sixty millions of poods of rye were distributed amongst the population. Re-

lying upon this year's harvest reports, which are now ready, one hundred and twenty millions are available for distribution and another sixty million poods for eventual need, a reserve supply. Thus the reserve alone for this year is equal to the whole supply of last year. As is well known, the soil is very fertile, and if one had but an opportunity to cultivate it in a rational way, immense harvests could be obtained. But agriculture is of the primitive kind, and the Soviets are doing everything possible to introduce other methods, to obtain modern machinery, and to increase agricultural production. The blockade of the Allies makes it very difficult to do this, and in addition this past war has taken—as wars always do take—the strongest and best laborers.

Railways and Means of Transportation.

One of the worst obstacles in the way of a rational distribution of food products among the population has, as a matter of course, been the miserable conditions of the railways. The lack of cars and engines has been extreme. It has been impossible to transport products from those portions of the country where a surplus existed to the portions—especially the big cities—which have been in dire need.

But even this difficulty seems in a fair way to being overcome, and there is every reason for hope. The work at the railway factories is carried on with the greatest energy. At Petrograd alone not less than 300 cars are put into repair each month and returned to service, and a new engine is turned out every week. The trains are running regularly and according to the time tables. The railways are kept up in the best condition, and the traffic is very active, although there are not many passenger cars. As naphtha is lacking wood has to be used for fuel, which

keeps the speed a little less than normal on trains between Petrograd and Moscow, nevertheless the speed of the express trains is considerably higher than the speed of the Swedish express trains.

Factories.

For several reasons the factory activities are partly at a standstill. This is partly due to the fact that the workers are fighting at the front, and partly to a lack of raw materials. This latter could easily be remedied, however, as Russia has immense supplies of material within her own boundaries, were it not that the difficulties of transportation make them unavailable. Besides this, one must remember that in a country which is at war with almost the entire remainder of the world, war production is the most imperative necessity. Within these factories activities are being carried on to the fullest extent, and most efficiently. As for unemployment, it cannot be compared with conditions in other countries. They who are without work, for any reason, as for instance the standstill of industry requiring skilled specialists, are still drawing pay like the others. The working hours are everywhere limited to eight hours at the most, and in many places the six-hour day prevails.

The Schools.

The greatest honor for having developed an educational system which is in many instances better than the Swedish system, belongs to the Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, who has perfected a marvelously unselfish and extensive plan for the increasing of general education. School children are not only educated by studying from books at school and at home, but they also get practical knowledge in many fields. Teachers bring the children to museums, to work shops, to factories, and other places, where they learn the production of various necessities of life, as for instance the construction and manufacture of machines, their purpose, use, inventors, etc.

There came, for example, to the aviation school where I was, many school children who with interest examined the machines, inspected the motors, and were deeply interested. We went up several times in order to show the children how the machines worked.

Culture Under The Soviets

By ALLAN WALLENIUS

The author of this article, which presents some of the accomplishments of the Soviet Government in the educational field, is a Swedish Left Wing Socialist, who set down his observations in January 1919, while still at Petrograd.

THE chief article of faith in the anti-Bolshevist creed, the one most frequently cited in bourgeois quarters, is the statement that Communism is a movement opposed to culture. This claim is quite old and worn out. But you will find that it

has proselytes still in some places. Everyone recalls with what delight the bourgeois circles hailed Ossian Nilson's "Forest of Barbarism" with its alleged reports of common traits between the barbarians and the Socialists, on the one hand, and Hellas and the bourgeois world, on the other hand. And if champions are to be egged on against a transformation of society by the workers, I suppose this manner of espousing culture will always take in a few new recruits. At least a handful of club students who have not yet exhausted their enthusiasm for popular attention. And simultaneously, the pseudo-intelligentzia, which is fighting energetically in its ignorance of society—of course with pen and ink—in favor of old, outlived truths, which have already become lies. And unconsciously—for a lack of interest, of will, of ability, have prevented its members from securing enlightenment for themselves—for the continued existence of the capitalist bandit society. A little hoax which they always like to take part in is the old one of the conciliation of classes within the modern state, for how would they ever have found out that the very existence of a state as a state is based on the irreconcilability of classes? Their guileless "theory of conciliation" is absolutely without meaning.

But their doctrine on the enemies of culture—the bolsheviks—the communists, has most of its effectiveness in the measure that it furnishes a "moral" backbone to those who have been recruited in the White Army. They feel themselves to be at least crusaders, "outposts of culture;" in their silent watches, or in the officers' mess, when the brimming cups go round, they indulge in their declamations.

But let us pass on from these self-constituted knights, to the "enemies of culture," the Bolsheviks, and let us see how they have ruined civilization in Russia. We are at once impressed with the intensive work that is going on. The "destructive forces" must certainly be developing great energy. But if we turn our attention to the work accomplished, we observe that it is of an entirely different nature. It is constructive work. And here new cultural activities are arising daily in the Russia of the Bolsheviks. The books that are printed run into gigantic editions of two or three hundred thousand. And even into the millions. Of course, in the first place, Socialistic literature. But also scientific works, literary works, translations, Russian classics, and the best known writers. And the poets are also active. They are not only publishing the productions of poets of the past, but also the modern Russian literature is flourishing with wonderful energy and originality. The proletarian authors in the Russia of this day have been completely liberated from the pessimistic view of the proletariat. They are inspired to sing by the struggling, class-conscious, rising and conquering proletariat; the suffering, hungering and ragged proletariat is a thing of the past, which lives only in unpleasant memories. But in addition, excellent translations of the literature of the various countries are appearing here, edited

and selected by competent persons. Thus I recently came upon a remarkable collection of the writings of Finnish authors, and the head of this whole, well-organized literary activity is a guarantee for artistic taste and solid presentation, Maxim Gorky.

"The Minister of Education" is by the way, Lunacharsky, a cultured enthusiast of European reputation, a well-informed man of peculiarly versatile and profound interests, who is furthermore, himself most productive as a literary worker and artist.

Under his leadership, instruction in the schools has been transformed so that now it is accessible to all persons. Thousands of new schools have been started, and the lecture system is being pushed with an intensity that is very promising. The most careful thought is devoted to every form of popular instruction. The old, outworn, educational methods of Scandinavia and Finland grow pale by the side of the measures that are undertaken here. And the Russian people jump with enthusiasm at every opportunity for culture that is afforded, an enthusiasm which is fundamental, whether it be a lecture, a course of conferences, a program or a good book. People's universities are being opened in all cities, likewise libraries and reading rooms. Moving pictures are active in the service of popular education. And the gates of the higher universities are opened for all who seek knowledge, and who have the talent to increase their knowledge within these walls.

And art is encouraged in every possible way. The theatres are playing all the time, always to full houses. And Russia's actors can compete with the best. The best theatre in the world is the Art Theatre in Moscow. Sculptors are busily at work. Statues in public places, as well as art exhibitions bear witness to this fact. The painters are most active. But all over, in every art—even in Music the revolution can be felt. The old, accustomed, slavish paths have been deserted, and people are going in for the boldest experiments. There is always gain, and often the gain is magnificent. And the whole thing is going forward. Art is liberating itself. Cubism and Futurism have their prophets who are actively seeking. But many a man has already succeeded and has already gone beyond a mere seeking, to the realization of their personal ambitions, or have joined in the general spirit of revolutionary unity and solidarity which characterizes the artistic creation of present-day Russia.

* * *

Particular interest is attached to the organization known as "proletkult" (proletarian culture). But we shall speak more of this later. At this time I shall merely present a little picture of cultural work among the workers in some of the quarters of Moscow.

The staff in one of the Moscow Soviets had formed a club which was granted a palace and 20,000 rubles to dispose of. At once a feverish activity developed. And soon the rooms and corridors

of the palace were swarming with members of the club, as well as with proletarians, workers from by quarters of Moscow. The few evenings that I had an opportunity to visit this club were enough to convince me that new Russia will harvest tremendous fruits from its educational work.

In the first great room which I entered, there was nothing to distinguish it from an ordinary clubroom. It was a sort of conversation and meeting room. But in the room opposite, I came upon a number of young workers who had gathered around a long-haired and black-eyed musician who was giving a lecture on the possibilities and the significance of music, particularly with reference to the balalaika. And the audience was sitting by his instruments and listening to the man's speech until he stopped to illustrate his words. Then came a thorough lesson in the noble art of playing the balalaika. Another evening was reserved for violin playing. In another room there was instruction and practice in singing. In a third room, they were reading aloud. In a fourth, there was practice in writing, or reckoning. In another lessons in English, while other rooms were devoted to German and French. Everywhere there was zeal, and everywhere there were people ready to learn and ready to teach others.

And there was no lack of competent teachers.

Most interesting of all was visiting the room in which the workers exhibited their own productions. The discussions there were conducted with a certain cheerful frankness, openness, and simplicity. Everything ready made was immediately treated to the most ruthless criticism, while everything original and excellent was praised by appreciative silence, or enthusiastic encouragement. One worker delivered a speech which was then discussed by the other working comrades. Then the supervisor of the course expressed his opinion; his speech was one of the best expressions I have heard on the necessity of expressing one's self clearly, and in addition he had the power to illustrate what he was talking about in an excellent manner. Finally, there was a thoughtful and clear analysis of the essence of bourgeois culture, as compared with proletarian culture. Then an old working woman read a few poems written by her in 1906,—in other words after the first revolution. These were of great impressiveness in their simplicity and perfection of form. And her reading was so natural that it could hardly be observed that it was a reading. This was already the result of the cultural work that has been going on. The proletarian mass which for centuries was obliged to keep silence was here expressing itself, its thoughts, its feelings. Through thousands of channels all over Russia the suppressed longing for liberty was now finding expression.

A very fine effect was made by a soldier singing, upstairs in the lecture room, a poem which he had written to a melody composed by himself. The production dated from the Russo-Japanese war. In words and music there was such infinitely powerful

melancholy coupled with such a strong longing, that there was almost jubilation in his voice at times. And when he followed this poem from the nights of darkness with another that had been composed and written recently, it was evident that the longing expressed in the former poem had been realized for the joy of victory breathed in every note, a joy that shouted out, in spite of the fact that he seemed conscious that the onward march was still difficult to accomplish.

It is thus that the Bolshevik communists are tearing down civilization in barbarous Russia, in the land of the nagaika and the fabricated Red Terror.

ALLAN WALLENIUS.

Petrograd, January 1919.

How Some Pro-Kolchak Manifestos Are Made

THE readers of "Soviet Russia" may recall how much capital was made at one time in the camp of the Kolchakist "democrats," of a manifesto issued by some representatives of the Siberian Co-operatives resident in the United States, in recognition and support of the "All-Russian" government of Admiral Kolchak. The persons of the representatives were at once identified with the co-operative organizations themselves, and their declaration heralded as the surest sign that the many millions of co-operators, whom they were supposed to represent, were heart and soul for the new "Father" of the Russian people, the "sincere" Democrat and "true" Russian, Admiral Kolchak, and that the sole worry of the unsuspecting co-operators was the apparent indifference of the American public to the political and personal virtues of the new "saviour" of Russia.

Now, one of the signers of this notorious manifesto was Mr. Trutnev, the New York selling agent and buying agent of the Siberian Union of Co-operative Unions, popularly called "Zakoopsbyt." The following item, taken from the Omsk newspaper "Nasha Zarya," of July 26, may give rise to interesting political reflections. The Russian representatives were influenced by American "public opinion," fabricated in the editorial rooms of "Struggling Russia"; on the other hand American people themselves were influenced by the declaration of the "mystified" Russian representatives. It is doubtful, however, whether all Americans will sympathize with the nonchalance with which some of the leaders of the Co-operatives are setting aside their "programme and party prejudices"—to use the language of the pro-Kolchak "Nasha Zarya" whose article we reprint below in part:

"The Russian Telegraph Agency communicates interesting information as to the motives which have led the representatives of the Russian Co-operatives in America to come forth with the known declaration expressing their support of the government of Admiral A. W. Kolchak.

"This declaration at one time made a great im-

pression in our midst, as up to that time some Co-operative representatives in America had taken quite the opposite stand with regard to the Russian government.

"The declaration made the impression of an abrupt change in the political tendencies in co-operative circles, of a sobering process from the left influences which had dominated the co-operatives before.

"As it appears from the letter of the Co-operator Trutnev, communicated to the Russian Telegraph Agency, the motives for the aforementioned declarations were dictated not by the internal tendencies of the Russian Co-operatives, but by the pressure of American public opinion. In order not to appear as Bolsheviks in the eyes of the Americans, Mr. Trutnev and others had to declare their allegiance to the Russian Government (Kolchak). Considerations of an economic and co-operative nature have overcome the programme and party prejudices. . . ."

For Russia

By BORIS SOUVARINE

THE Congress of British Trade Unions has adopted a resolution of J. H. Thomas, a veritable ultimatum to Churchill, deciding to convoke a special Trade Union Congress, in order to decide what action should be taken in case the British Government did not withdraw the British troops from Russia.

Thus, thanks to the action of the Socialists of the extreme left, the masses of the English workmen became conscious of the supreme importance of the Russian problem.

What will we do in France, in order to repay our debt of solidarity to the Russian revolution? The Rhone Federation proposes to the Congress to decide upon a systematic obstruction in the Chamber in order to rouse public opinion, and a refusal to pay taxes in order to strike the bourgeois state at a sensitive point. Excellent suggestions. If the Party, in addition, would engage in a campaign of meetings and an intense propaganda of every kind, the moment should not be far when the public spirit would manifest a resolute will to impose peace with Soviet Russia, whose peaceful intentions are well known.

We insist upon the necessity of declaring a formal conclusion of a treaty of peace between the Allies and the Moscow government.

The formula "End of the Intervention" is equivocal and affords our government a chance to engage in a clandestine intervention under the form of support secretly given to the pretorians who assail Socialist Russia. What we should force them to begin is negotiations between the de facto governments of Paris, London and Moscow. What one should re-establish is the commercial intercourse, the exchange of commodities, the economic relations.

The task is not beyond the powers of a Party that has assigned to itself a more important role.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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About Russia

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THE Soviet Republic marches into its third year with unshaken strength and determination. One by one its enemies go down in defeat or withdraw, sickened of the struggle. Kolchak is beaten beyond recovery. Denikin is defeated and trapped. Disaster awaits Yudenitch. The Finnish socialists and peasants have refused to allow further waste of blood and wealth in war upon the Russian workers. The border states, from the Azerbaijan Republic in the south to Esthonia in the north, have joined in protest against the attempted restoration of monarchical imperialism in Russia. Throughout the world the demand grows more insistent that this murderous folly shall cease. The French Confederation of Labor in its great congress at Lyons protested again the blockade and intervention, demanded peace with Russia and ordered the transport organizations to refuse to carry munitions to the reactionaries. The French workers are preparing to strike in defense of their Russian comrades. The English Parliament opened its autumn session in a tumult over the government's Russian policy. All the economic and political forces of the world work to the confusion of the enemies of Soviet Russia. The powers of reaction, gathered together for a last desperate assault, are disrupted by mutual antagonisms. Even in their common hatred of Russia, they are unable to compose their own jealousies. Supported by the faith and courage of the Russian workers, the Soviet Republic presents a united front to a world of enemies enfeebled by fears and selfish dissensions.

THE fog of battle lifts for a moment and discloses the face of the enemy. Read the official communique from anti-Soviet headquarters: "A group consisting of Kidder, Peabody & Company, the Guaranty Co., and the National City Bank have, in conjunction with Messrs. Baring Bros. & Co., Ltd., London, agreed to make a loan of approximately \$40,000,000 to the Omsk government."

Forty millions of dollars out of the wealth created by the workers of America and England are to be spent on the purchase of munitions, made by the workers of America and England, for slaughter in Russia. Hear the bagman's boast of General Knox, chief of the British Military Mission in Siberia, crying his wares: "Great Britain has furnished the Siberians and General Denikin with great quantities of munitions, hundreds of thousands of rifles, hundreds of millions of cartridges, hundreds of big guns and thousands of machine guns. . . . Each cartridge fired this year by these Russian soldiers was made in England by English workmen from English material, the supplies being shipped to Russia on English steamships." Death in Siberia—"made in England."

In the van of the drunken Yudenitch, marching to his doom under the guns of Petrograd, go British tanks manned by British soldiers. To pay themselves for these guns and cartridges and tanks this little group of bankers met in stealth and planned a "loan" to a government that does not exist of money it will never receive. For Kolchak will never see these forty millions, nor ever spend a cent of them on bread or shelter for the Russian people. The bankers out of their generosity will keep the gold and give Kolchak the guns which they cannot make their own peoples carry.

Peace and industry wait while the gorged munition mongers batten upon the blood of men. The merchant ships of the world that should be freighted with food and clothing are filled with cannon. Workers who could make shoes and tools for their fellow men ply deadly trades in gas factories and powder works. Iron that might build bridges brings a higher price as shrapnel. Steel that would turn a furrow or drill a rock is sharpened for human flesh. War has become the normal state of capitalist economy. At a rumor of peace the stocks fall. Each new offensive "strengthens" the market. International finance has a vested interest in murder.

Is there, then, to be no end to all this bloody traffic until the last shell is sold? In the lust for new wars to create new markets to save the cannon from the junk heap, shall half the world be driven into the gun shops to supply the other with the tools of destruction? Parliaments and press are powerless to end it. The end rests with the workers who make the guns and pay for the guns and fire the guns and are killed by the guns.

EVEN in this most gullible and forgetful world the capitalist press will not soon recover from the infamy of the past three weeks. "Moscow doomed—Kronstadt taken—Petrograd fallen." The exposure of this gigantic conspiracy of deception will awaken lasting resentment and distrust. The editors knew well what was being done. Even while their news columns trafficked in falsehood without stint, obscure editorial paragraph hinted scepticism. The game was over-played. Within the government press bureaus the team-work was imperfect, because it is not yet possible to dragoon the intelligence of the entire world. While the British War Office was confidently announcing the fall of Kronstadt, someone at the Admiralty, with a knowledge of mine fields and armaments, blurted out the truth that such an event was "not even an intelligent anticipation." But for the most part intelligence was not considered. As a New York paper said, shamelessly confessing that the news was manufactured by the militarists, "the method is incidental." The main thing was to achieve the destruction of Soviet Russia by any means at hand.

Many were fooled, of course. Even among friends of Soviet Russia there were faint hearts and fine-spun theories to account for the sudden "defeat" of the Red Army. Out of the many who were tricked into temporary credulity, a few will have learned not to be so tricked again. Many more, however, will soon forget and will be as easily duped another time. But to the press itself, we imagine, there came as never before a consciousness of its own degradation. Workers in the news rooms and on the presses must have felt the shame of their employment. The propagandists bent their pliant tool almost to the breaking point. It will never serve them so well again.

* * *

THE action of the British in imprisoning the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* upon his return from Soviet Russia is now easily understood. Mr. Goode came out of Russia just as the powers were preparing to launch their terrific propaganda portraying Soviet defeat. This witness, arriving fresh from Moscow with knowledge of the strength of the Central Government and of the good order and confidence prevailing throughout Soviet Russia, threatened to discredit the carefully planned story of disorder and weakness and impending collapse. He had to be hustled out of sight and hearing until the official story was on the presses. After three weeks imprisonment on a British warship, Mr. Goode was allowed to return to England. He reports an interview with Lenin in which the latter reaffirmed the willingness of the Soviet Government to make peace upon the terms Mr. Bullitt took to Paris, with such modifications as the changing military situation might indicate.

British Atrocities in Northern Russia

(Soviet Wireless to Carnarvon and Paris.)

FOREIGN OFFICE—LONDON.

AUGUST 13th.—It is with disgust and indignation that the Soviet Government has learned of the horrible inhuman treatment to which Russian prisoners of war are subjected by the British command of Archangel. If the British Government has made itself indirectly responsible for untold atrocities and brutalities committed on Russian workers and peasants by their agents, the Kolchaks, Denikins, Judeniches and Hallers, brutalities compared to which the methods of the Spanish inquisition were mere child's play, proofs have now been obtained of similar treatment received by Russian war prisoners directly at the hands of British commanders in the North of Russia. Some Red Army men, escaped from British captivity, have reported that many of their comrades have been shot immediately when taken prisoners, that they themselves have been mercilessly beaten with butt-ends, placed in prisons and made to work to utter exhaustion while insufficiently fed, and threatened with being shot in case of their refusing to enlist in the Russo-British counter-revolutionary legion and to turn traitors to their former brethren in arms, and that in a number of cases such threats have been actually carried out. It is hereby brought to the notice of the British Government that in consequence of the above statement, the Soviet Government has found itself compelled to withdraw the many privileges and liberties hitherto accorded to British officers, war prisoners in Moscow, as well as to those recently brought from the Onega front. Seeing that protests can be of no avail, and knowing the indifference of the British Government to the sufferings of Russians who do not support the counter-revolutionary movement, the Soviet Government had to resort to this course in the hope that it may induce the British Commanders to give Russian war prisoners a more humane treatment, thereby improving the conditions of living of their own fellow officers. The Soviet Government will, however, continue to treat most liberally British soldiers, war prisoners of the laboring classes, except those who volunteered for service in Russia in the cause of European reaction and monarchical restoration. As to the insolent threats contained in the radio of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, of August 10th, the Soviet Government declares that no blackmail can have any effect on their policy. Any repetition of such threats, addressed personally to members of the Russian Government and characteristic only of the mentality of their authors, will cause the Soviet Government to consider whether they can entertain any further negotiations with the present British Government.

even on questions like that of the exchange of prisoners.

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

WHOLESALE SLAUGHTER AND REVOLTING ATROCITIES ARE COMMITTED BY ALLIES

MAN HOME FROM SIBERIA TELLS ABOUT CONDITIONS

Revolting stories of atrocities committed by our allies in Russia have been brought home by Herbert Allen Wilson of 314 Colorado street. Mr. Wilson returned Sunday from six months' service on a British boat in the Volga and Archangel districts.

He declared that the French allies of our own American soldiers slaughter all their prisoners indiscriminately. "When the French take any Bolshevik prisoners," says Mr. Wilson, "sometimes they will start the prisoners to the rear, but never do the prisoners arrive there. As soon as a convenient abandoned trench is found the Bolshevik prisoners are herded into it and a machine gun is played upon them until all signs of life in the tangled mess of slaughtered human beings has subsided. Then the shovelers get busy and fill in the trench.

"The Scotch regiments in the British army do the same, whenever they happen to take any prisoners. Generally, however, the Scotch give no quarter at all, but kill the Bolshevik at once when he throws down his rifle and tries to surrender. The rest of the British army often treat their prisoners with leniency—that is the portion of the British army which is of British blood. But Czecho-Slovak allies always slaughtered Bolshevik prisoners. They would never allow themselves to be bothered with prisoners."

OUTRAGING WOMEN COMMON

Mr. Wilson draws a revolting picture of the treatment to which Russian women are subjected in the towns of Volga (?) and Archangel, held by British and allied forces. Most of his six months in Russia was spent in those two towns, said Mr. Wilson.

"The respectable Russian girls have little use for men in uniform, and will not voluntarily associate with them," he said. "Time and time again, young girls in Volga and in Archangel have been seized, dragged into hiding and misused by men in British uniforms—the uniforms of the Slovak division of the British army. Assaults on women by rough-necks of English and French blood—the vile scum in all armies—are unrestrained and of daily occurrence.

WOMEN SUICIDES WITHIN ALLIED LINES

"So frequent have these kidnappings become in the towns under British and allied control that the young Russian girls dwell in constant dread of such a fate, and it is a common practice among them to carry poison on their persons for purposes of suicide, should they be seized. And some young girls, of hysterical temperament, have become so obsessed with fear from dwelling so long in imminent danger of assault that they have taken the poison and died in the bloom of their youth, rather than live any longer in such a nightmare as life has become for them in the towns under allied control."

SAW MEN SEIZE GIRLS

Mr. Wilson states positively that he himself has seen—not once, only, but several times—men in British uniforms pounce from behind a pile of lumber or other shelter upon some young Russian girl and drag her away, regardless of screams and struggles. He says he has seen it done on the streets of Volga and Archangel when he was stationed in those towns. He says that he himself saw two young Russian girls take poison upon the street in Volga in sight of numerous British soldiers and officers.

RUSSIANS HATE BRITISH

And Mr. Wilson states that the Russian citizens in those towns of Russia held by the British and allies nearly all hate the British most earnestly. He says they resent acutely the presence of all or any of the allied soldiers and earnestly hope for their withdrawal. He says that the Russians want to be left alone to settle their own troubles by themselves. He says that those Russians who have been recruited into the British and allied service by intimidation or the bait of food and high pay, are rotten with treachery and upon the least opportunity will give aid to the Bolsheviks.

KOLCHAK USES FORCE

Wilson says that the anti-Bolshevik government, like Kolchak's make-believe empire and the North Russian government, constantly impress into their service any man they find who is able to carry a rifle—and that consequently most of their soldiers are Bolsheviks at heart and work for the interests of the Bolsheviks whenever they find a chance.

ALLIED SOLDIERS WANT TO LEAVE

Mr. Wilson states that many British and American soldiers have disappeared, and that many have afterward become officers among the Bolsheviks. Mr. Wilson claims that the preponderating sentiment of the rank and file of the British and American armies, of the French, the Italian and all the allied armies, is in favor of getting out of Russia as fast as they are able.

WILSON'S WAR SERVICE

Herbert A. Wilson is the son of I. S. Wilson, an old-time Butte resident. Herbert was in Durban, Natal, South Africa, when he enlisted in the British army. After serving throughout the war on the French front, he volunteered for service in Russia on a British boat. He says that he will never forget the lessons of the war and his six months just ended in Russia.

Wilson was gassed on the French front and wounded twice. Mr. Wilson's young wife, who went into Red Cross service, after her husband enlisted, died from injuries received at the bombing of Etamps by the Germans.

NOW RUSTLING THE MINES

Mr. Wilson returned to his father's home at 314 Colorado street, on Sunday. On Monday young Wilson was "rustling" at the mines for a job. He has not landed one yet, but he hopes to get one soon. Mr. Wilson, Sr., says that his boy brought less than a million dollars home with him.

—The Butte (Montana) Daily Bulletin, Oct. 7, 1919.

Monarchist Propaganda in Denikin's Domain

The "Ussuryisky Krai," of June 22d, reports that the notorious reactionary leader Purishkevich is conducting an active propaganda in Yekaterinodar, a Cossack province. He has delivered a series of lectures on "Russia, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." In his lectures he advocates a union of the peasantry with the Greek Catholic clergy for the restoration of the old order. In his concluding lecture he "warned his followers the Monarchists against attempts to restore Czarism by force. Only when the peoples themselves will realize their error and call upon the Czar to come back will the Monarchist order be firmly established."

He has suggested, however, that every effort should be bent toward having the Grand Duke Nicolaievitch, uncle of the late Czar, appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief over all the southern forces.

The Massacre of the Jews in Ukraine and Poland

THE "Izvestia," the official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government, has a summary of the reports of anti-Jewish pogroms condensed from materials compiled by the Kiev Central Committee of Jewish Relief.

The massacres started from the city of Zhitomir. The following is from the official report by the Mayor of Zhitomir, Mr. Lipetz, who lived several years in New York and was known here as a Yiddish writer, under the pen name of Dr. Goldfarb.

"In the annals of Jewish massacres the pogrom which has occurred at Zhitomir will take the foremost place. It will suffice to say that the Zhitomir pogrom of 1905 seems mere child's play when compared with this massacre. This one began with the flight of the local Bolshevik authorities, who had the government in their hands. When they had gone, disorganized bands began to pillage the city. By that time, army units of the so-called "regiment of death," under the command of Colonel Palienko had entered the city, and with their coming the massacre assumed an organized, systematic character. They began to hunt down the Jews in stores, public places, in the streets, at railroad depots, and in tenement houses, beating and even shooting some. Simultaneously a systematic campaign of looting went on. All the Jewish stores, without exception, were pillaged. Only those Christian stores remained undamaged which displayed a cross and a sign "This store is owned by a Christian." The massacre continued for five days. The Jewish population of this large city (the capital of a province) remained without bread. Of the robbers and murderers none has been arrested and the group of officers who were detained by the authorities following the withdrawal of the troops, as direct participants in the massacre, were freed immediately, upon an order received from Kiev."

Zhitomir was followed by Berdichev. The "Izvestia" summary continues as follows:

"For a number of days the city has been at the mercy of armed bands, which have been shooting and pillaging the Jewish population. A repetition of what took place at Zhitomir was observed. The armed bands were joined by local criminal elements which broke into Jewish homes, devastating them and murdering their inhabitants.

"A similar situation obtained throughout those parts of Ukraine which are under the rule of Petliura. The Central Committee of Kiev has recorded massacres in about forty towns. The features were the same everywhere: mass murders, unbridled plunder, and rape reigned supreme. In Belaya Tzerkov alone about fifty women were assaulted."

The following is a quotation from another document:

"A young Jewish girl writes to her brothers, from Proskurov, province of Podolsk.

"I am not in a position to go into details. I will say briefly that many families have not a soul

among them left alive. In many cases all the members of the family have been killed, together with people who chanced to be in the house."

"This was not a pogrom. It was a massacre. From three o'clock in the afternoon to six in the evening *all Jews living in the districts populated by the poor have been massacred*, particularly the streets adjoining the left side of the Alexandrovskaya.

"The immediate cause of the massacre was an unsuccessful attempt of the local Bolsheviks to take power into their hands. Words fail to describe the horrible details of the slaughter. The very recollections of this happening are sufficient to drive one mad. This slaughter surpasses all the pogroms to which the Jews have ever been subjected or have ever known. As a result of it there are three thousand dead and as many wounded.

"What was the attitude of the "Socialist" government of Petliura towards these horrors? This question could best be answered by citing the following fact:

"A Jewish delegation visited Vinnichenko, one of the leading members of the Ukrainian Directorate. The delegation, which included the Minister for Jewish affairs, Mr. Revutzky, presented a number of demands, foremost among which was: that a special investigation committee be formed.

"The closing scene of this remarkable act has been described by the *Chronicle of Jewish Life* (Khronika Evreyskoy Zhizni) in the following manner:

"Vinnichenko has pointed out to the delegation that the Jewish community must take all measures against the anarcho-bolshevist element among the Jews."

"After this unexpected declaration, the delegation felt very much the same as the delegation which went to see Mr. Plehve, after the Kishinev pogrom. (Plehve was then the dictator of Russia.) The analogy will be more complete when we consider the fact that not one of the demands were granted by the Directorate.

"Thus the petty bourgeoisie, defeated in the social struggle, seeks its salvation in race pogroms. This is so clear, so natural, if you will. The petty proprietor, the burgher, the store keeper, the rich peasant,—in a word the entire so-called middle class democracy, forms the most suitable ground for the spread of bloody, pogrom-breeding chauvinism.

"Let us now consider the "glorious exploits" of the Polish democracy. On February 24th Prilutzky, one of the deputies in the Polish diet, made the following speech:

"The outrages began on the historic day of the overthrow of the government appointed by the army of occupation and have spread throughout the country. The cities of Keltzy, Lemberg, Komarovka, Lapy, and dozens of other towns will be carved

in the annals of the Polish Jewry in letters of blood. Murder, plunder, corporal punishment of defenseless Jews without distinction of age or sex have been filling our lives within the last few months.

"The names of those who have been tortured are known to the government from the numerous complaints and reports. In the beginning the government has promised to send a special investigation committee to Lemberg and Kelno. Why then, are the results of the investigation not published?"

"Prilutzky was interrupted by deputies shouting from their seats that the Jews had been shooting at the troops. The speaker replied:

"Not one Jew was caught shooting. And if ammunition has been found it was not in Lemberg, but in Krakov, where the Jews were armed in order to prevent the repetition of the massacre which took place in Lemberg. In the name of the Jewish population, I am calling upon the government to state frankly whether the assassins will be punished.

"The Jews were boycotted as candidates for governmental and public offices, Jewish railroad men are being dismissed, the restrictions on private trade which the authorities are decreeing are being applied not to all merchants, but exclusively to the Jews."

"The next speaker was Greenbaum, a representative of the Zionists. The 'democratic' Diet is in a state of commotion. 'Enough of Jewish speeches,' the deputies shouted from their seats. A part of the Right section left the hall, as a protest.

"The following is an extract from his speech:

"During the last few months we have lived through things which we did not experience even in the time of the Czar's government. I refer to massacres and lynchings."

"The speaker then depicted a picture of outrageous mass lynchings, violence and plunder. He emphasized that these monstrous crimes have been perpetrated at the instigation of the government and of the public. He demanded that measures be taken to put a stop to these outrages. The Diet adopted a perfectly meaningless resolution and the massacres continue.

"During the last few months all the uprisings against the Soviet Government in Russia have invariably been carried on under the double slogan: 'Long live the Constituent Assembly!' and 'Kill the Jews!' Modern democracy is closely bound up not only with predatory imperialism, but with medieval massacres of the Jews. The dying imperialism also needs a scapegoat in the same way as it was needed by the dying Czarism, and it is most convenient to choose this same 'Jew' as the scapegoat.

"The Jewish laboring masses must understand this and rally towards the government of the proletarian Soviets, around the banner of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Jewish masses, which are being oppressed in the bourgeois countries, will be completely freed on the day when the international proletariat wins its final victory over imperialism, and when the banner of communism is raised the world over."

The Union with Turkestan

By R. Arsky

Secretary of the People's Commissariat of Labor

Although this article originally appeared in Russia on February 4, 1919, it is rendered timely again by the reconquest of Turkestan by the Soviets.

THE taking of Uralsk, Orenburg and Ufa, and the juncture effected with the Turkestan Soviet armies have for Soviet Russia not only the moral importance of a military success, but they also bear witness to the inner consolidation and strengthening of our revolutionary army, while they represent to a still greater extent a considerable gain in the economic field.

The Czecho-Slovaks and the counter-revolutionists from Kolchak's camp have aided in dismembering the living body of the Russian Soviet Government. They had captured the Volga, the entire Volga basin, and a part of Central Asia, thus cutting off Soviet Russia from her natural ways of communication and extensive natural resources.

In particular, Soviet Russia had been cut off from the resources of Turkestan and Trans-Caucasia, among which cotton ranks first. This fact had put our textile industry in a very difficult position, by depriving it of the necessary raw materials. In consequence of this the operation of the textile undertakings was gradually slowing down, beginning with August and September of last year. First, individual enterprises were stopped,

but later on the phenomenon assumed very large dimensions: in November the Textile Central adopted a resolution to close all textile factories for a month in order to ascertain the cotton stores and later to operate only 50 per cent of the best equipped and strongest concerns.

At the Second Convention of the Councils of National Economy, the leaders of the economic policy of Soviet Russia stated that the cotton supply was obviously insufficient for even so much as 50 per cent of the undertakings, and offered a possibility of continuing operation for only 2 or 3 months, even with the use of flax. Thus the situation of our textile industry became very critical.

As early as the spring of last year, an expedition of the Textile Central was organized, but it was able to deliver only an insignificant amount of cotton. Since then all communication with Turkestan, Khiva and Bokhara has been cut off, and, naturally, all importation of cotton has ceased.

The above-named localities were living their own separate life, without communicating with Soviet Russia at all. The Russian textile industry cannot exist with-

out Turkestan, because, as the political situation now stands, neither America nor Egypt will furnish Russia with cotton. Under normal conditions, Turkestan and Central Asia provided only 50-60 per cent of the cotton used in Russia. The Textile Central expedition had been planning to transport the cotton by a mixed rail-and-water way, utilizing the navigation of the Caspian Sea and the Volga, but even this attempt was without success, owing to external conditions. It became necessary to wait until normal communication should be restored and with it the possibility of providing the country with the necessary raw materials.

The situation of Turkestan and Central Asia, insofar as the cotton crop was concerned, was not satisfactory; the crop has gone down considerably in comparison with former years and amounts to 2 or 3 million poods instead of the normal 14 or 15 million poods. Besides, Turkestan and Central Asia suffered an invasion on the part of Germany and later England, who took considerable quantities of cotton.

According to the figures of the Turkestan Council of National Economy, considerable quantities of necessary materials have been prepared by it already, as follows:

Cotton fibre	3,400,000	poods
“ raw	6,000,000	“
“ oil	600,000	“
“ soap	60,000	“
“ seeds	4,000,000	“
“ by-products	1,000,000	“
Wool	1,000,000	“
Dried fruit	4,000,000	“
Leather	2,000,000	“

These supplies, which are at the disposal of the local organs of economic power, are quite large, particularly, if one considers Russia's need of raw materials, the acute lack of cotton, hides, and other products.

These materials and products may help considerably in the restoration of our economic and industrial life.

On the other hand Turkestan, too, will breathe more freely. During the whole time of the Czecho-Slovak blockade, the country did not get any materials and manufactured products from Russia. It had to exist without paper, without textiles, iron, and other products that are most necessary for its normal life.

Turkestan was suffering hunger and that has compelled the natives to sow a part of the cotton plantations with grain, for Soviet Russia saw no possibility of coming to the aid of Turkestan in providing it with the grain of the Volga district, of which there is a considerable surplus.

After the liberation of the Volga district, this grain is gathered by supply detachments and other organs of the Soviet power, but, on account of the damages done to the Volga bridges, it cannot be forwarded to the capitals. A considerable part of this grain can be offered to Turkestan, which will have an opportunity to reestablish its work.

The Soviet power planned to reclaim the steppes and deserts of Turkestan by irrigating them by means of a whole system of canals, carrying on extensive con-

struction works. It was planned to reclaim thus 4 to 6 million *dessyatins* of land and to make Soviet Russia completely independent of foreign cotton.

The realization of this plan was set forth by Soviet Russia as one of its immediate tasks. With immense efforts, the first expedition to Turkestan for the purpose of irrigating the country has been prepared. Owing to the above external conditions it could not undertake its work.

The union of the Red army and the Turkestan Soviet armies offers the possibility of establishing direct exchange and a supply of all necessary products, and, on the other hand—of immediately taking up the work for the needs of the country.

This union was very undesirable from the standpoint of the imperialists of the Entente, as is shown by their demand to stop the advance of the Red Army on all fronts.

They took into account all the economic advantages which Soviet Russia is receiving from this union and wanted to prevent them. They understood that the Czecho-Slovaks and the White guards would not hold their own, if left to themselves, they would not be able to repel a two-flanked attack and they wanted to stop the victorious march of the revolutionary armies by diplomatic means, simultaneously continuing the blockade that was paralyzing the economic life of the country.

The imperialists of the West thought that they would succeed also in the future in holding Russia in their clutches, depriving her of the possibility of obtaining cotton in addition to all the other things from which she was cut off. The lack of products now suffered by Soviet Russia is, in their opinion, one of the means to destroy Russia by arousing counter-revolutionary movements among the broad masses of the people.

Besides, the English imperialists are pursuing simultaneously some particular aims.

Soviet Turkestan and Central Asia are bordering on English possessions in India, which is the pearl of the British empire's crown. The revolutionary power of the soviets in Central Asia threatens all the foundations of English imperialism. The vicinity of revolutionary and Soviet countries to India may awaken there a revolutionary movement which undoubtedly will develop under the slogan of liberation from the English yoke and the obtaining of full freedom. The English, being sober statesmen, have to reckon with this in a realistic manner.

They preferred to have as their neighbor the government of Kolchak and other counter-revolutionists, rather than Soviet Turkestan. They have done everything possible to support the Siberian counter-revolution. They have not succeeded in this, and as a result Soviet Russia has been strengthened, as well as Turkestan, while direct and immediate communication is established between the two—a real live contact.

This event may exert most profound influence on the existence of Soviet Russia as well as on the further fortunes of the world revolution.

A Ukrainian Soviet Message to Greece

TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT ATHENS

THE units of the regular Greek Army operating in conjunction with French subjects have continued to occupy the territory of the Black Sea coast of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. Of late they occupied Aleckki and Bereslav. This intrusion on foreign territory without any legitimate reason and without a formal declaration of war is considered by all international law as an act of brigandage. If the Greek Government supposes that its alliance with France makes it immune against the consequences of its policy of gross violence towards the workers and peasants of the Ukraine and that it is immune against any punishment which it may thus incur, the Greek Government is harboring illusions. Before long it will have to yield to the judgment of the Greek workers and peasants and render account for the violations committed not only against them, but also toward the workers and peasants of other countries, in which the Greek Army, playing the part of mediaeval mercenaries, is shedding its blood in defense of the interests of international capitalism. The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Government is aware of the methods of agitation to which the Greek Government resorts in order to encourage the Greek soldiers who refuse to fight against the workers and peasants of the Ukraine. It is acquainted with the nationalistic and religious campaign which the Greek Government is conducting in order to slander the Soviet Power as persecuting religion and the Greek elements in Southern Ukraine. If they have in mind the Greek speculators and stock exchange brokers, whose system of exploitation includes the coast of the Black Sea belonging to the Ukraine and Russia—to fight against them as well as against all exploiters of the Ukraine without distinction of nationality is the principal aim of every Socialist government. So far as the poor Greek fishermen are concerned who constitute the population of the coastlines of the Ukraine and Crimea or the 150,000 poor Greek peasants who live in Transcaucasia, their sympathies are entirely on the side of the Soviet Power, and all attempts of the Greek bourgeoisie to divert the attention of the Greek fishermen and landless peasants from the class struggle, by means of panhellenic propaganda, have thus far been and will remain futile. Nevertheless, the Greek Government, not sufficiently cognizant of these circumstances, not only continues to interfere with the affairs of the Greek peasants and workers of the Black Sea coast, but it even has the audacity to fit out special Missions which it intends to send to the Ukraine and Southern Russia for the purpose of stirring up nationalistic passions and civil strife. Thus for example, through their efforts the agencies throughout Europe have published the follow-

ing telegram emanating from Constantinople:

"With the sanction of the Holy Synod the Greek Government decided to send to Russia, simultaneously with its troops, which are completely ready to embark, three bishops, four archimandrites, and forty priests, with a coterie of clergymen who are well versed in the Russian language and who possess the gift of oratory. The aim of the expedition is to exercise a religious influence over the Russians."

It is by no means the intention of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Government to take note of the blissful ignorance in which both the Greek Government and the Holy Synod yet remain as regards the new intellectual level of the "Moujiks" of the Ukraine, who have been robbed and fooled for centuries by the Greek monks who used to come from Mount Athos or Constantinople and who fooled and robbed them in the name of Christ. But in order to avoid any misunderstanding, the Provisional Government of the Ukraine deems it its duty to warn the Greek Government that it declares the eloquent bishops, archimandrites and priests, with all the clergymen who accompany them—to be agents provocateurs and spies who will be arrested and immediately arraigned before the revolutionary court martial. The Provisional Government of the Ukraine at the same time calls the attention of the Greek Government that its policy of military intervention in the affairs of the Ukraine must needs affect the destiny of the Greek bourgeoisie residing on Ukrainian territory.

President of the Ukrainian Provisional
Workers' and Peasants' Government.
People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, RAKOVSKY.

Kharkov, February 26th.

Ukrainian Counter Revolution Active in Paris

Stockholm, August 31st.—A Paris telegram to a Stockholm paper: *Petit Parisien* publishes an interview with the Ukrainian minister at Paris, Tyskienrez (?), whose task it is to obtain the aid of the Entente for Ukraine against the Soviet government. Tyskienrez declares in this interview that Ukraine at present considers it to be its duty to unite with the Caucasians, Hungarians, Czecho-Slovaks, Poles and Lithuanians, in the erection of a firm bulwark against Bolshevik forces. Ukraine, flanked on the Balkans by the Jugo-Slavs and the Greeks, aided by England and America and supported by France, shall secure Europe against attack. As a reward Ukraine asks the return of 40,000 Ukrainian prisoners of war and 20,000 such prisoners in Poland, who are to constitute the kernel of its new army.

Russian Counter-Revolutionaries Purchasing Men in Germany

UNDER the above title, *Freiheit* of August 15th, exposes all the intrigues of the enrollment bureaus in an article which is translated herewith:

In the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the government answers in a rather evasive way our claims that emissaries of the White Guard, established at Berlin as military missions, are openly engaged in enlisting men for the counter-revolutionary army, with the sanction of the authorities.

We again maintain that these emissaries are continuing their intrigues, and that, not contenting themselves with the purchase of Russians they are also purchasing Germans for the Kolchak army.

The recruiting officers, which have hitherto been working for the Baltic *Landwehr*, have changed their colors and passed into the service of the Russian counter-revolutionary army. They are working in perfect accord with the German military authority. Their aim is said to be to gather in Kurland an important armed force against the Soviet Republic. Prince Lieven and Count Keller are at the head of this soldiery. Entire German army detachments have entered these bodies, in favor of which German military circles are carrying on an active propaganda, while the Berlin recruiting office is establishing branches.

Lt. Schultz, adjutant of the celebrated Capt. Pönsen, has just opened, at the Russischer Hof Hotel an auxiliary service which is a veritable market-place, paying for men at the rate of 50 marks per head.

Those accepted are clothed in Germany with Russian guard uniforms and receive their cockades before being sent to Kurland.

At Jena, in Thuringia, the commandant of Jena, according to *Vorwaerts*, considers the revolutionary government as a band of criminals and has just established a *volunteer camp* under the direction of Russian and German officers. In addition to his keep, each man engaged receives 330 marks, ex-

clusive of the allowance to his family. At the end of the war each man is promised the sum of 5,000 marks. They have been given to understand that if money should be lacking, they will be permitted to indemnify themselves at the expense of the Jewish population.

A first consignment of 110 men was forwarded on Sunday, a second on Monday, and a third on Wednesday. The first consignment was stopped at Bromberg by the Poles and sent back to Berlin. Other consignments are waiting at the Schlesischer Bahnhof in Berlin, where the men, who have only just learned whither they are to be sent, are beside themselves. All the more since they have not received any money or provisions. They want to return home but no one aids them to do so. It is being attempted to send them to the Sixth Reserve Corps in Kurland, which has just decided to enter the Russian army.

We learn that the same practices have been started at Hamburg. The war ministry is well informed on these matters. Not only men but also war materials are being furnished to the Russian army.

Thus, a messenger of Count Keller's has arrived from Kurland in Berlin to order 200 horses. Nolke, a Kurland baron, accompanied him on a visit to Capt. Maercker at the Bellevue Castle, where he received a written order of the war ministry for the delivery to him of harnesses and saddles by the proper authorities. He has returned to Kurland with his booty.

These things that are going on are not only an international scandal, but a crime against the German people as well. The German Socialist Republic has descended to the level of the electoral princes of Hessen, who, in the middle of the 18th century, sold Germans to foreign countries as cannon fodder.

—*Le Populaire*, August 23d.

The Meaning of the Strikes in Siberia

FROM reports in Siberian newspapers it appears that numerous strikes went on in Eastern Siberia during the spring and summer of the current year. The Kolchak administration took severe measures of repression against the strikes. Early in the spring a strike of metal and wood workers and of the employees of the government workshops and the military port of Vladivostok was declared by their respective unions. A joint commission was created under the auspices of the government to consider the claims of the workers who were meantime ordered to resume work. Upon their refusal to comply with this order the Acting Commander of the Fortress of Vladivostok issued the following order:

"Order No. 140

"April 3, 1919, Fortress of Vladivostok.

"Despite the fact that I have taken all possible measures for a peaceful settlement of the strike, and that a commission including representatives of the workmen was formed to consider the claims of the latter, the demand that work be resumed has not been complied with. Moreover the union of the metal and wood workers and of the civil employees of the military port and of the government workshops, resolved to continue the strike and to demand that none of the workmen be discharged by the administration. I judge from this that the activity of the unions is directed against authority, public law and order, and against society. I there-

fore order that the above-mentioned unions be suppressed for the duration of martial law in the fortress, and that the presidents and secretaries of these unions be deported from the territory of the fortress within twenty-four hours after the publication of this order.

(Signed) "COLONEL BUTENKO,
"Acting Commander of the
Fortress of Vladivostok."

("Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie," April 6, 1919.)

The press was forbidden to publish any information favorable to the strikers. The following order dated the same day as the preceding one and bearing Number 11, appeared in the same issue of the "Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie":

"For the purpose of preventing misinterpretation of current events I forbid the publication in newspapers, leaflets, and appeals, of any information, as well as of any appeals, advertisements, and orders, concerning the progress of the strike and the measures toward its termination in enterprises and institutions within the area of the Fortress of Vladivostok, unless the same come from government sources.

"Violation of this regulation will be punished by a fine not to exceed 3,000 rubles, or imprisonment for a term not to exceed three months.

(Signed) "LIEUT.-COL. BUTENKO,
"Acting Commander of the
Fortress of Vladivostok."

No information regarding the outcome of the strikes has reached us. It seems that the order of the Commander of the Fortress effectually closed the columns of the Vladivostok press to strike news. About the beginning of July, however, a railway strike broke out in and around Vladivostok. The effects of that strike were far reaching and news of it was cabled to the United States. The local administration immediately proceeded to muzzle the press, as appears from the following order of the same Col. Butenko which appeared in the "Echo" of July 17, 1919:

Order of the Commander of Fortress of
Vladivostok No. 1202, July 5, 1919.

"Finding that the contents of articles published in 'The Echo' No. 98, of July 4, under the headings 'The Railway Strike,' 'The Japanese Press on the Railway Strike,' 'The Strike Committee,' and 'An Appeal to the Allies,' constitute a violation of my Order No. 11, of April 3, 1919, I hereby order: That the editor of this newspaper be punished by a fine of one thousand rubles or, in case of non-payment thereof, by imprisonment for the term of one month.

(Signed) "LIEUT.-COL. BUTENKO,
"Acting Commander of the
Fortress of Vladivostok."

The seriousness of the strike appears from an order of the Supreme Representative of the Kolchak government in the "Far East" in relation to strikes, which appeared in the "Dalnyevostochnoye

Obozryenie" of July 4th. The order is dated July 2nd and bears number 157. It reads as follows:

"Pursuant to Section 11 of the law of February 11, 1919, I hereby exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and transfer to the jurisdiction of courts-martial, to be tried by the front field courts-martial, the following criminal offenses:

"(c) Inciting employees or workmen willfully to cease or suspend work or not to resume the same, on the railroads, telegraph, telephones, and, in general, in any enterprise where the cessation or suspension of operations is a menace to law and order, and to public safety,—even if no such cessation, suspension or non-resumption of work actually occurred."

Some information regarding the strikes can be gleaned from the Siberian papers. The following is from the "Echo" of July 17, 1919:

"On July 12, the economic demands of the sailors having been refused, they declared a strike. As a result of the strike the port is unusually quiet. The endless whistles are no more. Steamships, barges and small boats are at rest. Throughout the territory of the Volunteer Fleet the longshoremen's co-operative associations have quit work.

"Many steamers which are quite ready to sail, are forced to remain in the Vladivostok port.

The Central Bureau and the Strike

"The Central Bureau of the trade unions addressed the following communication to the administration of the ship-building shop, to the railway board, the labor inspection and the International Railway Commission:

"Actuated by its main object to defend the interests of the working class, the Central Bureau deems it its duty to make the following statement: For the last two weeks strikes of workmen have occurred in different enterprises of Vladivostok. The workers have presented just economic demands. A number of enterprises—the flour mill, the refrigerator, Piankoff's glass factory and others—have granted the demands of the workmen.

"Believing that further continuation of the strike is undesirable both for the enterprises and for the workmen, the Central Bureau offers its services as a central labor organ to conduct negotiations between the parties involved."

"The first reply thus far received to this offer from the manager of the Vladivostok provisional railway shops, Engineer Kalina, reads in part as follows:

"Being a government institution the Provisional shops cannot independently regulate the remuneration of labor, and cannot therefore enter into any negotiations for this purpose with the Central Bureau of the trade unions."

The same issue of the newspaper contains the following letter to the editor from the Strike Committee of the marines:

"The reptile press has published articles which

attempt to throw mud at us, mariners, and to distort the true object of our demands for the purpose of depriving both us and our strike of the confidence of the public.

"The merchant marines have always been and always will be loyal in their actions, and will never change their views, objects and aims which are clearly indicated in our constitution.

"We are charged with deserting the lawful path, but this is absolutely false. We have only changed our methods. Instead of begging and waiting, instead of uselessly knocking at the doors of various institutions, instead of waiting for the decisions of different commissions, composed largely of members who are absolutely unfamiliar with the marine trade,—we presented our demands, without leaving the lawful path, to the representatives of the Ministry of Labor, and to the Labor Inspector of the Priamur region. By this act, we have again proven that we invariably follow the lawful path.

"The charge that we have presented excessive demands is also below any criticism. Since January 1, the cost of living has gone up on the average by 350 per cent., while our wage scales were raised only by 108 per cent. All those who want to get detailed information about our scale are invited to inquire at the Board of the Marines' Union, which has been ordered to give detailed information to all who are interested in this.

"All the attacks and charges against us for the strike show quite clearly that the authorities, and particularly the Supreme Representative, have absolutely wrong information about our just demands as well as about conditions which caused the strike. Our delegates were not called and were not examined by the Supreme Representative, and they, therefore, did not have the opportunity to ask the only three questions which are of interest not only to us, marines, but to all citizens. We therefore state these questions here:

"(1) Do the manufacturers, speculators and merchants ask any member of the government for permission to raise the prices of goods and are these prices approved by the respective authorities?

"(2) If they do not, and the prices are not approved, what measures are taken with regard to those who, ignoring the authorities, are robbing the populace and deliberately force the starved people to resort to all kinds of disturbances instead of working peacefully for the good of the country?

"(3) Why are the authorities resorting to repressive measures, even if they be weak, against us, while those who are really responsible continue to enrich themselves and are impudently mocking the government?

"Conscious of the justice of their demands, the Strike Committee declares that these demands are of a purely economic nature, that the marines have no political aims, and that the strike will be over within an hour after their demands will be granted in full and after all those who were discharged

will be reinstated and their wages paid without interruption.

"Permission was given to load the steamer "Stavropol," in order not to detain its sailing after the strike will be settled."

Signed: The Strike Committee of the Marines.

The "Golos Primorya," of July 31st, contains interviews with the district factory Inspector Mr. Fomin and with the Commander of the Commercial Port of Vladivostok, throwing some light upon the causes of the strike.

"As I understand the situation," said Mr. Fomin, "the strike of the administration and crews of the volunteer and merchant fleets was of a purely economic nature. This is best proven by the fact that the ships have sailed and the work in the port has been resumed as soon as the question of a wage increase was settled favorably."

Asked by the reporter why the Seamen's Union has applied directly to him as labor inspector, over the heads of the management of the Volunteer and Merchant Fleets, which was not informed of its demands, Mr. Fomin answered:

"I see nothing illegal about this."

When asked whether concessions should have been made to the sailors, the labor inspector replied: "Undoubtedly, this should have been done, due to the fact that wages by no means keep pace with the ever-rising high cost of living. . . . Taking into consideration the constantly increasing prices of foodstuffs and other merchandise, I imagine that the minimum living wage for August should be equal to 850-900 roubles instead of the 474 roubles required in July."

The Commander of the Commercial Port of Vladivostok, in reply to a question by the reporter for the same paper, said: "Of course, no one will now deny that the prices of all kinds of necessities of life and on manufactured articles in general have gone up considerably since March."

INTERESTING RUSSIAN NEWS

For Students of Soviet Russia

During the months of March, April and May of this year, the Information Bureau of Soviet Russia published a Weekly Bulletin providing material on various matters (political, economic, diplomatic, commercial) important to the student of Russian affairs. A number of copies of these Bulletins are in our hands, and, as long as the supply lasts, full sets of thirteen sheets (all that were published) will be sold at one dollar per set. Ask for "Bulletin Set."

Address:

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.
Room 304

The Caucasian Republics Against Denikin

THE "Dalnyesvostochnoye Obozryenie" (Far-Eastern Review) of Vladivostok in its issue of August 3rd summarizes the political situation in Northern Caucasus on the basis of interviews which its representative had with persons who had recently arrived from Novorossysk, Ekaterinodar and Rostov. According to the paper "the unpromising monarchist aspirations" of Denikin's so-called Volunteer Army have brought armed conflict with the new Mountaineer Republic of the Caucasus. A great deal of space is devoted in the press of that section to the movements of Denikin's army in Azerbaidjan and especially in Baku. "The democratic elements suspect the Volunteer Army of reactionary schemes. Editorials are urging in strong terms that decisive steps be taken. This matter has been taken up in the Parliament of Azerbaidjan and under pressure of the democratic elements Parliament instructed the Government to take energetic and decisive measures to help the mountaineers."

Pursuant to the resolutions adopted in Parliament the diplomatic representatives of the Government of the Mountaineer Republic issued the following note to the Governments of all the nations and particularly to the Allied command:

"The illegal occupation of the territory of the Republic of the Mountaineer Peoples of the Caucasus by the Volunteer Army, attended by acts of violence against the peaceable population, by oppression of the mountaineers, by requisitions and money fines, by requiring the population to commit acts incompatible with its sentiment and duties towards its lawful government, has forced the latter, after having exhausted all measures towards a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of its relations with the Volunteer Army, to enter its unqualified protest before all Governments and the Allied command and to demand the immediate evacuation by Denikin's army of all districts of mountaineer territory occupied by it.

"Yet the Volunteer Army failed to the present to

comply with this demand; and not satisfied with the forcible usurpation of government authority over the territory, the people, and the institutions within the area occupied by it, undertook, according to information received by the government, a new offensive, on March 26th at 7 A. M. against the defenseless peaceful settlements of Alkhan-Yourt, Mulora and Ustan-Gardoy, of the province of Grozny, without any provocation on their part.

"I have the honor hereby to inform you, Mr. Minister, that the Government of the Republic, deeming it its sacred duty to defend the rights and lives of the Mountaineer peoples of the Caucasus, has reached the conviction that the Volunteer Army in the Northern Caucasus has assumed a belligerent attitude towards the Mountaineer peoples and their government, which forces the Mountaineer Government to resort to measures of armed defense against the invading Volunteer Army.

"The Government of the Republic of the Mountaineer peoples of the Caucasus, which has been founded on the principle of self-determination, proclaimed in the name of the Allies by President Wilson, and has received the recognition of the Allied command, by a letter from General Thompson, of November 27th, 1918, will defend the liberty and independence of the Republic to the last, placing all responsibility for the people's war and the misery caused by it, upon the heads of those who are threatening the lives and the right to free development of the peoples of the Northern Caucasus and Daghestan."

(Signed) A. KANTEMIR, Diplomatic representative of Azerbaydjan.

Summarizing the situation in the Northern Caucasus, the Vladivostok paper says that "generally speaking the situation in Kuban is uncertain. The Cossacks are tired and want to end the war. The attitude of the Don Cossacks is very unstable and at every opportunity they go over to the side of the Bolsheviki."

A Remarkable Report to the Swedish Foreign Office

From a recent number of "Politiken," Stockholm, Sweden.

LAWYER Wilhelm Hellberg a few days ago handed the following communication to the Foreign Department concerning commercial relations with Russia:

When the communication between our country and the Russian Soviet Republic were broken off about the end of last year, and the representative of the Soviet Republic in this city, V. Vorovsky, was asked to leave the country, I assumed under instructions from the latter the duty of observing and demonstrating the economic interests and the property of the Soviet Republic in our country, as well as supervising the fulfilment of the con-

tracts concluded by Swedish industry and Swedish ship owners with the Soviet Republic. Likewise I undertook to fulfil the obligations of the Soviet Republic to the Swedish contracting parties.

In the execution of this Commission, I have since immediately after the departure of Mr. Vorovsky, on January 30 of this year, been in daily contact with Swedish industry, both with representatives of industries which have already concluded contracts with the Soviet Government, as well as with producers who were anxious to enter into such relations with the Soviet Government, with the object of concluding new contracts. Among the lat-

ter there were a number of representatives of Swedish big industry.

The number of such industrial men increased more and more during Spring. They did not conceal that these industries were working under the greatest difficulties, since they lacked a market for the disposing of their products. For their production had for so long a time been based precisely on the Russian market. In fact, it was sometimes declared, that if the Russian market should not be opened in the very nearest future, it would be necessary to dismiss great numbers of workers.

Toward the end of April these industries, made a positive offer, which I was asked to endeavor to bring to the attention of the Soviet Government. The chief feature of this proposition was that this union of Swedish industrial enterprises offered Swedish industrial products amounting to about five hundred million Swedish crowns, to be delivered eventually within the course of three years. Goods already in stock or in process of manufacture were offered to a value of about 180,000,000 Swedish crowns. These industrial products consisted of agricultural machines, separators, motors of various kinds, axes, saws, scissors, rags and paper, etc.

Simultaneously the Swedish linen industry expressed a desire for raw materials from Russia, partly materials already purchased, partly additional material for the needs of the next working year. I was therefore instructed to negotiate in this matter also with the Soviet Government. Finally certain large Swedish shipping agencies were inclined again to open freight traffic with Russian ports and my intercession was requested in this connection also.

Through what I have thus learned concerning the depressed condition of Swedish industry and also the desirability of relations with Russia, expressed by other Swedish interests, it became clear to me that a commercial exchange was not only desirable, but even necessary if a great section of Swedish trade was not to be threatened with a catastrophe.

On my arrival in Moscow, in the middle of May, I therefore was in possession of written propositions from Swedish industry as well as of the other desiderata above mentioned, of other interested parties. The matter was discussed with considerable detail at a conference with the People's Commissar for Commerce and Industry in the presence of representatives of the Section for Foreign Trade of the Commissar for Foreign Affairs. Considerable desire for meeting the proposed arrangements half-way was evinced, and they declared that they were ready to open commercial relations at any time, until such time as an eventual agreement with the Swedish Government might be reached which would secure and regulate exchange of goods. They declared their readiness to hand over cargoes directly to Swedish vessels in Russian ports. They offered return cargoes of Russian raw materials for goods delivered.

I am appending below the answer of the Peo-

ple's Commissariat, as delivered to me. The reason for my placing it at the disposal of the Foreign Department is simply that I think the Foreign Department should have knowledge of the foundations on which a commercial exchange may take place, according to the answer of the Soviet Government to Swedish industry.

It has been maintained that an eventual exchange of goods might be rendered more difficult or even impossible by a lack of organization on the part of the Soviet Government. There is no reason to deny that in the exchange of goods which took place between Sweden and Russia during the year 1918, certain difficulties did arise by reason of the fact that the so-called Northern Commune, including among other places also Petrograd and Kronstadt, took a certain independent position which was directly opposed, on a certain subject, to the Central Government at Moscow. I am authorized to state that this is no longer the situation. The Commissariat of Commerce and Industry has been shifted to Moscow, and now has a local branch at Petrograd, which takes its orders only from the Commissariat at Moscow. Transport difficulties owing to such conflicts of authority have now been overcome by subordinating the Commissariat of Commerce and Industry, as well as the Commissariat for Railroads and other means of communication, under one control. In this connection let me add that I have convinced myself of the truth of these statements by personal observations.

As to the money question, I bring with me from the Commissariat for Commerce and Industry, a precise account of the raw materials which can be exchanged *immediately* for industrial products. This statement presents with the greatest definiteness, the kinds of goods, the quantities, the place of storage, and the prices, which latter are in accordance with the prices current in the years 1913-14. The value of these raw materials available for immediate export amounts to about three hundred million rubles.

During my stay in Petrograd and Moscow, the People's Commissariat for Education asked me to present to the Swedish book industry a proposition concerning the possibility of printing in Sweden new text-books that are to be issued in Russia. Six such books have been completed and are therefore ready for printing, and the total number of copies would be ten million. The Section for Literary Publications, which is under the People's Commissariat for Education, also gave me a written request for information from one of the biggest book concerns of our country, asking whether this concern and its printing office would undertake the printing of a portion of the great collected work which is being issued under the name of "The World's Best Literature." This great collection includes three thousand works of literature, of which each should be printed in one hundred thousand copies. On this subject I also had conference with the head of the Literary Section, the author Maxim Gorky, who was deeply interested in this matter,

and who, together with Merezhkovski and other prominent writers is now working on the realization of this great project. If the Swedish book industry could undertake this printing it would be advantageous also for the Swedish paper industry, now in a very low state. It is quite possible according to the statements of the Commissariat, to arrange the matter of exchange values and money.

It is known to me that the industries which were working under great difficulties even during the past year, are now in a condition of even worse distress and that their difficulties are increasing from day to day. The authorities themselves have acknowledged that a considerable unemployment is at hand. The extensive credit which the banks have granted in order to escape the catastrophe cannot be extended into an uncertain future. The accumulation of goods may possibly lead to a considerable fall in prices, by which the value of the stocks already accumulated will decrease. Within three or four months the winter will bring its obstructions to freedom of navigation to the Russian sea-ports. It seems incredible to me that the industries concerned in this matter should be willing to dispense with a means of selling their products in the expectation of an uncertain political alteration within Soviet Russia. The danger to Swedish industry will certainly not be postponed by the merely casual and quite insignificant sales to the new marginal states on the Baltic. Still less will this danger be lessened by occasional deliveries to perambulating Russian governments who, outside of the borders of Soviet Russia, will promise Swedish industries great possibilities of markets and a brilliant future, to be realized a certain number of months after the establishment of their political program.

For the present purpose, the interests of Swedish industrial investors and of the industrial workers coincide. Their common interests appear to me to coincide also with the momentary interests of our country and with its industrial future on the Russian market. Nor can I say that the interests of our country for this purpose fail to coincide with those of Russia, in this way also the real pre-suppositions for a commercial understanding exist between these countries.

Stockholm, August 29, 1919.

WILHELM HELLBERG.

AN OFFER FROM THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

The proposal from the Soviet Government which is mentioned in Mr. Hellberg's communication runs as follows:

The Commissariat for Commerce and Industry begs you to inform Swedish industrial circles, in answer to their proposition, that the Russian Soviet Government is ready at any moment to open its boundaries for the importation of Swedish goods, in exchange, under the single condition that the Government shall receive permission to send to Sweden a Russian Commercial Commission, with the privilege that this Commission may remain in constant

communication with the Commissariat for Commerce and Industry.

Under these circumstances the Russian Soviet Government is also ready to receive in Russia a Swedish Commercial Commission having rights similar to those enjoyed by the Russian Commission in Sweden. Before such agreement may be officially arrived at between the Russian and the Swedish Governments, the Russian Government is ready to grant free importation of Swedish goods to Russian ports, as well as to furnish Russian goods in exchange. A number of industrial products may already now be paid for by checks against Russian bank balances in Sweden.—Moscow, May 27, 1919.

(Signed)

The Commissar for Commerce and Industry:

KRASSIN.

The Head of the Section for Foreign Commerce:

NEUMANN.

A Member of the Commissariat for Commerce and Industry:

YAZEKOV.

Supplies Stolen by Kolchak

San Francisco, Oct. 9.—Red Cross supplies approximating \$200,000 in value have been stolen by General Semenoff, one of Admiral Kolchak's subordinates in Siberia, according to T. J. Edmonds, director of civilian relief for the eastern part of Siberia, who arrived here today on the transport Sherman. Appeals to Admiral Kolchak were fruitless, Edmonds said, because Kolchak had no control over Semenoff.—San Francisco Examiner, Oct. 10, 1919.

The French Blockade in the Finnish Gulf

WARSHIPS INSTRUCTED TO PREVENT FREIGHT TRAFFIC WITH PETROGRAD

IN connection with earlier statements concerning hindrances to Swedish navigation for Russia, the Swedish Telegraph Office has received in answer to a question addressed to the Foreign Department, the information that the French authorities in question declare that a blockade is being actually maintained in the Finnish Gulf and that French warships will therefore prevent vessels destined for Petrograd from continuing their voyage.—*Politiken*, Stockholm, September 18th.

Our regular weekly issues of SOVIET RUSSIA are full of information of the same nature as this Anniversary Number. Buy it regularly at the news stands, or order it, by subscription, from the address below. Three months, for new subscribers, cost one dollar.

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Bolshevism Hounded by Privileged Class

By HENRI BARBUSSE

Celebrated French Writer, Author of "Under Fire"

PARIS, Oct. 15.—"I accuse!"

It was with this cry that, in 1898, Emile Zola, an honest man, attacked the formidable social forces bent on dishonoring and assassinating the guiltless martyr Dreyfuss.

It is with this cry that honest folk rise today in righteous wrath against the international reactionism which, with the most monstrous motives of class interest, and in order to save the old line or privileged barbarians, has undertaken to dishonor and assassinate by means of famine and bloodshed the great Russian Republic, whose only crime is the realization of its dream of enfranchisement.

BOLSHEVISM VILLIFIED

We French proletarians accuse the directing spirits in America, France and England of having created an abominable campaign of calumny against Bolshevism; of having obstructed, by the vilest and most arbitrary means, the promulgation of the truth; of having deformed and falsified the facts—as in the cases of Dreyfuss and Caillaux; of having poisoned public opinion with the object of tricking the masses into war against their own cause; of having lied to the people in order to betray them.

We accuse the international consortium of imperialists, militarists and capitalists of having shamefully presented through the voice of a venal press as a regime of anarchy and disorder a constitution which is integrally socialistic.

The organic laws of the Russian Soviet Republic actually exist today—no matter who denies it. Moreover, whoever wishes to read them may do so. They are based upon equality and laws rightly governing human labor. They establish a community of Russian workers to assure for this community a direct governing franchise.

SAFEGUARD FOR THE FUTURE

They proclaim the internationalization of the proletariat. Whatever may be the free preferences of individuals, we declare that not only are these fundamental principles in conformity with reason and justice, but to the eyes of the most sensible and righteous men they appear as the only ones capable of obviating the future peril.

Two stains on society which are the theories of veritable madman have been hitherto imposed upon the human race—the exploitation of the masses and the prosecution of wars. And it is just because of this—because of the stupendous significance and truth of Bolshevik idealism and practicality, not because a few dictatorial measures have been taken by the people's commissaries which are justifiable and purely transitory consequences accompanying every constructive revolution—that our masters, our enemies, have decreed calvary death to Russia.

—*New York American*, Oct. -6, 1919.

The Battle for Peace

The Right Socialists of Finland Actively Hostile to Government: Demand Peace With Soviet Russia

(Private Letter to Politiken, Stockholm.)

HELSINGFORS, Friday.—Finland's Social-Democratic Party Executive has issued an appeal entitled "On to the Battle for Peace." The Party Executive states that the Soviet Russian Government has offered peace to Finland simultaneously with its offer to Esthonia, Lettonia, and Lithuania. "But the government does not seem to be ready to put an end to the unnatural relationship, so dangerous to the interests of our country, with our eastern neighbor. The government seems on the contrary to be completely in the hands of the reactionary diplomacy of the Entente states and the Right (reactionary classes) of our country, who are dreaming still of a campaign to crush Soviet Russia, instead of aiming at a treaty of peace.

"The standpoint of the working class of our country on this question is clear and consistent. Our country's government must recognize as the government of Russia that government which is actually in power in Russia. We cannot permit the reactionary bourgeoisie of our country, together with the corresponding elements of the Entente Powers, to conspire for the suppression, by force of arms, of the Russian workers' revolution, and the establishment in power of the landed nobility and big bourgeoisie who have rallied around Kolchak and Denikin, which would involve the rise of a frightful reaction and an unheard-of White Terror in Russia." "The creation of a state of war with Russia is pregnant with serious consequences for our country. It forces the country to keep under mobilization great military bodies, exceeding the productive forces of the country, thus devastating its finances and its economic life."

"The Diet should be called together immediately and should conclude peace."

The workers are admonished to adopt the following resolution in great mass meetings for peace to be held all over the country:

"In view of the campaign against Soviet Russia which is projected by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and which is a criminal intervention in the activities of the workers' revolution of that country, the workers of Finland demand,

"(1) That all plans of belligerent operations against Soviet Russia be dropped;

"(2) That Finland shall without delay take advantage of the peace propositions of Soviet Russia and enter into peace negotiations with the latter; and

"(3) That the Finnish Diet shall immediately be convoked in order to deliberate on the conclusion of peace."

Germany Looking for Russian Trade

A commission of German industrial experts has just returned from Russia, where it spent three weeks in order to study economic conditions and to determine whether a speedy resumption of industrial intercourse between the two countries is possible. The trade journal *Neue Weltwirtschaft* reports as follows on the results of these inquiries:

"The impressions gathered by the commission are entirely favorable. . . . The German electrical wagon constructing and machine industries are particularly anxious to establish business relations with Russia as soon as possible. The things Russia needs from Germany, in the first instance, are agricultural machinery, chemical products and especially medicine. It must be remembered that the Russian cultivator is still very backward in the use of machinery, so that he still regards as modern those machines that have been technically superseded in Germany. Thus Germany can find a demand in Russia for machines of older pattern as well as machines that have already been in use.

"In return, Russia can supply us with agrarian products and textile fabrics, especially cotton, which are grown in certain parts of Asiatic Russia. The Russian fisheries can also be organized to the great advantage of the German food supply.

"There are no political hindrances to industrial co-operation between the two countries. The very fact that the Russians have received the Commission referred to proves that they are ready to deal with present-day Germany, and not only with a Germany represented by a purely Socialistic Government. The Russians are undoubtedly anxious to revive their industries with German help. We have reason to believe that the Russian Government is willing to make extensive concessions.

—*Evening Sun*, New York.

French Plotting in Soviet Russia

Number 10 of *SOVIET RUSSIA* contained, among other things, a long note addressed by the Soviet Government to Italy, which gave in great detail an account of the counter-revolutionary activities of the Allied representatives in Russia. One of the most interesting authorities quoted in this note was a letter by M. René Marchand, a correspondent of *Figaro* in Russia, addressed to his friend M. Raymond Poincaré, President of France. This letter was written September 4, 1918, and mentioned a number of meetings held in the Consulate-General of the United States on August 23 or 24, 1918. M. Marchand mentions in the portion of his letter which was printed in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, that he has forgotten the names of the persons taking part in this counter-revolutionary conspiracy, but a recent number of *Le Populaire* of Paris, has the following addition to make to Marchand's statement:

"Other witnesses have supplemented and confirmed his testimony. It has been proved that the Allied representatives in Russia have not ceased to organize attempts, plots, assassinations: that is why the French Government forbids its citizens to go to Russia, to receive documents from Russia, but nevertheless, those guilty will some day have to render an account.

"Among those who participated in the meeting mentioned by M. Marchand are: MM. Poole, Grenard (French Consul), Lavergne, Verdemond, Keym, Sergievsky, etc."

Torture Chamber

The district governor has ordered his assistant Mr. Stcherbakoff to make a searching inquiry as to the existence of a torture chamber in the local militia, on the subject of which information appeared in the local press. We know that torture was frequently, almost generally, employed by the police under the Czar, that it was a common practice to arrest girls for the purpose of outraging them, that blackmail and bribery was universal, that prisoners were frequently beaten to death, but we hoped all that had been done away with.

Our best wishes to Mr. Stcherbakoff and we think that after he has finished with his torture chamber he might begin on bribery and so work through the whole gamut of the amiable habits of the Czar's police.—From the Vladivostok *Echo*, June 13, 1919.

Semionov Fleeing to Japan?

General Semionov may come to Japan. Mrs.

Semionov has just arrived with the General's military adviser, Mr. Seo (a Japanese).

ON the evening of September seventh, Mrs. Semionov with the military adviser of the General, Mr. Seo, arrived at Tokyo from Beppu. The latter said:

"The Omsk Government is at the lowest ebb. To the contrary, however the Bolshevik party is busy floating Kerenski roubles, printing more and more tons of them. They are so well supplied with the necessities of life that they are rapidly converting the Anti-Bolshevik people into Bolsheviks. The volunteers of the Omsk Government receive each a salary of sixty roubles a month. This means that each can hardly buy two boxes of Japanese "Helmet" brand cigarettes (20 in a box). They have no spirit to fight a real battle, but instead, the Omsk Government is compelled to fall back by the superior numbers of the Bolshevik.

"Soldiers of a certain country (*meaning those of the U. S. A.—Translator*), are in Siberia, skillfully utilizing both the Bolshevik and the Anti-Bolshevik parties and supplying them both with the necessities of life. It is their idea that that method is the safest policy for their own country, not knowing which will come out victorious. In the future, Siberian policy will have no need of armed intervention. They realize that the punitive expedition against the Bolsheviks will never succeed within the next ten or twenty years. It is necessary to have economic aid. Those who go over to the Bolsheviks are starving people, so if the economic aid plan should succeed, the Bolshevik strength will gradually lessen.

"General Semionov is now in Mukden, on account of China's misunderstanding on the Independence of Mongolia.

"He may come to Japan to pay his grateful visit to the Japanese early in October.

"The General has been suffering these past two or three years from rheumatism and desires very much to go to some hot spring in Japan. He is looking forward to this with the greatest pleasure."

Yorozu (Daily), Tokyo, September 9, 1919.

Is Siberia a Republic?

THE *Nashe Dyelo* of Irkutsk, in its issue of August 19, has the following characteristic item:

The office of the Irkutsk District Militia has received a document which is highly valuable from a civic, political, historical, and social point of view. The Zemstvo Board of Sludyanka begs to be advised of the exact title of the Russian Government. The inquiry comes as a result of the fact that travelers provided with passports stating that they are citizens of "the Russian Republic" have been held up on their eastward journey and narrowly escaped flogging. This situation has compelled Sludyanka to add another request that all those to whom passports will be sent would like, for the sake of safeguarding their own "inviolability," to have the same issued by a Government calling itself by any name except that of "republic."

The District Militia was taken aback by the question—"What is really the form of government in Russia?" It endorsed the Sludyanka epistle: "to be interpreted," and referred it to the District Zemstvo. But the latter hesitated to assume such authority and submitted the paper to those higher up.

More Condemnation of Intervention

TH. THOMAS, M. P., leader of the British railwaymen and chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions Congress has an-

nounced that the decision of the Congress in regard to the withdrawal of troops from Russia would be conveyed to the British Government in a short time and the reply, if unfavorable, would be submitted to a special congress.

"On Russia, not only strong feeling exists, but one of disgust and alarm" said Mr. Thomas, according to the "Manchester Guardian." "The more one knows of the Russian position, the more the Government policy, or want of policy, is condemned. Incidentally some explanation will be required, having regard to the recent revelations of indirect negotiations with the Bolshevik Government, which was so clearly denied on the floor of the House of Commons."

Soviet Troops on the Western Front

The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung," of Sept. 5, 1919, prints the following interesting notes on the number of Soviet troops engaged to the South of the Gulf of Finland:

The number of Bolshevik Troops from the Gulf of Finland to Lake Luban is published in the army magazine "Södur." According to that the "enemy" forces are divided into three groups: 1. The Gatchina group with 19,000 rifles, etc.; 2. the Luga group with 6,000 rifles, etc.; 3. the Pleskau group with 15,000 rifles. Together with the Bolsheviks there are fighting also 2,000 men of the Second, Sixth and Tenth Esthonian divisions.

The total number of Soviet forces is 40,000 rifles, 560 machine guns, 1,400 horses, 85 guns, 5 armored trains and armored automobiles.

(*Dorpatser Zeitung.*)

Eskilstuna III Plundered by Englishmen and White Finns

RUTHLESS VIOLATION OF THE SWEDISH FLAG

THE following sensational telegram regarding the steamer Eskilstuna III and its fate arrived on Friday at the office of the wholesale firm of Almgren and Larsson, Stockholm. The telegram is dated at Björkö and addressed to "Cargo Shippers, Almgren and Larsson, Stockholm:

"Eskilstuna III captured by the English September 20, Longitude 28°40'45"; Latitude 60°3'50". While sailing into the port of Björkö the vessel ran aground with prize crew on board, and under its command, on the shoals of Verkkomatata. Situation critical. Asked and received aid from South Finnish Dykbolag. Began discharging flax, 52,000 kilograms. Today crew taken ashore under protest. Vessel thereupon sacked. Inform Engstrand and insurers. Vessel must be salvaged. Refused use of aid as well as telegraphing earlier.

"ERIKSSON, Commander."

Politiken, Stockholm, September 27th.

* * *

NOTE: This important matter will be taken up at length in our next issue.

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November 8th

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1. George Chicherin: "What Divides Russia from England."
2. Max M. Zippin: "The Japanese in Siberia."
3. Siberian News Notes, from Japanese newspapers.
4. Fredrick Ström: "The Situation in Soviet Russia at the Present Moment."
5. Foreign Legations in Soviet Russia as Centres of Counter-Revolution.
6. Stockholm Murderers and Commercial "Anti-Bolshevism."

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In addition, we are able to present our readers in the next issue with a series of Official Soviet Wireless Messages, of which English translations have recently fallen into our hands. These radiograms, issued about the middle of August, 1919, will fill a considerable part of No. 23 of SOVIET RUSSIA.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	1
THE CAUSE OF THE DOWNFALL OF CZARISM	2
THE BOLD DEEDS OF THE WHITE GUARDS IN ESTHONIA	3
COMPROMISE WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	5
THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA, By Fredrik Ström	6
THE JAPANESE IN SIBERIA, By Max M. Zippin	8
EDITORIAL	12
VARIOUS SMALL ITEMS	13

	PAGE
OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	14
WHAT DIVIDES GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA, By George Chicherin	16
SCHOOLS OR CABARETS	20
FRANCE AND SOVIET RUSSIA	21
THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA, By Prince Kropotkin	22
STRIKES IN SIBERIA AGAIN	22
A LETTER TO THE EDITOR	23

The War in Russia

MILITARY AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS UP TO NOVEMBER 3D, 1919

"Onward! Do not give the enemy time to rest. Drive him, strangle him, beat him mercilessly!" This was Trotsky's historic order to the victorious defenders of Petrograd. *"With the help of the Finns we could take Petrograd in three days! . . ."* hysterically exclaimed Lianozoff, the Prime Minister of the North Western "Russian Government" in Reval (N. Y. Times Nov. 1st.)

THESE two appeals are the best illustration of the spirit of the two belligerent parties. In the New York Call, October 29th, Colonel Roustam Bek, a noted military expert, who has previously predicted the defeats of Kolchak and Denikin, firmly declared that the annihilation of Yudenich and the collapse of Denikin are inevitable. *"The Allies must recognize Soviet Russia,"* said Roustam Bek, *"the blockade must be lifted. Diplomatic pourparlers should be begun at once with Russia. If not, the Allies will have blood on their hands for a long time to come. One need not to be a Bolshevik to understand that. Any right-thinking man will come to the same conclusion."*

Colonel Roustam Bek once more has been right: the Yudenich-Rodzianko armies were annihilated (yet, the Times tells us today they are approaching Kronstadt, perhaps by sea?); the strategical pursuit was accomplished in full by the Reds. They have to lose," was said by George Witte in the Globe, because "they wore ill-fitting overcoats, caps of every description and nondescript shoes" because "their faces were dirty and unshaven." But that under these ill-fitted overcoats was hidden something else, which strategy considers stronger than tanks and poison-gas, or even English money,

George Witte did not notice. This thing was the determination to win or die. . . . And they have won—these "dirty-looking, unshaven" workmen.

The Bolshevik troops are scoring also on Denikin and Kolchak, declares the N. Y. Times, of October 30; the town of Dmitrovsk, 5 miles south of Orel, was captured by the Reds. A number of towns along the river Dnieper were also taken and Elizabethgrad, with its 100,000 inhabitants, besieged. The Black Sea ports: Nikolaieff, Kherson, and Novorossysk, the naval bases of Denikin's supply, fell into Soviet hands. Consequently the steamers "Maria" and "Constantin" were attacked by the "pirates" and 500,000,000 rubles destined for Denikin "robbed." (Ass. Press, Oct. 29, confirmed Nov. 2.) The Headquarters of Denikin was removed from Rostoff to Kharkoff (N. Y. Times, Oct. 28). Taking into consideration that his army is retiring from Orel southward such a shifting of headquarters to the north is a forced movement, as a result of the lost initiative, which is now in the hands of the Reds.

In Siberia the Soviet Army is gradually moving towards Omsk, having already taken the town of Petropavlovsk.

Summing up the general strategical situation in Russia and taking into consideration the unfavorable political circumstances of the Allies, the lack of harmony amongst their politicians and military leaders, as well as indifference to their aims in Russia on the part of several interested States, neutrals, and especially Germany, we come to the conclusion that the critical moment of the invasion of Russia has already passed and that the triumph of the Revolution is now made certain.

The Causes of the Downfall of Czarism

VOLKSRECHT (Swiss, Soc. Dem.), July 9, 10 and 11, contains a description emanating from Stockholm, of Soviet Russia, by a well-known manufacturer, who has lived many years in Russia, and is well acquainted with the industrial situation. Although not in sympathy with Bolshevism, he feels bound in justice to remove the many misconceptions prevalent concerning it.

"The non-Socialist Press does not publish the truth about Russia, but conducts at full steam a vast unprecedented campaign of calumny, lies, grotesque exaggerations, and immeasurably distorted facts. . . . In order to obtain any conception whatever of the present conditions in Russia, we must revert many years. . . . After the grievous wounds inflicted by the Russo-Japanese war 'reconstruction' began. A number of excellent harvests . . . gave a powerful stimulus to industrial and mining activity. . . . Simultaneously concentration of capital set in. . . . At the same time prices were artificially inflated. . . . The working-classes and employees were badly paid and lived in circumstances of which it is impossible to arrive at even an approximate conception in Western Europe. . . . As regards the peasantry the Government pursued a policy of extortion. . . . The national economy of Russia was bound to go to rack and ruin. . . . An autocratic, incompetent and criminal Government had inoculated it with fatal germs for ten years. . . . Yet notwithstanding this debit account Russia entered the war as light-heartedly as though it were a mere bagatelle. At the very beginning of the war the Polish coal district became the scene of operations and consequently the mines could not be worked. But it was thence that Russia had obtained some 30 per cent. of her coal. . . . There was a shortage of machinery, pumping apparatus, rolling stock, etc. . . . As regards man-power, the Government had few difficulties, for apart from the prisoners of war, Chinese were recruited. Hundreds and thousands of them inundated the country. . . . living in incredibly insanitary conditions and spreading frightful diseases, leprosy among others. . . . The recruits, herded together like cattle, were conveyed to their destination, and it has been ascertained that 16 to 30 per cent. died on the way. . . . These men were miserably underpaid, poorly fed, and treated worse than black slaves in America. I repeat, this occurred under the Tsarist Government, which purported to be waging a war for the liberation of the peoples. . . . The former Chinese Embassy at Petrograd is in possession of thousands of documents . . . the contents of which are such . . . that they could not be reproduced in the press. . . . As soon as China protested . . . Japan leapt at her throat. . . . Japan, too, was fighting for the freedom of nations. . . . I was anxious to show this Chinese question in its true

light, for Western Europe still seems to be in ignorance of the course whence Lenin derived his yellow legions. They were a given quantity, cultivated by the former régime, and therefore the patriotic indignation of Russians of the old school at the 'yellow hordes' is ludicrous. France, too, has similar hordes, only they are black, . . . but of course that is another matter which must not be mentioned, for France has a so-called civilized, recognized government, while Russia has not.

"The increased price of coal entailed a general tendency to inflation in the currency. . . . The peasants . . . began to withhold their produce from the markets and during the winter of 1915-16 the famine in the towns began. It was intensified by the growing difficulties of transport. There was a deficiency of rolling stock.

"In consequence of starvation, productivity decreased and the working classes . . . lost their strength. Production sank incessantly. . . . It is not the Bolsheviks who brought famine, but famine which brought them. It is an intentional falsification of historical facts to assert that the Bolsheviks have ruined Russian national economy. They took it over in a state of utter dissolution. To the Russian middle-classes must be ascribed the honor of having thoroughly ruined their country.

. . . These gentlemen, who are sitting and scheming in Paris today, plunged Russia into the abyss and then cravenly deserted the sinking ship. . . . I am aware that much of what I have said is unknown. . . . The Entente leaders are responsible, for then as now their censorship suppressed the truth. . . . *Russkoe Slovo* of that time will amply confirm my statements, which are a feeble reflection of the dreadful truth. . . . The Revolution was nothing but . . . a *coup d'état* under the powerful and benevolent auspices of the English ambassador, Sir Robert Buchanan. . . . The situation was superficially appraised. It was considered possible immediately to cure deep-seated maladies of decay and dissolution, the roots of which went back centuries into the past. . . . Russian national economy was infallibly steering towards a smash. . . . The requirements of the new Government were excessive. Money flowed in streams. . . . The far-reaching disturbances . . . in the organism of the State . . . produced immediate results. . . . The import of food ceased at one fell swoop. Seeing that the cities embarked upon the Revolution with provisions of food and coal which were only sufficient for a few days or even hours, the effects of the slightest dislocation necessarily proved calamitous. . . . The nationalization of industry, houses, property, and banks ensued. . . . Irreparable confusion arose. . . . The necessary raw materials were lacking, in consequence of which one factory after another was closed down. . . .

The precipitate nationalization of the banks led to an unparalleled shortage of money . . . Transport had sunk to 15 per cent. of its normal efficiency by December, 1918. . . . Immediately after the accession of the Soviet Government a comprehensive *sabotage* set in. Directors, employees, and in some cases, also the foremen of nationalized businesses went on strike, . . . in consequence of which profound hatred and mistrust of the entire *Intelligentsia* permeated the working-classes. . . . It is obvious that the counter-revolution, the innumerable fronts and perpetual conflicts are totally destroying the economic system of Russia. . . . It is also evident that civil war . . . brings terrible crimes in its train. The atrocities perpetrated by irresponsible . . . and degenerate elements among the Bolsheviks go the rounds of the entire European Press, which makes no men-

tion of the barbarities committed by the other side. It did not report how the Germans under Skoropadski . . . set whole villages on fire, . . . because the peasants, armed with the decrees, not of Lenin but of Kerensky, . . . divided the landed property amongst themselves. We did not hear how former officers of the Guard shot thousands of workmen with their own hands at Kiev, Kharkov and Odessa, . . . or how the Cossacks impale children, bury or burn men alive and plunder villages. . . . As an unbiased observer, who has never taken part in politics, . . . I deeply deplore this one-sided publicity about . . . Soviet Russia. My sense of justice revolts against being a passive spectator of this protracted falsification of history. . . . I do not consider that the violent and partial relation of facts is in the general interest. . . ."

The Bold Deeds of White Guards in Esthonia

Politiken Unveils Dastardly Attempt

A Recent Article in Politiken, Stockholm

MAJOR Hällen has made a solemn threat that action will be brought against the "Politiken" because it dared tell the truth about the Swedish corps in Esthonia. Pending further developments in the matter we have gathered a great deal of material, which is now published.

A number of members of the former corps of Esthonia have already been sent to jail here, for various misdemeanors, as happened also to the corps of Finland some time ago. But so far nothing has been done to spread light about the purposes of the Esthonian corps prior to their return home, and it is necessary to inform the public in order to force an investigation.

We have in our possession a copy of a report which was given by a few members of the corps to their respective consulates. Since the report gives an extensive glimpse of the life of the "Esthonian heroes" we shall publish it in full a little later.

THE WHITE GUARDS BEGIN THEIR ACTIVITY

In the month of February, 1919, the so-called "Swedish corps" began to enlist members in Stockholm. Their office was at the Hotel Continental. Requirements for enrollment did not seem necessary. Anyone could sign up and receive transportation to Helsingfors. Whether he reported there or not is another story, as several cases prove that it was used as a superb opportunity to get free passage to Finland. As there were no conditions attached to the enrollment many ignorant individuals were employed, with consequences already shown.

The promises of eventual reward offered in Stockholm were very attractive. Each soldier was to receive 2,000 Finnish marks to be used for equipment, and a monthly salary of 550 Finnish marks. No payments were to be made in other coin than

Finnish marks. Besides, the Swedish corps was to become a kind of police force, whose object was to preserve interior discipline and order—unless because of an emergency it be sent to the field. Part of the equipment money was to be paid in Helsingfors, to use in making purchases at that place. The rest was to be received in Reval.

A Swedish contingent left Stockholm February 20 for Reval, via Abo and Helsingfors. At the departure from Stockholm the "representative" there announced that another "representative" would meet the contingent at Abo and arrange for accommodations, as it would be necessary to stay there over night. No representative could be found at Abo, however, and the troops were facing a difficult situation, as none of them had any money.

INDIGNATION AND GLOOM BEGAN TO BE EVIDENT AT ABO

The soldiers had before them the prospect of a cold shelterless winter night. One of the Swedes succeeded in communicating with Swedes who lived at Abo, and who furnished the troops with quarters. In Helsingfors the contingent was met by the representative of the "Swedish corps" at that place, who was not a Swede, however, but a Finn. They had to remain in Helsingfors for more than ten days. During this time each Swede received 70 marks to cover his necessary equipment and expenses—a ridiculous sum under the existing conditions. Twice they were prepared to leave for Reval, and on both occasions they had to turn and go back, as the Esthonian officials on the steamer declared their passports illegal. A third attempt however, was more successful and at last the Swedes were given permission to board the steamer for Reval.

SAD INCIDENTS HAPPENED WITHIN THE CONTINGENT

Soon an unexpected torrent of unfortunate incidents began to heap upon the men.

Among them was a recognition by one of the Swedes that their troops were hopelessly unequipped, and a realization that Esthonia was probably short of clothes and equipment. Therefore he gave his guarantee to a firm, and the Swedes were given arms, clothing, and other necessities. After obtaining these things many of the members of the contingent sold and auctioned them off, after which they got drunk and behaved generally in a more or less disreputable manner.

It is easy to understand that some members of the troops began to doubt the "Swedish corps." Many of the Swedes therefore took a reserved attitude, both on the journey and on the arrival at Reval. To this distrust was added the rather unfortunate and extremely negative impression made by the prospective chief, Major Mothander. In his greeting to the troops he used these words: "Inasmuch as you have now planted your feet upon Esthonian soil you are under the rules of war, and if you disobey these rules I will put you against a wall and simply shoot you!"—not a very appropriate greeting to citizens who were still free. (Upon inquiry made by *Politiken*, Major Mothander denies using this expression. We will return to this later on.) Orders were received that the troops should leave the following day—for the front! Not a word was said about the pay, organization, etc., etc., of the troops. Only,—to the front with this disorderly flock! The distribution of "equipment" would occur during the night. When it did occur, everyone received some kind of a coat and a Cossack cutlass of a very primitive kind. Furthermore each one received a rifle of the Russian model.

ORGIES OF THE OFFICERS

and held at the hotel that night, but Major Mothander was not present. The "intelligence" of the officers was proven by their inexcusable behavior on this occasion, and as a result, some of the men joined the troops of Colonel Ekstrom and some left for the front the following day, having completely lost all faith in the "Swedish Corps" organization, and others refused to go to the front without equipment.

A few days later Major Mothander called together all the Swedes who had remained in Reval and lectured them, referring again to his right to shoot anyone that refused to go to Narva the following day. The Swedes, especially Lieut. Giuseppe Franchi, who was afterwards murdered, advised the major not to attempt such tactics with free Swedish citizens, who had heard nothing before about being at anyone's disposition, and who had come to another land voluntarily and as free men. They requested Major Mothander to write a contract and furnish them with complete equipment, after which they would go to a suitable station for organization and practice before going to the front, as they preferred to go to battle in disciplined order and after

a little training. The major considered this entirely unnecessary, and announced that it was easy to make a troop out of a herd of men, at the front. The Swedes then requested passports for their return to Finland. The major reported that these would be ready at noon the following day, when the Swedes should come and get them.

But they were not ready; and in desperation, for they lacked the immediate necessities, the Swedes attempted to enroll with other troops whose aim was the same as that of the "Swedish Corps," the suppression of the Bolsheviks. They were willing to enlist with Esthonians, Russians, Finns, or Baltic troops. They appealed first to the Russians. One of the Swedes, Lieutenant Cedervall, who had taken part in Finnish battles before, learned before leaving Sweden of the General Balashowitsch Army of Volunteers. He proceeded to communicate with the General who was commanding the troops at Reval.

The Swedes were permitted to form a troop—but only ten of them remained, by this time. Lieutenant Cedervall obtained passes for these ten and it was decided that they should go forward and form a "Swedish patrol." But in the meantime Lieutenant Franchi had suddenly gotten into connection with Colonel Stackelberg and the two had formed a plan to put the Swedish battery under the disposition of the Baltic troops. Colonel Stackelberg and the two had formed a plan to put the Swedish battery under the disposition of the Baltic troops. Colonel Stackelberg promised the Swedes a contract. But so few of them remained that their first task was to gather more men.

About this time one deserter after another came back from the Swedish Corps at Narva, with stories of the terrible life going on there. The orgies and "high life" of the officers, liquors and women day and night, unsanitary quarters, and bad food, and the numbers of loose women, especially, according to their report, resulted in most of the men suffering from venereal diseases. The end of the corps seemed near, and it was only a matter of time until it would disband. Lieutenant Franchi considered this a good time to recruit his own ranks from the demoralized Swedish corps, and he left immediately for Narva, accompanied by another Swede, named Holm, on March 7th. The Swedes at Narva were bound by no contract whatsoever, and he anticipated no difficulty in urging them to leave their unsatisfactory quarters there.

The papers have carried the "Franchi Case" and it has been the subject of common talk for some time past. One of the Swedes who was with Lieutenant Franchi from Stockholm to Reval, until his departure for Narva, and who had helped him compile the plan for a Swedish State Troop in addition to the Swedish Corps, tells the story thus.

THE FRANCHI CASE

A great number of Swedes in Esthonia refused to enroll with the Swedish corps, which was better known under the name of the "Swedish gang of

robbers." Upon his arrival at Narva, Lieutenant Franchi went to the headquarters of the Swedish corps and presented his plan to the Swedes, for a Swedish-Baltic battery. He also demanded that contracts should be written and that every soldier should receive his promised pay. The troop became very enthusiastic over his proposition and would have followed him to a man, as everyone who was not in the personal "good books" of the "officers" was very desirous of being transferred to another troop. The sudden appearance of Lieutenant Franchi at Narva caused a great deal of uneasiness among the officers, who became fearful of losing their good times. They immediately "arrested" Lieutenant Franchi and brought him up for trial. This trial ended with the chairman of the "Court," Captain Malmberg, giving Franchi his word of honor that he would be unmolested and that he should leave for Reval by the first train. Franchi promised Captain Malmberg not to speak of his plans to the Swedes again. This was the end of the trial.

However, he was arrested again, although he had kept his promise not to agitate within the corps. This time both he and Holm were thrown into jail. Almost immediately after, the "officers"—undoubtedly under the influence of liquor—arranged a "court martial."

The Swedish rules of war were absolutely violated during this scandalous trial of a free Swedish citizen. A criminal who had been discharged from another organization in Esthonia was elected to attend to the trial. Not a single paragraph of the Swedish army regulations was followed. *It was a plain and simple murder.*

Lieutenant Franchi was sentenced by a group, evidently consisting of drunken officers, to be shot. Holm was also tried. It was suggested that he be brought up for trial the next day and testify for Franchi. "You will probably be able to say something that will acquit Franchi," the officers said. Holm was never admitted to Franchi's trial, but was released after Lieutenant Franchi had been shot.

Before the execution of the latter his hotel bill was presented to him by the officers. He had no money to pay the bill, which was for 306.40 marks. He was told to pay it before his execution. The officers took his fur coat which they said they would sell, and apply the money to his hotel bill. Then they informed him that the proceeds of the coat would not be sufficient, and demanded the rest of his clothes. He would have given them, but one of the officers said they could be taken off after he was dead—and Franchi was shot.

Compromise with the Soviet Government

THE *Oriental Economist*, Tokyo, a very influential and progressive weekly, says in an editorial dated September 5, 1919, under the above title:

In the past, we have often discussed the fact that our country and the Allied countries are now, of course, in the most awkward situation, unable either to advance or retreat. They are perplexed and seem not to know what to do. Yet, without any reason or rather for some undefined reason, they apparently dislike to recognize the Soviet Government. But in respect to this Allied attitude, we have pointed out that it is impossible to deny the fact that however the Allied powers may dislike it, the Soviet Government is established firmly in Russia, and its foundations are strengthening day by day.

The newspapers of the Allied countries say that owing to the fact that the Russian Soviet Government is based in Russia on force alone, the Russian people can not have the least sympathy with it. But this is not true or anywhere near the truth. Speaking of the use of force, the Allied countries are using far more force in aiding the so-called Anti-Bolshevik army and attacking the Soviet Government from all sides. And yet, even in Siberia they cannot crush the power of the Soviet party. This shows that there are many people who greatly sympathize and side with the Bolsheviks.

We call attention to the fact that the Allied nations, especially Japan, who has the greatest interest in this problem, should immediately recognize the fact that the Soviets are at least a Russian political party, and that they, the Allied nations, should perceive that it is indeed not only committing a crime to interfere with the internal policy of another country, but it is meaningless and useless and at the same time a detriment to the Allied countries, because there is no other means of settling the Russian question than to face the facts at once.

But the so far pursued policy of the Allies cannot easily be stopped, even though they find out their mistake. At least, until now, the Allied countries have been aiding the Anti-Bolshevik party, so that it is difficult now to surrender this party to its inevitable fate, although their aid was a mistake.

To solve this difficulty, we propose to the Allied countries that they should again propose a Prinkipo Conference. The Allied powers had planned a conference of representatives from all the Russian belligerent factions, to be held at the Princes Island to discuss the peace problem for Russia. We greatly desired its success but unhappily the conference was not realized, for a reason not known. It was reported in the press that it failed on account of its rejection by the Soviet Government. This report, however, was false, as the

Soviet Government had really sent the following answer by wireless. The answer is a sensibly and fairly reasoned approval of such a conference. It is rather a long answer but our public does not know it; so we publish the whole herewith:

There follows the full text of the Soviet Government's acceptance of the invitation to the Prinkipo Conference, as printed in "Soviet Russia" of June 7, 1919.

The above answer is by no means a submission. They have due pride in the condition of their army and the internal administration has been making steady progress. It is not true, as was often reported in the newspapers of the Allied nations, that they refuse to acknowledge national foreign debts or fail to recognize their obligations or the payment of the interest. They propose, moreover, to exploit the resources of Russia with foreign capital and also to surrender former Russian territories. At all events, it is clear that their purpose is to make a compromise

with the Allies soon and to have peace in their country. This may not have been their attitude from the beginning, but has been only recently assumed upon perception of the pressing necessity. That makes no difference whatever. It is enough for the present if both parties have the spirit of compromise. This spirit of the Russian Soviet Government since the above wireless was sent has not changed.

Concerning the Russian problem, our country faces the most dangerous situation. England has already withdrawn her army from the north of Russia. France and America are desirous of having their armies return from Russia and are attempting to induce Japan to stop this business of intervention. Unfortunately, we have a militarist clique, and the people without realizing it are being influenced in an imperialist direction. The result is that they feel that they must have Siberia. This is a grave mistake. The only way to save our country from impending dangers at this critical moment is to revive the Princes Island Conference; to consult with the Allies as soon as possible.

The Situation in Russia Very Hopeful

Military and Provision Conditions—Situation of Foreigners

An Interview with Fredrik Ström

FOLKETS Dagblad Politiken called on our Comrade Frederik Ström yesterday, to ask him whether he had any news from Russia.

"Is there anything new?" we asked.

"I have just received mail from Moscow," answered Ström.

"Well, how is the situation, in the opinion of the Soviet Government?"

"On the whole pretty good, and better than ever before. A portion of Siberia has now been freed from Kolchak's oppression, and the Red Army is full of enthusiasm and determined to settle this enemy once and for all. The Red army is now marching on Omsk, the seat of Kolchak's reactionary Government. Kolchak has already left Omsk and fled eastward. Turkestan has been liberated, and in the Southeast the revolutionary troops are approaching the Persian boundary. To no slight degree these victories are the result of the numerous uprisings that have broken out in Kolchak's rear and are spreading all over Asiatic Russia, even as far as Vladivostok. By his cruelty and savagery, by re-introducing the Czarist despotism with all its methods and governmental devices, the tyrant and devastator of Siberia has aroused against him all sections of the population, even the well-to-do peasantry, on whom he chiefly depends. Whole regiments, even whole divisions of Kolchak's armies desert to the Soviets or surrender after having captured their general and officers.

SITUATION IN THE WEST AND SOUTH

"Well, how about the West front, where Finns, Letts, Lithuanians and Poles are being instigated against Socialist Russia by the Entente?"

"The Poles advanced quite well during the summer, but have now been brought to a standstill and are in some places retiring. On the Lithuanian front there are no great fights. Dvinsk remains in the hands of the Soviet troops. On the Estonian front, since the taking of Pskov by the Red Army, there has been on the whole no activity. The White Russian troops at Narva, reinforced by Noske's guards, are stationary, unable to advance on Petrograd."

"But how about Denikin's front, the South front?"

"It is true that Denikin's armies, led by Entente officers and extremely well equipped, have had certain successes and conquered certain important cities, thanks to treachery and vacillation among certain detachments of the Red Army, but the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs informs me that these successes are merely transitory, and that the Government is full of confidence, and declares that Denikin in a short time will be put to flight. This is made certain by the increasing uprisings and revolts in Denikin's rear. On the whole Denikin follows Kolchak's methods and introduces in all occupied territories the Czarist regime. Now that the population in these regions has had ocular

demonstration of the counter-revolutionary art of government and has thus had an opportunity to compare the latter with the Soviet system of government, they may draw the inevitable conclusions. They will become more revolutionary than before, and will be the best support to the Soviet system."

CONDITIONS AS TO PROVISIONS

"How is the provision situation now? Has the Moscow Government made any statement in this connection?"

"The shortage of foodstuffs in Russia is partly a matter of the past. The two most critical months—July and August—are now passed. Litvinov, Head of the Scandinavian Section of the Foreign Commissariat, has informed me literally as follows: 'While during the corresponding months of last year we were unable to offer anything to the populations of Moscow and Petrograd, we are this year in a position to give full rations throughout this period. The extraordinary good harvest now affords us great help! From another source I am informed that one can now buy, for example, in Moscow, as much meat, butter, milk, eggs, etc., as one may wish. In other fields also, the Soviet system is being consolidated and strengthened and productive labor is increasing and steadying itself more and more within the forms of Socialism.'

RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN

"Is anything mentioned about the relations between Russia and Sweden: What is the attitude of the Soviet Government on this matter?"

"Swedish industry has not succeeded in cutting a breach in the blockade and probably the navigation period will be lost for this year. The consequences of this will hit Sweden just as hard as Russia. The policy of Socialist Russia should be directed towards a shaping of the foreign relations as to make the inconveniences of the blockade, as well as the isolation of Russia, strike the other countries in the fullest possible manner. Until the neutral states broke off their relations with Russia, the citizens of these states enjoyed special privileges. After breaking off relations, these privileges were gradually curtailed and their supplies in Russia were put on the same footing as those of native capitalists, i. e., they were subject to requisitions. The delegation of the Danish Red Cross was deprived of its special privileges for the protection of foreigners, since several of its members had been caught in counter-revolutionary activity, conducting anti-Bolshevik propaganda among the Russian prisoners of war whom they accompanied on their trip home from Denmark by way of Finland. In fact, they were conducting a recruiting campaign for the White Guards under Yudenich and Denikin. In addition, the Danish

Red Cross delegation undertook to export Russian money amounting to millions, as well as other articles of value belonging to the Russian and foreign bourgeoisie. Finally, they served as an intermediary between Russian and Entente counter-revolutionaries both within and without Russia, forwarding their correspondence, even letters to members of the Czar's family. After all these things had been ascertained, the Danish Red Cross delegation found itself obliged to leave Russia at once."

SWEDES IN RUSSIA

"Well, how about the Swedes over there; how are they acting, what is their position?"

"It is clear that when the Swedish Government so brutally severed its relations with Socialist Russia and banished the Bolsheviks from Sweden, this was not without consequences for Swedes in Russia, who had been very popular before that. I have, of course, done all that I have been able to, to help them, and have often written to Moscow to learn about their situation and only a few days ago tried to obtain permission for forwarding provisions to them from Sweden. But it is exceedingly difficult to get anything done, partly because the telegraph is shut off, and partly because the Scandinavians—some of them at least—in Russia are acting very badly. Thus, for instance, at the time of the treason at Krasnaya Gorka, and the English bombardment of Kronstadt, a military conspiracy was discovered at Petrograd and the clues led also to quite a number of foreigners. In the house-searches undertaken as a result, as well as in the inspections of the former foreign consulates, a very extensive material was found. Thus, for example, in the Swiss consulate at Petrograd and in the Danish consulate at Moscow, plans were found for a military conspiracy, extensive lists of counter-revolutionary agents in the Red Army, secret reports as to the movement of our troops and our provision depots, etc. Fortunately such gross violations have not been found in the case of Swedes. But considerable supplies were found, as well as valuables and money which the Russian bourgeoisie had delivered to Swedish officers for preservation, and had thus sought to withhold from the state. In this connection a number of Swedes were also arrested, but were almost all immediately freed again, although their trials were still in progress. While these trials are coming on, they are forbidden to leave the country. The Soviet Government is willing to send a Red Cross delegate to Sweden to deliberate with the Swedish Government as well as with the other governments, concerning the regulations of the questions involved in the status of foreigners in Russia."

—From a recent number of *Politiken*, Stockholm.

A few hundred copies are still obtainable of our Special Anniversary Number of "Soviet Russia," published last week. Readers may obtain copies at ten cents each, or seven cents each in bundles of ten or more.

The Japanese in Siberia

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

IN February, 1918, there was a great exodus of Allied Ambassadors from Petrograd. The Bolsheviks were well in power then and the representatives of the Allies evidently could not make up their minds to remain in the same city with "those agents of the German Kaiser," who, for the sake of diplomacy, were not to be pronounced as such just then, leaving this lie to be used at a more favorable moment. Most, if not all, of the Allied Ambassadors, went to Vologda, although Vologda was no less Bolshevik than Petrograd, or Moscow. Of course, Vologda was nearer to where the Allied representatives were to inaugurate their intrigues against the Russian masses that culminated in the destruction of Russian railroads and in organizing counter-revolutionary bands. But this was not to be discussed just then, although quite a number of Russians predicted it.

But there was one exception: The Japanese Ambassador, Viscount Uchida, did not stay at Vologda. He left Petrograd, he stated to reporters, for the purpose of taking a little rest, and he was by no means opposed to the idea of returning to Russia and renewing his diplomatic relations with the Russian Government, as it was composed then, i. e., the Soviet Government, if, of course, his Government desired it. Japan, he thought, must decide this highly complicated question for herself, and from the point of view of her own particular interests.

And he then startled the whole of the Russian population of Siberia by a remarkable declaration that the Bolshevik Revolution was a natural sequel to what had taken place before, and that the Bolsheviks were not such bad men after all. And he laid the Bolshevik revolution squarely at the door of Kerensky. "The Russian Revolution," Viscount Uchida told a representative of the *Tokio Asahi*, who met him at the Harbin railroad station, "was bound to take this course. After an order such as the Czar's, the Russian people could not help going the other extreme, this being the natural law of the movement of the pendulum. And Kerensky, by his inability to understand the tendency of the masses by his attempts to stop this natural tendency, and, above all, by his coalitions and compromises with the advocates of the Romanov regime, could not last any longer, and was bound to fall."

To Viscount Uchida the Bolshevik Revolution was only a natural halting place in the great revolution of the Russian masses, and truly representing these masses, which, therefore, should not be interfered with. Whatever the drawbacks for the Allies, the Russian masses would surely find their way in the end, and they must be given a full opportunity to settle their own problems in their own manner. To the question of whether

he contemplated returning to Russia, the Viscount answered that personally he had nothing against working with the Bolsheviks, and that his personal experiences with their leaders were very pleasant ones. True, they were not in love with the Allies, since their political order was so much in variance with that of the Allies. But then the political order of the Central Powers is so much more different from theirs, and there is always one outstanding contrast: The Allies would never attack Russia, and they have no designs upon her, while the Central governments do. The Bolsheviks knew this very well, and they were crafty enough to understand how to choose between the two, unless they should be provoked to act otherwise. As to the Bolshevik leaders being agents of the German Government, this was so contrary to what he had seen of them that he would not even discuss it.

Did he actually mean what he said? Remembering that Viscount Uchida was only a diplomat, and in view of our experience with such diplomats as Churchill and others, one would hesitate to take him at his word. But rumor had it that he was really in earnest; only the militaristic party of Japan was stronger, if only by the fact that the French representatives in Japan and others were siding with the militarists in their "policy" towards Russia. Moreover, to Viscount Uchida is attributed a saying even to-day that "there is no sense in killing off so many Russians in order to create a market for Japanese goods, and that a peaceful commercial penetration of Russia is a wiser policy than a doubtful military invasion." But whether Uchida meant what he said or not, his declaration created a tremendous sensation among the Russians of the Far East. It was such a contradiction of what had actually been done there by the Allies at that time, and particularly by the Japanese. In Manchuria, the bands of Semionov, Kalmikov, and Orlov were having their orgy of death and destruction under the familiar battle-cry of all the reactionaries: "the fight for democracy," and they were openly supported by the Allies, and again particularly by the Japanese. And a short time afterwards Vladivostok was occupied by the Allies. The bands of Semionov and his kin lacked men, if you discount the mercenary Chinese Khun-Khusers, the small number of Mongols, and, of course, the several cast-off Czarist officers; but they never lacked ammunition, and the Japanese never made a secret of the fact that this ammunition was delivered to them by the Japanese Government, with the other Allies equally sharing in this highly democratic undertaking.

Then the "explanation" came. The Allies would not interfere in the domestic affairs of Russia, certainly not intervene there, but would help those "democrats" that would take upon themselves to

establish order in Russia on the Allied style and to the liking of the Allies. It was a peculiar "non-interference," but, as we all know, it holds good with some leaders of men in the leading democratic countries until to-day. In an inspired article, under the caption: "The Siberian Danger," the Japanese official journal in the English language in China, *The Peking and Tientsin Times*, said at that time, among other things, the following: "It must be admitted that at this particular time there is great danger that the Allies will intervene in Siberia, since the Russian population will surely resist foreign interference. But this course is not at all necessary, since there is a good way to attain the same results through help given to that great Russian patriot, General Semionov, whose only aim is to free Russia from anarchy." A full plan for helping "that great patriot" then followed, and not an ingenious plan either, namely, that all the ammunition stored just then at Vladivostok was to be turned over to Semionov, besides that a loan was to be "pooled" by all the Allies for the man "whose only aim was to free Russia from anarchy."

Simultaneously there appeared in many Siberian towns a peculiar little sheet, called *Golos Yaponyi* (The Voice of Japan) in both the Russian and the Japanese languages, where this grand and democratic plan of helping Russian "patriots" to free Russia from anarchy was laid bare before the Russians themselves. It was such a plain and easy little affair when you read that sheet, distributed free by the Japanese Government. All the Russians had to do was to join those "patriotic" bands of Semionov, etc., and the Allies, especially Japan, would do the rest. There was enough ammunition, the Russians were told, to burn, and tanks, and underwear, and poison gasses, and money, and everything for those willing to take it. Besides, aren't the Russians patriotic enough to free themselves from anarchy? Whether the same was said in the Japanese section of that little propaganda "newspaper" of the Japanese Government is hard to tell, but I have my suspicion that an altogether other story was told there. I remember showing it to a Japanese acquaintance with the request to translate the contents for me, but after looking it through he gave me a good laugh, one of those diabolical laughs that cut you as with a sharp knife, and a resounding "all right," and then departed.

It was only several days later that the real meaning of the laughter of the Japanese dawned upon me. Then came the notorious Blagovieshtchensk affair. It was late in February, when, in the city of Blagovieshtchensk, the most bloody encounter between the Soviets and a certain Cossack Ataman, Gamov by name, took place. It lasted about a week, with the Soviet forces victorious, of course, in the end, since there were no "democratic" bayonets to help Gamov, as they do now Kolchak; but it was found out to be a pure Japanese conspiracy. A certain Japanese colonel had assured Gamov that as soon as he would start trouble, the

Japanese and the Chinese would hurry to his aid. It ended in a fiasco, because the Chinese Government was unwilling to make war on Russia, as it is unwilling to do even this day, and the few hundred Japanese little business men of Blagovieshtchensk that did arm themselves, and joined Gamov, elected to cross the border and run off to Saghalien, a Chinese town on the other side of the Amur. Then we all understood that while, in its Russian section, the Japanese organ *Golos Yaponyi* was talking love and friendship, in its Japanese section it was calling on the Japanese inhabitants of Siberia to engage in intrigues against the Russian people. And we found out then what the Japanese policy towards Siberia amounted to.

It was to claim Manchuria, Mongolia, the whole of the Russian Far East, Transbaikial region, and parts of Central Siberia as the "sphere of special interest." Claim, and get it too. Japan did not join the Allies in their war against militaristic and imperialistic Germany for a mere flow of highly polished and beautifully sounding democratic words. And wasn't Japan the only nation in the Orient to have a rightful claim for hegemony? Besides, she didn't want all these territories for herself alone. China, according to the plan, was to share equally in the benefits. Of course, in order to share in the benefits, China must have Japanese generals to organize and command her army, since the Chinese generals are so backward in military science, and, agreeing to this condition, China would be totally enslaved by Japan; but then it is, after all, a war for democracy, and one must make sacrifices. China did not agree, and a strong note by the Allies to her, in which her reluctance to help the "cause" was made to appear as the biggest crime in history, was the result. And with it came the intimation that she must not expect any favors from the Allies. For all we know, China probably did lose a good chance by her stubbornness against making war on Russia. Most likely she would not now have her Shantung troubles had she listened to reason. The Japanese newspapers and the Japanese "advisers" in China have repeatedly warned her against such results, and told her to join hands in Siberia ere it was late. To quote one of the Japanese advisers to China, General Sayto, who made a trip to the Semionov front: "Under the circumstances as they now are in Siberia, this is the most opportune time for Japan and China to work hand in hand and occupy the whole territory without delay."

What made China so averse to the idea of becoming a partner to such a grand scheme is not the subject just now. It may have been because the Chinese are practically committing the same "crime" as the Russians—trying to bring their own house in order without outside "help." But Japan,—that is, the Japanese Government and its organs,—was quite outspoken all the time, even before the Czecho-Slovaks were to be "saved" in their designs upon Russia. And any man that comes now to the front, be he an American officer

or a correspondent of an American administrative newspaper, with expressions of surprise because Japan did become the practical ruler over practically the whole of the Siberia, is feigning surprise in order to hide the truth. And any man that tries to draw the conclusion that because of this fact the notorious Kolchak should be given more help and be recognized as the Supreme Ruler by America, is piling up another untruth on top of the first one. Because Kolchak, like Horvat, Semionov, Kalmikov, Orlov, the "Far Eastern Committee to Save the Fatherland," etc., was never more than a direct agent of Japan, and would never have come to his power were it not for Japan. There are enough facts to prove this for one that would care to know them. Everybody that did care to know these facts knew them all the time. Because when the official intervention in Siberia took place all the Russian pro-Ally newspapers there carried plainly inspired stories that it was undertaken by the democratic Allies to ward off intervention, and then occupation by Japan. And this argument was even more exploited than the "German" argument.

In June, 1918, after the Czecho-Slovaks were persuaded to be saved by the Allies, the policy of Japan became even more outspoken. Rumor had it that the American Government had an explicit understanding with Japan that she was to send only a small army to Siberia, and that that Japanese army must never exceed in number that of the Americans. But already in August of the same year the Japanese Government was sending troops in much greater numbers than the Americans, and the Allies were made to understand quite unmistakably that Japan had "special interests" there, and it must have a much greater army in Siberia. Whether the American Government protested against this policy of Japan is not known. Rumors had it in Siberia that it had, and very vehemently, too; but the Japanese Government did bring its military strength into Siberia to about over tenfold of that of America, and it still has that force there and is threatening even to enlarge it.

After the armistice was signed, the "German" excuse had to be discarded, and while the Allied and Associated Governments were searching the world over for a plausible apology for the continuation of both the blockade and the war against the Russian people, the Japanese had it cut and dried from before in the mere fact that Japan had "special interests" there that were to be protected above everything. According to the press dispatches, the Americans and the Japanese were constantly splitting differences in their Russian "policy," because the Americans thought that only when actually attacking the railroads were the Bolsheviks to be outlawed, while the Japanese would proceed against the Bolsheviks whenever they believed attacks were contemplated by them. To all practical purposes these policies are about the same, resulting in the killing off of the Russians and the strangling of their freedom. The Japanese would exterminate the Russians, under

the pretext of exterminating Bolsheviks, by whole villages, mostly by such villages as were inhabited by children and old people, while the Americans would guard the railroads, and the ammunition carried on the railroads, to enable the Japanese and the Kolchakists to do the dirty job. But even this fine point of distinction shows that Japan knew exactly what she was striving for, and that she got it. The American Government, according to official pronouncement, was guarding the "artery of trade" in Siberia—and the old open-door fairy tale—while Japan wanted the territory. And, of course, she got it. She got it by the numbers of her forces that she sent in against the protestations of the American Government, and by her sole monopoly to gamble with the Russian ruble that she acquired from the "Big Four" at Paris.

The Japanese never sinned with too many polished phrases. True, once in a while the Japanese powers that be would make some sort of declarations that would sound highly democratic, such as professing love to the Russians, saving the world, and the like; but this was merely a tribute a "civilized" government must pay nowadays to the all-dominating phrase. And giving to Caesar what is Caesar's, the Japanese newspapers would always wind up in plain matter-of-fact words that no one could misunderstand their meaning: "The Japanese must make it clear," writes the *Kukumin*, in its issue of January 2, 1919, "for the Allies that Japan has vital interests in Siberia, and their representatives at the Peace Conference should make it clear that these interests must be protected. The Americans and the English are wont to claim that Japan will monopolize Siberia as soon as the other armies are called back, but this is clearly a mistake. Japan, of course, will insist on her special interests there, but she is willing to bind herself by such agreements that shall satisfy the other powers, that she will grant an open door to all nations in Siberia, as well as in China."

And Dr. Tamidzu, a big Japanese politician, writes thus in the *Kukumin*: "However, there are some Japanese politicians who urge the advisability of evacuation, but I do not think this is a sound suggestion, because should our troops be withdrawn from Siberia, not only Western Siberia but also Eastern Siberia will be brought under the sway of the Bolsheviks. - - - Such being the case, by sweeping away the Bolsheviks and turning the Siberian expedition to real account, Japan will be making a contribution to the peace of the world. Incidentally it will enable her to assume the hegemony of Asia as the leading power in the East." Note the "incidentally."

Here is another jewel taken from the Japanese *Tokio Kokumin Shimbun* of February 12th, as translated by the *Obozrenie* of Vladivostok:

"Even beaten, Germany may rejoice in expectations of wholesome presents from the Goddess of Peace. Even Germany as a nation may anticipate the return of happiness and well-being. But Russia is doomed. Whatever the conditions of peace, Russia cannot be admitted in that region that will

give everlasting tranquility to everybody. - - - We, therefore, sincerely hope that our government will propose a plan of international control over Russia, at the Conference at Versailles, which shall consist in giving America control over European Russia up to the Urals, while over Siberia the control shall be in our hands.

"The Versailles Conference has decided to turn the control over the former German colonies to the League of Nations, and give the actual control over them to the members of the League. Why not have an identical control over Russia? The Bolsheviks are dangerous to the whole world, and a Russia in the hands of Bolsheviks may become the sower of Bolshevism over the whole world. Again, to expect an other stable government in Russia is highly problematical. Any ambitious man can suddenly make a coup there and seize the power, whether by intrigues among the military or by revolts among the masses."

But America as the boss over European Russia, and Japan as that of Siberia and the Far East was evidently the only solution before Kolchak had reiterated his assurance to Japan that he would serve her faithfully and honestly. Because as soon as such assurance was given, the Japanese press had changed front. To expect another stable government in Russia was not problematical any more; such a stable government was quickly found in—Kolchak. "The Russian-Japanese Alliance," says the *Dzi-Dzi*, in its issue of March 26th, "is now made exigent by historical necessity, as well as by the political conjecture of the whole world. Japan must recognize the Omsk Government and instantly enter into agreement with it. We could have given this government real military help by sending several of our divisions to the Ural front, a process which is very easy for us to accomplish in the spring, and be done with the whole problem at the middle of summer. By such actions we could have earned for ourselves the earnest sympathies of the Russian nation, as well as of its government, and this, no doubt, will enable us to get very favorable advantages."

We all know those "favorable advantages." Mr. Phil Norton, Acting Director of the Russian Division of the Committee on Public Information, who arrived recently from Siberia, and who ought to know, tells us that "at present Japan is penetrating every corner of Siberia economically and obtaining such control of ports, transportation, and marketing facilities that, if American business is inactive another year, American firms will find difficulty in doing business in Siberia except through Japanese intermediaries."

And the Associated Press gives us another inkling of these "favorable advantages" in the following dispatch: "Paris, August 20.—Japan and the All-Russian Government of Omsk, it was learned here to-day, have concluded arrangements to extend Japanese fishing rights, provided for by the Portsmouth treaty, which settled the Russian-Japanese War. The fishing clauses expired this month."

And then they want the recognition of Kolchak by America and further help to him to save Siberia from the Japanese. Hypocrisy never ran as unrestrained!

America would have never intervened in Siberia were it not because the Russians themselves have asked for it, we are constantly told. Of course, there is some truth in this assertion, since you can always find some Russians that will, for certain considerations, ask for any intervention. If there are not enough Russians that would ask for it, you can create them. All you have to do in such cases is to have Kolchak or another outlaw exterminate thousands of the liberal element as Bolsheviks and imprison the rest, and you have an "unanimous consent." Besides, there are always a few old men and women with a revolutionary past and with a bare present that will even speak in the name of all the Russians when so ordered. But neither the Japanese were found wanting in such "representative" Russians that would ask *their* support. It isn't so hard to find such Russians in Siberia that would even prefer Japan to the other Allies. Take the monarchists, for instance. They have a natural inclination towards Japan. True, the Allies did not interfere in the "domestic affairs" of Russia; this translated into every-day language, meant giving a free hand to the monarchists, the only element that could be depended upon to uphold the great democratic "cause." But behind the Allied and associated governments there were their peoples, and no one can tell what a democratic people would do were they to find out the true situation. The now and then interpellations in the English Parliament, the protests against intervention in America, the strikes in France and in Italy, all this had to be taken into account by the Russian monarchists. Japan was surer. And the system of government of Japan is much nearer to the one the Russian monarchists are clamoring to have inaugurated in "their" land.

Speaking of the Russian shouting to be saved. A Japanese Commission went to Siberia to inspect and learn, and it came back fully convinced that all the Russians do it to sit and wait impatiently for the coming of the Japanese saviors. Like President Wilson, these Japanese were fully persuaded (and on the spot, mind you, not through reports!) that all the classes of the Russians inhabiting Siberia were eager for Japanese help, and were looking to Japan to save them. With only one difference, this Japanese Commission was less vague, stating explicitly that "all the moderate elements of the Russians looked to Japan for help," excluding, with Oriental wisdom, the "extremes," that comprise, incidentally, ninety-two per cent of the population. But, then, these are merely Bolsheviks, after all.

The Japanese have gone straight to their goal of penetrating the whole of Siberia with the intent to annex it from the start, never wavering, never stopping, never asking questions. They knew what they were there for, and their whole policy

(Continued on page 23)

SOVIET RUSSIA

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About Russia

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AS was to be expected, the campaign of exaggerations and outright lies depicting the impending downfall of Petrograd and of the Soviet Government has produced quite a reaction in the minds of the American people. On the second anniversary of its establishment, Soviet Russia not only feels herself stronger than ever before, but it is being generally admitted everywhere that there is no likelihood of a weakening of the Soviets.

Developments of the past week with ever-increasing clarity show that in place of a tottering of Soviet Russia we find the counter-revolutionary forces completely routed. It is a question of a few days only when Denikin and his so-called army will be altogether eliminated. What we predicted about Denikin is coming true in every respect. Not only has his so-called advance toward the North been completely checked, but the loss of Voronezh in the West, the uprising of the Caucasians in the South-east and especially the capture of the important port of Novorossyisk, the basis of Denikin's military supplies show the trend of events. Mr. Winston Churchill announces in the British House of Parliament that the British Government expects "for the last time" to send Denikin a huge amount of military supplies, an act which probably will not prevent Denikin from meeting utter destruction.

The driving force behind the latest offensive against Soviet Russia was, as we pointed out some time ago, a desire at any cost to prevent the impending peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states, including Finland. It was a desperate gamble, which was successful in so far as it actually led the Finnish Parliament as well

as the representatives of the Baltic Governments from making peace with Soviet Russia at that time. Yet, being such a gamble, it could at most only give the counter-revolutionists a respite of a few days, or, in other words, until the discovery of the utter unreliability of the news of the Yudenitch victories. It is clear that the ultimate result of the campaign as far as the Baltic States are concerned established nothing but an increased desire to find a peaceful solution for relations with Soviet Russia. Indications of such a change of the situation are not lacking. The Finnish Parliament, at its session of October 31, rejected with an overwhelming majority any plans of intervention in Russian affairs and it is inevitable that peaceful relations between the two countries will be resumed. As far as the Baltic States are concerned, they have all the more reason again to undertake peace negotiations with Soviet Russia, since the Allied policy in the Baltic provinces certainly does not offer much encouragement to the economic and natural interests of the Baltic States. In this connection we reprint an article from the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia, by the well-known correspondent, Paul Scott Mowrer, which presents a more truthful view of the situation in the Baltic provinces than we have seen in any other non-Socialist publication.

I have received information from Paris which leads to the belief that, unless the anti-Bolshevist Russians can break the Bolshevik power before winter, a number of Eastern European States and embryo States, following Germany's example, will conclude peace with Soviet Russia.

This conciliatory movement began with the Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The story of what has happened to them since the armistice is instructive.

By the terms of the armistice Von der Goltz's German army was not merely permitted to remain in the Baltic regions; it was actually forbidden to withdraw. The pretext which the Allies gave for this apparently incongruous measure was that the Germans' presence was necessary to maintain order and prevent Bolshevism.

They had no troops to send there, so meant to use our enemies to do our police work for us. The way in which they did it is shown by a document, sent by the Polish Agricultural Commission of the Souvalki district to the Polish Minister of Agriculture on May 14, 1919, in which the Germans are shown to have cut down trees, destroyed houses for firewood, stolen potatoes and produce and committed other serious abuses.

This kind of thing went on all through the Baltic regions, wherever German troops remained. The result has been real hardship for the Baltic peoples.

Now the aim of these peoples is to be free. They don't want to be Russian any more, and they don't want to become German or anything else. They want their independence. Their first efforts were to get the recognition of this independence from the Allies. But we had associated ourselves with the Russian reactionaries, Kolchak and Denikin in our struggle to overthrow Bolshevism, and these men, desiring to restore Russia in its entirety, refused absolutely to recognize the independence of these former Russian provinces.

At the same time the British took the lead in raising Baltic armies to fight the Bolsheviks. This was at first possible, because of the "world revolution" proclamations of the Bolsheviks. The Baltic peoples did not care to become Bolshevik through any "world revolution," and they saw that it was to their interest to put down Bolshevism. Armed and financed by Great Britain, they fought against the Russian "Reds," though never with any great success, for their armies are too feeble.

But gradually it became clear to them the Allies were not going to recognize their independence. Great Britain, Russia's traditional rival, desiring to reduce Russia's potential size and power as much as possible, has, indeed, encouraged the Baltic States in their desire for independence, but Britain is tied up with Kolchak and Denikin, who refuse to recognize this independence.

Such was the state of things last summer when the Bolsheviks, making a fundamental change of policy, adopting "realist" tactics, proposed peace to Estonia on a basis of recognizing Estonian independence.

Weak in military power, ardently desiring peace, wishing to remain friendly with the Allies, but unable to obtain recognition from the Allies, overrun meanwhile by German detachments inflicted upon them by the Allies, the Estonians began to treat with the Bolsheviks. The Estonian Constituent Assembly was unanimous in authorizing the Government to begin pour-parlers with the Soviet Government, and September 15 was fixed—provided always that the Russians would also agree to make peace with the other Baltic States, Latvia and Lithuania.

A conference of the Baltic States was called at Reval on September 14. Finland attended the conference and the Estonians learned that Lenine had also offered peace to Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. These States agreed, that they would conduct the negotiations in common, to take no decision without the consent of the others, and to inform the Allies of all decisions taken. There was no mention, however, of the necessity of obtaining the Allies' consent to anything they might decide.

The attitude of the Baltic people is based on urgent material considerations, as well as on disappointment at their failure to obtain recognition from the Allies. Their armies are weak; they are short of food; they have not been re-equipped by the Allies. Once the Bolsheviks recognize their independence, they no longer have any quarrel with the Russian Reds. Even the so-called Yudenitch "government," contrived in northwestern Russia by the Allies, refuses to recognize their independence; and if they are to avoid complete anarchy, they feel that a speedy peace is essential.

The Russo-German offensive through the Baltic States against Petrograd is the reply of the "White" Russians and their friends to these negotiations. The hope of Kolchak, Denikin, Von der Goltz and Yudenitch is to take Petrograd before the Baltic States can make peace. But, meantime, what is the attitude of the other eastern European States toward Russia?

Poland is financially exhausted, economically chaotic, and in no position to go on fighting indefinitely. Its army consists of only twenty divisions. It has been successful against the Bolsheviks and its troops have reached the eastern limits of what might be considered Poland's legitimate boundaries. Poland has therefore no greater interest in prolonging hostilities. The people want peace. Paderevski, in a recent interview with a British journalist, let it be understood Poland was ready to make peace with the Bolsheviks, but was prevented from doing so by the Allies.

Ukraine is another former Russian province which wants to be free. The Allies refuse to recognize Ukrainian independence, Denikin is even fighting the Ukrainians. He has apparently diverted his march from the direction of Moscow toward Kiev. If the Bolsheviks should offer recognition and peace to the Ukrainians the latter would almost certainly accept. Poland is Ukraine's natural ally. It is considered by most Poles to be to Poland's interest that Ukraine should be free and independent.

In Rumania opinion seems to be more and more favorable toward making peace with Soviet Russia. Denikin is said to have tried to buy Rumania's neutrality in his war against Ukraine by offering to give Bessarabia back to Rumania, but the Rumanians have preferred to enter into relations with Ukraine rather than with Denikin. The Rumanian newspaper, the *Orient*, in a recent editorial asks the Government to make peace with the Russian Soviets.

None of the Allies want to send their own troops to Russia. Their effort to turn the various border people of eastern Europe against Russia is failing. Can they hope, therefore, to prolong the struggle indefinitely? Is it to their interest to do so?

The United States has never been clear about the right course to pursue in Russia. Our policy has wavered and is still wavering. We would probably not strongly oppose any considerable peace move. Great Britain's policy also wavers. British labor is in favor of the Russian revolution. The Foreign Office is allied to the Russian reactionaries. The mass of the people would probably like to see peace made with Russia.

France, desiring to see Russian power restored in order to resume the Russian alliance, has hitherto supported Kolchak and Denikin in their refusal to recognize the independence of the Baltic States, Ukraine and the Caucasian States. But France is alone among the Allies in holding to an absolutely consistent Russian policy, and France cannot hope to stand out alone, especially as the Bolsheviks have offered to recognize the French debt. There is strong public sentiment in France for peace with Russia.

Italy wants peace with Russia, provided the other Allies will also make peace, and Japan is obviously following a purely opportunist policy.

All these considerations point one way—unless Petrograd is taken before winter (and perhaps even if it is taken) peace with Soviet Russia seems likely to follow next Spring.

Estonia Is Free to Do . . . What England Wants

London, 19th.—The Reuter Agency asserts that the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Estonia has informed the British representatives at Reval that the Estonian Cabinet had decided not to conclude peace with the Soviet Government before consulting previously the Consulate of the British Government. (Stefani Agency.)—*Avanti*, Sept. 22, 1919.

A Great Number of Red Finns in Russia

Helsingfors, August 29th.—The newspaper *Korjola*, appearing at Viborg, publishes a statement made by a Finn arriving there from Russia, concerning conditions in Petrograd. He says the Finnish military uniform is a common sight in the streets of Petrograd, since Finnish soldiers who sympathize with the Soviet government have deserted across the Finnish boundary, and appear in the streets of the city in their uniform. Finnish women, especially women from Viborg are found by the hundreds in the Russian army. For instance, there is a women's battalion of four hundred women soldiers at Petrozavodsk.

Payment for Denikin's British Supplies

TO BE MADE "WHEN ORDER IS RESTORED"

A statement by the High Command of General Denikin's Volunteer Army, issued by the Russian Liberation Committee in London, contradicts a rumour that Great Britain is to receive the whole of this year's grain harvest in return for munitions.

The High Command states:—Our gallant Allies, the British, are supplying us with arms, munitions, and equipment without any conditions whatever regarding immediate payment for them. The conditions of payment for all that is now being supplied to the army will be settled by the Russian State with the British Government afterwards when order is restored in Russia. The actual payment will then be made.—*Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 3.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

Some days ago we received copies of a number of official Moscow wireless messages. They deal with important items of Russian external policy, as well as with conditions in Soviet Russia. We reprint them below without further comment, except to say that we still have a large number of such messages to present to our readers next week.

French Democracy in Russia

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

The searches recently made in the building that was formerly the home of the Danish Consulate at Moscow, before the breaking of relations, and where a sort of clandestine consulate of France was continuing to function illegally, have led to the discovery of the minutes of the reports made by Charles Dumas to M. Pichon in the course of the former's missions in Russia.

In these documents we see clearly the differences that separated these two representatives of the bourgeois imperialist policy with regard to revolutionary Russia. In a letter of April 2, 1918, Charles Dumas asks from Noulens a deposit of 100,000 rubles for a certain newspaper. He reproaches the ambassador for his parsimony, which he declares has become proverbial in Russia. On April 10, Noulens answers rather sharply that in modifying the financial propositions of M. Dumas he is simply making use of the right which the government gives him to approve or reject them, and he adds: "If I should have been asked to give my own opinion on this matter, I should have been infinitely more rigorous. I think, in fact, that our friendship for certain political parties in Russia should not lead us to aid them pecuniarily, except when they may be really useful to us." We thus observe in this correspondence a profound divergence of views between the military mission and the Embassy. M. Dumas, a Socialist renegade, undoubtedly is rightly accused of the fact that the Military Mission was guilty of too great an indulgence for Russian Socialism.

Among the other papers, which in the near future will be published in full, we find M. Dumas declaring himself in favor of immediate and vigorous intervention. With a perspicacity that is worthy of him, he writes (April 10th, 1918): "As for the Bolsheviks, there is no need to pay any attention to them any more. It is possible that if they should, in order to save themselves, attempt to rush into our arms, we should be embracing merely a corpse already in process of decomposition." We find Dumas engaged in relations with the Socialist Revolutionary Party. In a letter he reveals the discussion at the Conference which took place on May 8th between the United Jewish Popular International Socialist Party (Bund) and the Muselman Socialists. He is moreover obliged to declare that these parties are "hypnotized with the idea of peace at any price." He writes, on January 12th, that if these parties should seize power, they also would make peace, and just as quickly and worse than Lenine, in order to get rid of the soldiers as quickly as possible.

Finally, in another report to the Minister of For-

eign Affairs, he asks again and again for "great sums of money"; he makes an apology for his friend, the equilibrist of social opportunism, Huysmans: "At Stockholm, I spoke to Huysmans, who begged me to insist that the Belgian journals appearing in Holland with the aid of French money should stop insulting him so grossly. He does not mind being insulted, but it hurts him to think that it should be with French money." These few extracts give an idea of the memoranda which the poltroon Charles Dumas has deposited in one of the safes at his disposal. Fuller accounts, which will show still better the role played by this hero of the Yellow Internationale, will be printed by Henri Guilbeaux in the fourth number of the *Internationale Communiste*.

Russian Prisoners in Germany

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

The Russian prisoners who are held back by the order of the Entente in one of the German concentration camps have sent to the Russian Soviet Government the following report: "The revolution of November 11, 1918, had freed the Russian prisoners, and a liberated Germany had begun their repatriation to Russia. Their departures were taking place up to January 15th (1919), on which date, by order of the Entente, all Russian prisoners were held back. At the beginning of February an English lieutenant came to our camp, who declared that he was the representative of the English Red Cross, which would in the future undertake to feed and clothe the Russian prisoners as long as they should remain in Germany. When our comrades asked him how long the English Red Cross would support us in Germany, the lieutenant declared that this would depend on the situation in Russia. Thus our first interview with the representative of the English government ended in a meaningless answer, an answer that told us nothing.

"Later, foodstuffs arrived, and with them English soldiers; after them came Russian officers, whom the English lieutenant presented to us as his aides, who were to serve as intermediaries between the English and the prisoners. As for the question of our return to Russia, it was to remain open. Finally we grew tired of remaining in ignorance as to the cause and the duration of our detention in Germany, and the Prisoners' Council of the camp invited the English officer to an Office Meeting and obliged him to answer these two questions: First, what was the cause of our detention? Second, how long were we still to languish in captivity? The answer to the first question was: "We have detained these 400,000 Russian prisoners in order that they might not swell the ranks of the Red Army." The

answer to the second question was: "Until Bolshevism is crushed."

"Thus we learned the cause and the duration of our captivity. We beg the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic to aid us now in getting out of our exhausting captivity, and we ask this government to make known our situation and our desire to the proletariat of the entire world. Let the workers of the world compel their governments to free us martyrs. Signed."

The Russian Soviet Government and the Russian Red Cross have already had frequent occasion to point out to the civilized world this unheard-of aggression against the Russian prisoners, held back by the Entente governments in Germany, who thus impose upon them additional sufferings and often tortures, and who enlist them by force in the bands of White Guards. In view of this new document, the Russian Soviet Government, having exhausted all means of diplomatic action, finds itself obliged, unless it obtains satisfaction, to have recourse to measures of reprisal, which are the only means of making an impression on the savage brigands who now govern the Entente.

Entente's Atrocities in Russia

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

A Carnarvon wireless message attempts to shock the world with a picture of horrors said to be committed by the Bolsheviks against their prisoners: Noses torn off, scaldings, frightful mutilations in the face, and last, but not least, electrical tortures of a hitherto unknown kind. This orgy of a deceased imagination points out eloquently the impotence to which the imperialists have been reduced when it comes to making real reproaches to the Red Army. Yet this orgy pursues a Macchiavellian aim of very definite character. When they attribute to their enemy the crimes which they themselves are every day committing, the Allies are attempting to prepare an excuse for the horrors and bloody atrocities which the hordes in their pay are committing without number. It is in fact remarkable that the absolutely imaginary maltreatments to which the Red soldiers are hypocritically accused of subjecting their prisoners are in great measure the very same maltreatments to which the Red soldiers themselves are subjected on the part of Denikin and Kolchak. That which is false and fabricated, when said of the Red Army, is unfortunately only too true when said of the savage hordes of Denikin and Kolchak. Not a day passes on which witnesses or sworn statements do not point out the frightful tortures imposed upon the prisoners from our ranks and even upon the peaceful populations, by these worthy mercenaries of the Entente. We have particularly noted the mutilations which are enumerated in the English wireless message above referred to (noses torn out, arms and legs cut off by sword strokes, ingenious tortures)—and all these things unfortunately can be found, but only in the camp of the ferocious enemies of the working class.

British Naval Raid on Kronstadt

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

In spite of the solemn declarations so often repeated by English statesmen that the British Government would not participate directly in the intervention in Russia, precisely the contrary is actually going on. The English naval forces in the Baltic Sea as well as their airplanes have just undertaken a furious attack on Kronstadt. On this morning (August 18th) a great number of English airplanes attacked Kronstadt and dropped numerous bombs on the city, and under cover of this air attack, English small, high-speed naval craft undertook a sudden onslaught on the roadstead of Kronstadt. Only four of these vessels succeeded in forcing a passage into the roadstead, where three of them were sunk by our fire. It appears therefore to be a real war which England is waging against Russia. The English Government is undertaking the most energetic action to attack Russia directly with its armed forces. All masks are now thrown off and the English working masses should know that England is actually taking active part in the struggle against Soviet Russia. (Vestnik No. 1400.)

CHICHERIN.

Trotsky's Train Not Blown Up

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

A radiogram from Nauen dated August 16th, states that Russian newspapers have printed the news of a conspiracy said to have been discovered, having as its object the blowing up of Trotsky's train. This news is absolutely false and fabricated out of whole cloth. We are authorized to declare that no conspiracy having as its object an attempt against Trotsky or any other controlling figure in the Soviet Republic has been discovered, and that the above-cited invention is absolutely without any foundation whatsoever. The inventors of false news try in every way to create an atmosphere unfavorable to Soviet Russia and appear to be again at work. (Vestnik No. 1397.)

CHICHERIN.

"Retirement" to Tula

Soviet Wireless, August 18, 1919

Foreign wireless reports are spreading absurd inventions alleging that the Soviet Government has retired from Moscow to Tula. Not only is this a new lie without any foundation at all—since the Soviet Government has no reasons for considering itself in danger from any quarter at Moscow—but it is in addition a complete absurdity, since Tula, which is to the south of Moscow, is very much closer to the front than the latter. In this connection it is important to note that foreign telegrams frequently announce news items that are said to be drawn from Russian newspapers, and which on examination have never been found in any paper printed in the Soviet Republic. Take, for example, the news that Trotsky's train had been subjected to an attack en route. It is evident again that such

news is drawn from newspapers bearing the titles of newspapers printed in the Soviet Republic but actually printed as audacious forgeries in the printing offices of the counter-revolutionary general staffs. It is well-known that publication of false news by the Information Bureaus of the imperialistic armies is a weapon of war of great value. The process has since been perfected and whole newspapers are now made up under Denikin and his ilk and are gratuitously attributed to the adversary. The editors of official radiograms are doubtless not at all ignorant of this condition, but knowing the profound imbecility of their bourgeois public, all lies look good to them.

Chicherin's Appeal

The People's Russian Information Bureau circulates the following wireless message, addressed by comrade Chicherin on September 29th to the British and French workers:

"The Soviet Government victoriously repulsed the White Guards and troops of other Governments whom the Entente had ranged against us at Petrograd; it now asks the Finnish and Lettish Governments to enter into pourparlers to re-establish friendly relations. The Government of Russian Workers and Peasants has always recognized the rights of all countries to independence. It does not attempt to impose its sovereignty on anyone and condemns all policies of conquest. The Russian Soviet Government wishes to examine carefully all treaties which would satisfy the parties now at war with it. It feels certain that an understanding is possible, and expresses the hope that

the Entente will not put obstacles in its way. The Russian counter-revolution has forced the Polish Government to participate in the counter-revolutionary crusade and to support the interests of the Imperialist Powers of the Entente.

"Workers of Great Britain and France, we appeal to you to prevent an intervention which would hinder the conclusion of peace in the Baltic countries. Your Governments have found it necessary to recall some of their troops from the north and south of Russia. You possess a weapon powerful enough to put an end to the Imperialist policy of your governors in connection with the Baltic countries. Demand with an authoritative voice that your Governments cease to oppose the conclusion of peace. Success will depend on the degree of pressure you bring to bear. The Russian Soviet Government is ready at any moment to enter into negotiations with the Governments of the Entente. By your intervention help the Russian masses, who also want to live in peace, as well as the Baltic victims of your Imperialist Governments."

The Agency "L'Information" received the following telegram from Copenhagen on October 3rd: "In the course of an interview Chicherin said: 'As far as peace is concerned, my intentions are the same as at the time of the Bullitt mission. We are willing to make peace at any moment, provided that there is an immediate cessation of military operations on the territory which constituted the former Russian Empire, and that the Allied blockade is raised. These general principles have remained unchanged. We have not imposed, nor do we wish to impose, Communism on anyone. The blockade has done us great harm.'"

What Divides Great Britain and Russia

By GEORGE CHICHERIN

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs

What is going on at present between Great Britain and Russia is in fact war. British armies, together with armies of their Allies, have invaded Russia. They have violated the Russian frontiers without any declaration of war and without any provocation on the part of Russia. The Russian people is defending itself. Although exhausted by the long war, with a totally shattered national production, and although in the midst of the most tremendous reconstruction of the life of a whole people that ever has been seen in history, it has put forth a new and strong army which is repelling the enemies invading its country from all sides. A real big war is being waged. If the great masses of the people were not behind the Soviet Government, how would it be possible for this government to withstand the onslaught of hosts of enemies from the north, the south, the east, and the west?

What are the reasons for which Great Britain is waging war upon Russia? The first official pre-

text given by the British Government, when it began its hostile action against Russia, was the alleged necessity of saving the Checho-Slovaks, who were menaced by the Russian Government. In fact, it was the Checho-Slovaks who attacked the Russian people, and during the whole period of the military operations between Great Britain and Russia there was never a moment when the Checho-Slovaks would not have been able to go away peacefully had they desired to do so. In the beginning of 1918 it was an exceptionally great concession on the part of the Russian Government that it allowed the Checho-Slovak troops to go away fully armed through the whole of Russia. The Checho-Slovaks did not answer this great concession in a friendly spirit. Under the influence of counter-revolutionary officers and even of Entente officers who were hostile to the Russian Soviet Government, the Checho-Slovaks, on their way from Central Russia to the Far East, behaved in a disorderly manner, often hostile to the

Soviets, brutalized their fellow citizens whom they found on their road in provincial towns, if these supported the Soviet revolution, seized by force food trains, practiced violence upon the railway officials, and acted more and more like rebels against the Soviet Government. At that time the new popular Soviet Russia had not yet formed its new army, its inner organization was only imperfectly shaping itself, and in the midst of the disarmed country the presence of an armed and well-organized hostile force revealed itself more and more clearly as a serious danger. In the beginning of April, the Japanese landing at Vladivostok was the first sign of hostile designs on the part of the Entente in the Far East. The Siberian Soviets protested most energetically against the arrival of a strong and hostile Checho-Slovak force at the time when the menace of Entente invasion was drawing near. The Checho-Slovaks themselves preferred very much adopting another route, that of Archangel or Murmansk. The Soviet Government began, in view of all these circumstances, negotiations with Great Britain and France, with a view to shipping the Checho-Slovaks to Western Europe through the north. One would have thought that Great Britain and France would most readily have offered tonnage for that purpose, but they did nothing of the sort. They dragged on the negotiations in a dilatory manner, leaving the Checho-Slovaks in the midst of Russia and at the same time inciting them by underhand methods to a more and more rebellious attitude. The threat became so serious that the Soviet Government resolved to demand from the Checho-Slovaks that they should give up their arms. The answer was the Checho-Slovak rebellion. In the midst of an almost completely disarmed country the strong Checho-Slovak troops who on their way from Central Russia to the Far East were already in fact holding a great part of the Siberian Railway, some adjacent Russian railways, and the important towns of that region, could without difficulty become masters of the country from the Ural to Central Siberia. Even at that moment nothing would have threatened the Checho-Slovaks if they had consented to go away peacefully. The aggressors were the Checho-Slovaks. Against this serious rebellion Soviet Russia had to defend itself. The Checho-Slovaks everywhere deposed the Soviet authorities, gave the power to reactionary institutions, and became the center of a rallying of all the counter-revolutionary forces. In this way, civil war in Russia was fostered by the Checho-Slovaks. At that moment Great Britain and its Allies openly took the Checho-Slovaks under their protection, declared officially that they considered the Checho-Slovak troops in Russia as an Allied army, and warned the Russian Government that every step taken against the Checho-Slovaks would be considered as a hostile step against the Allies. Even then, nothing would have menaced the Checho-Slovaks had they consented to enter into an agreement with the Russian Government. But, on the contrary, they became the most serious organized

force among the combination of forces trying to overthrow popular government in Russia. The French military representative with the Checho-Slovak army in Siberia published appeals to them in which Bolshevism, that is the socialist popular form of government, was pointed to as the enemy which the Checho-Slovaks had to combat.

Great Britain did not wage war against Russia for the sake of saving the Checho-Slovaks. It made use of them for preparing war and afterwards for waging a war, the purposes of which are to be sought elsewhere. The whole region of Checho-Slovak occupation became the scene of the wildest orgies of counter-revolution, tens of thousands of workers filled the prisons; shooting en masse without trial occurred every day. The Checho-Slovaks were only a tool for the war against the Socialist movement.

In connection with the Checho-Slovaks the Entente diplomats pointed to Germany as the alleged author of the measures against the Checho-Slovaks. In reality, at the time when the Checho-Slovak rebellion began and the Entente Governments declared the Checho-Slovaks to be an Allied army, this question had not yet drawn the attention of the German Government. It was just as a result of the steps taken by the Entente Governments in favor of the Checho-Slovaks and also of the booming up of this question in the Entente press, that the German Government for the first time addressed itself to the Russian Government and demanded efficient measures against the Checho-Slovak danger. The negotiations between these two governments dragged on for several months, and it was only in the notes exchanged on the 27th of August (1918) that the demands of Germany upon this question found an official response in the shape of the promise of the Russian Government to combat with its whole energy the rebellion of the Checho-Slovaks. The idea so often expressed by the British press that the Checho-Slovak crisis was summoned up by German pressure is therefore contrary to the truth.

The more general reason for the war against Russia is the alleged domination of Germany in Russia. The childish calumny concerning Lenine and Trotsky that they were German agents was steadily spread by the yellow press in Britain. The forged documents received from America in July and August were well known to us already during the previous winter. We have it from Mr. Lockhart himself that professional forgers besieged the British and other Embassies with the most absurd falsifications offered for a low price. When one of the principal anti-Bolshevist agents, Mr. Sisson, having bought in Russia a batch of these forgeries, brought them to Western Europe, he found that they had already been published in the *Petit Parisien*. The false documents published in America in July were soon afterwards republished in Russia, and the coarseness of these falsifications was so absurd that it could only excite laughter.

There can be no greater contrast than that be-

tween Russian Bolshevism and imperial Germany. The falsehood that Bolshevism was an outpost of the German Empire was for the British Government a pretext for fighting Russian Socialism. The book of the French Captain Sadoul, a member of the French Military Mission in Russia, recently published in Switzerland, contains sufficient proofs of the fact that the Russian Soviet Government was the whole time seeking for friendly relations with the Entente Powers, and that the German Empire was its most terrible enemy. But the Entente Powers demanded that Russia should thrust itself again into the war. In face of the enormous military power of imperial Germany, with the disorganization of the Russian military defense, it would have been sheer madness, it would have meant the certain occupation of Russia by Germany. In the situation in which Russia was at that time the only possible policy for the Russian Government was to seek at any price to be left in quiet for some time. In all the conversations the members of the Russian Government had with Entente diplomats they pointed out to them that the moment can come when circumstances will again force Russia to make war against powers which would seek to subjugate it, and that in such a case it would have to coordinate its actions with the opposite coalition, but that just then entering the war would mean for Russia certain annihilation. They also pointed out that the result would be of an immense advantage to Germany, because it would give to Germany a pretext for seizing all those parts of European Russia which after the Brest-Litovsk Treaty were left intact. In fact, the whole of that period, until in the beginning of autumn the German military power began to shake, the menace of a German invasion was the Damocles sword ever hanging over Russia's head. The threatened advance of the Checho-Slovaks and of the other Entente troops who had landed on Russian soil into the heart of Russia would have given to the German military party the longed-for pretext for marching upon Moscow and extinguishing the last spark of Russian independence. In reality, the new Russian army, which was gradually created during the last year in defending Russia against Checho-Slovak and Entente invasion were in this manner defending Russia against German invasion. Secret documents of Entente representatives which fell in our hands showed that the British and French military party were consciously aiming at that result. They would have gladly sacrificed the whole of European Russia to Germany for the sake of drawing away a few German soldiers from the western front. And besides the military, the social point of view took more and more the upper hand. Whether by German or by Entente hands, Bolshevism, Socialism had to be crushed.

In the argumentation for the support of war against Russia the idea of "liberating it from Bolshevism," that is, of crushing Socialism in Russia and re-establishing there capitalist society, replaces at that time more and more the idea of consider-

ing Bolshevism as an outpost of imperial Germany. The idea of the Bolshevik danger as a revolutionary danger and the idea of Bolshevik danger as a presumably imperial German danger are two irreconcilable opposites. The middle of last year was the time of a most intense struggle of the Socialist workers' Russia against counter-revolutionary conspiracies. The active elements of the old regime, especially the old tsarist officers, were everywhere forging plots and concentrating around them the dissatisfied elements, all those who had profited from capitalism, the rich village usurers and so on. An invisible hand connected the risings of July and August with the centres of counter-revolution in the south, in the east, and in the north. A most active role was played in all these risings and conspiracies by Entente officers. Especially the French officers were secretly playing a most active game, enrolling Poles, Serbs and South Slavs in order to send them to the fronts combatting Russia or to take part in risings. In the beginning of July the great rising in Yaroslavl, the rising of the left social revolutionaries in Moscow following the murder of Count Mirbach, the subsequent rising of the social revolutionaries in Lgov near the Ukraine, numerous smaller risings to the north of Moscow, the treason of the Commander-in-chief Mouravieff in the East occurred almost simultaneously and showed evident signs of concerted prearrangement. Secret relations between the rebels and Entente representatives have been in fact disclosed. The Yaroslavl rising was prepared in concert with Allied officers. Although at that time Germany on one side and the Entente on the other were straining all their forces to combat one another, a sort of secret collusion between them against Bolshevism began to form itself. On the Don Krasnoff was the German hireling and Alexeieff, the British hireling. Between them there existed intimate connection and mutual help. Both sides preferred even augmenting the number of their enemies if only anti-Bolshevism was developed and supported. Alexeieff was considered by the Entente as the head of anti-Bolshevism, that is, of counter-revolution, and secret wires connected all the risings of the period with the organization headed by Alexeieff. Secret documents which have fallen in our hands have shown to us that all these movements were to a large extent financed by the Entente. It was only an act of elementary self-defense when under these conditions the Russian Government began to adopt measures against Entente representatives. In the second half of July the Entente Ambassadors were invited to leave Vologda, where a rising similar to that of Yaroslavl was to be expected. Tsarist ex-officers were secretly streaming to Vologda, and numerous French paid Polish officers had concentrated there. The Ambassadors preferred to leave Russia altogether. During August the conspiracies conducted by the Entente representatives developed so far that stringent measures, arrests and internments had to be adopted against Entente officers and consular officials. That was the time of the develop-

ment of the notorious Lockhart conspiracy. Through the Letts, whom Lockhart tried to suborn, we learnt all the details of the extensive secret plan aiming at the complete overthrow of our government. The letter of René Marchand, seized during a domiciliary visit, and other documents and testimonies, have disclosed all the other plans of the Entente conspirators, the attempts to blow up railway bridges and trains with food, to destroy railways and buildings and so on.

Thus Great Britain has been and is still waging the most unscrupulous and violent war with the view to destroy free popular Russia. It is accompanied the whole time by an equally unscrupulous press war, a most extensive campaign of falsehood and calumny. One of the principal subjects of this campaign was the so-called red terror, the measures of energetic self-defense which Soviet Russia had to adopt in the exasperated struggle it conducted against the numerous and powerful forces of dispossessed capitalism and all its acolytes. Numerous have been the cases in which the advance of the enemy has been aided by these counter-revolutionary forces, the tsarist ex-officers, the ex-capitalists, the village usurers. With enemies lurking behind corners in order to stab it in the back, Socialist Russia was compelled to strike energetically and systematically at these inner forces, leagued with external foes, which preferred servitude under the sway of foreign capitalism to free Socialism. The so-called red terror was only an act of elementary self-defense. To the foreign yellow press it gave a rich field for calumnies. In reality it never reached the proportions assigned to it in the tales of the enemies. At the time when the ex-officers of the tsarist army were the most active force of counter-revolution, they were called together to be registered, and some of them were interned. In Petrograd 300 of them were interned, in other places only a few. A mass killing of ex-officers never took place. An outburst of indignation against the counter-revolutionary criminals took place in the whole of Russia after the murder of Ouritzky and the attentate upon Lenine at the end of August. That was the moment when the only death sentences en masse which occurred in Russia took place, namely the 500 in Petrograd. In Moscow the death sentences have never been so numerous, until August they were extremely few there, after August their number can be easily ascertained, since they have been published. In Moscow their total number does not surpass 100. In Petrograd, after the 500 there have been only a few. The enemies of Socialist Russia draw fantastical pictures of shootings en masse every night. This is totally of the domain of fable. The death sentences are pronounced under legal forms. There can be no comparison between their number and the innumerable atrocities perpetrated in the regions of Allied occupation in the East or under the army of Denikin in the South.

The yellow press likes also to represent in a most exaggerated manner the famine in Russia. The

principal authors of the difficult food conditions in Russia are the foreign invaders who have cut off the most of European Russia from its granaries and raw material supplies. These difficulties are especially felt in Moscow and Petrograd owing to the deterioration of transport produced by Russians being cut off from the sources of naphtha and from the coal mines and also from the raw material necessary for building engines and cars. In the southern and eastern provinces of the Russian Soviet Republic the food conditions are not bad at all. Even in the large cities the pictures drawn by the yellow press of starving people tearing flesh from dead horses are absolutely fantastical. An important cause of these difficulties is the circumstance that the Russian peasant who under the old regime was forced to sell a great part of his corn is now eating it himself.

What is going on in the Ukraine is a civil war between the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, including the rich peasantry and represented by the Petlura director, and the workers and the mass of poorer peasantry represented by the Communist Party and headed by the Ukrainian Soviet Government. The Cossacks in the South, this best force of the Entente intervention in Russia, are only partly enemies of Bolshevism. The richer section of the Cossacks owns much bigger land portions than the poorer one and than the non-Cossack population of the same region. The domination of Krasnoff and of the anti-Bolshevist rich section of the Cossacks is based upon the most violent terror imaginable and upon constant shootings of differently-minded elements.

As to the Red Army of the Russian Soviet Republic, depicted so horribly by the yellow press, it is in reality now a popular army based upon universal service and upon the mobilization of whole classes of Russian citizens of military age. Its discipline is excellent. Very much is done for the instruction of the soldiers of the Red Army. The organizations of the Communist Party send their best elements to act as propagandists, and, as an ideal cementing force in the Red Army, clubs are formed in every unit, political discussions are held, troops of singers and actors go to the fronts and organize there stage performances, playing Shakespeare, Russian dramas, operas, giving concerts; special trains with literature visit the fronts. The army command is composed partly of those old officers who have rallied to the new regime, and partly of the new proletarian officers from the midst of the workers who have gone through the special classes for the training of red officers. The absurd fable of German officers commanding the Red Army refutes itself, since the Red Army with its extremely well-developed revolutionary spirit would be quite unable to have anything to do with the products of the old German military system. The Red Army is a popular Russian social force.

Thus the issue is thoroughly and completely a social issue. The British soldier prisoners who thought they would fall into the hands of bar-

barians, and saw in reality that they had entered a society of class friends have mostly at once understood the truth and become our friends. Our revolutionary reality opens their eyes at once. For all the soldier prisoners of different foreign countries Russian reality has been the greatest

revolutionary school. In the class war waged between the Entente oligarchy and the Russian Socialist people, the choice for the worker is made at once.

CHICHERIN.

January 16, 1919.

Schools or Cabarets

On the "Educational" Policy of the Siberian "Government"

The following is a translation of an article which appeared in the New York Jewish Daily, "The Day," of October 16. As the reader can see from the article, its author, Mr. Boris Diukon, the Siberian correspondent of "The Day," is an anti-Bolshevist and considers the work of the revolution as purely destructive, and this makes his description of the policy of the Siberian Government the more interesting.

WHAT would be of greater benefit to a wild, illiterate country: schools to educate the future generation, or filthy, dissolute, foul cabarets?

In the United States and in Europe, merely asking such a question would land one in an insane asylum.

But what is our Siberian Government, whose members have felt on their own shoulders the results of the Russian illiteracy, and have seen the destruction which was wrought in Russia by the dark and savage mob—what is this Government doing now to prevent such excesses?

What is it doing to enable the future generation to reconstruct at least a part of what their fathers have destroyed?

Absolutely nothing!

Has the Government built any new schools? Not a one!

Has it at least made improvements in the miserable schools which it found in existence? Not at all!

But do not assume that no appropriations were made for the Government's "Ministry of Education." Not only was an appropriation made, and quite a large one—ten and a half millions of rubles, but the appropriation was spent.

Ten millions of rubles, and not a single school built! Ten millions of rubles, and not a single school improved!

But, as Popristchin said: "They write—China, and it reads—Spain." They write, "an appropriation for educational purposes," and it reads, "for drunkenness"—to spread drunkenness among the people.

* * *

You encounter them in every Siberian city, at every corner, near every cafe.

Some of them are eighteen years old.

They are prospective candidates for houses in which the windows are enclosed in iron gratings. They are without care, without teachers. And, indeed, who should care for them? The parents?

But the cost of living is so high that to assure at least sufficient bread for the family one must work, and work hard, and there is no time left to watch the children.

"Formerly,"—an Omsk Jew complained to me, "formerly the children at least used to attend school for half a day, and on coming home had to prepare their lessons; they were thus occupied for three-fourths of the day. Now they are absolutely free. The schools have been closed for six or seven months, they are all occupied by troops. And the children are all the time running loose on the streets, mingling with other demoralized elements. What can their prospects be under such conditions!"

Can you understand this? No new schools have been built by the Government; but as if this were not bad enough, they have taken away those that were in existence.

One school—for four thousand residents, and then this one has been requisitioned—for barracks!

And this is done by a government which pretends to be "democratic" and which declares that it wants to see the Russian people free and educated.

That the Jew did not exaggerate is shown by these facts:

In Omsk, which is Kolchak's "capital," all the schools are occupied by troops. Omsk has five moving picture theatres, four cafes, and six cabarets, while the entire city has only one boys' high school, one girls' high school, two grammar schools, and three elementary schools,—that is, seven schools. But these seven schools were turned into barracks for the troops, while at the same time fifteen "amusement places" are open day and night. . . .

To be sure, the Government gets a considerable income from these places. That is true! But I do not believe that this money plays any part in determining its policy.

It is more likely that the Government wants to keep the people in darkness for "political reasons," as in the good old days.

They prefer to open stores for the sale of strong drink. Because they believe that for a glass of brandy the Russian people will sell all their ideas: Bolshevism, Menshevism, Cadetism, and all other "isms." If only they will have brandy, they will be content.

Such is the policy of the Siberian Government.

France and Soviet Russia

Izvestya, Petrograd, July 31, 1919

The Exchange of Russian Citizens and War Prisoners for French (A translation of a wireless note of the People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Republic and of the President of People's Commissaires and People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Republic, of July 29, 1919, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris).

IN the wireless note of April 12th, regarding the exchange of Russian citizens for French, M. Pichon, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, while stating the impossibility of an agreement upon this subject, declared that his intention to return the Russians was absolute and independent of any negotiations with the Soviets and that the French Government would continue their transportation home in an autonomous way." In the later wireless notes on the same subject, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has repeated the same promise, without mentioning in any way any conditions of exchange. One could have cherished the hope that the French Government has, at last, become conscious of its duty with regard to the Russian military men, has understood that, after having used them for its imperialistic purposes, after having compelled them to fight on the French front against Germany and to endure for several years all the hardships and privations of the war, field-life, and later of the concentration camps, it could not possibly make them the subject of barter as in a public market place. The conditions accompanying the disembarkation of the unfortunate Russian soldiers in the South prove, however, that one should not have expected from the present French Government a demonstration of generosity and gratitude and that its solemn declaration and promise, though given repeatedly, have not the slightest value. Having brought the Russians on the "Austria" and other transports to the port of Odessa, the French Command made their landing dependent upon the extradition of the French war prisoners taken by the Red armies in the battles on Ukrainian territory, as well as of all foreigners, including even citizens of neutral countries, threatening, in case that condition were not fulfilled, to direct the Russian soldiers to Denikin, to strengthen the blockade of the Black Sea coast, and even to bombard Odessa. When the terrorized local administration had given up 375 foreigners and then, later on, refused to submit to the further demands of the French command, the latter carried off those Russians who had not been landed, and, only because of the impossibility of feeding them, put them ashore near Ochakov, at a place least adapted for such purposes. The protests of the Ochakov administration, which had no instructions from the central government regarding the receiving of passengers, were answered with brutal threats to bombard and destroy

the city. The Russian soldiers who landed and later followed from Ochakov to Nikolayev were actually shot at from the French warships. The Soviet Governments of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic, recording with indignation the above facts of impudent extortion on the part of the French powers at the cost of the agonized and weary Russian soldiers who have arrived from France, declare that, relying no more upon platonic protests, they will be compelled in case such facts should be repeated, to take recourse to the same severe repressive measures with regard to the French bourgeois citizens who are in their hands, particularly the members of the former French military mission. The threat to send the Russian soldiers to Denikin is a threat to send them to a sure execution, for they almost invariably refuse to fight in his army for the re-establishment of feudalism and monarchy and are therefor shot. These soldiers are also subjected to mortal dangers while working in France in blowing up the wire and mine entanglements; many of them, according to our information, have been killed at that work already. The Soviet Governments of the Russian and Ukrainian Republics cannot remain indifferent to a further torturing and maltreating of the Russian workmen and peasants placed by the former Russian Government at the disposition of French generals and admirals. Let the French Government know that by subjecting the lives of the Russian soldiers to danger it also subjects to danger the lives of its own citizens. The proletariat of France will judge at their true value the methods of extortion and vile bargaining by which the French authorities are trying to exploit the Russian soldiers.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs
of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet
Republic, CHICHERIN.

President of the Council of People's Com-
missaires and People's Commissaire for
Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Socialist
Republic, RAKOVSKY.

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.

The Situation in Russia

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM PRINCE KROPOTKIN

“YOU speak in the Occident of restoring ‘order’ in Russia by the intervention of the arms of the Allies. I protest with all my force against any form of armed intervention by the Allies in Russian affairs. This intervention will have for its consequences an accession of Russian chauvinism, it will bring us the return of the chauvinist monarchy, a return of which already we see the beginning and—note this carefully, it will produce in the ensemble of the Russian people such an attitude of hostility toward western Europe that the consequences will be sad indeed. The Americans have understood this well already.

“You imagine that in supporting Kolchak and Denikin you are supporting the liberal Republican party, but this is a grave error. Whatever may be the intentions of these two leaders the greater number of those by whom they are surrounded have totally different visions. Those of the Allies who read clearly the events in Russia must repudiate all armed intervention.

GIVE US BREAD, HE SAYS

“If they wish really to come to the aid of Russia they will find an immense lot to do in another direction. We need bread; we pay 30 rubles for half a pound of black corn bread, but that is when we find the bread. We have no bread; it is a famine all around with all its horrible consequences. An entire generation is starving—and they refuse us the right to buy bread in the Occident. Why is this? Is it to bring us the return of a Romanoff?

“Instead of playing the role of Austria, Prussia and Russia against France in 1793 the Allies should have done everything in their power to help the Russian people out of their miserable position. Moreover, much blood will be shed in the future to bring Russia back to the past, but it will be unsuccessful.

“To construct a new future without delay I appeal to the Allies to come to the aid of our children, come and aid us in the necessary constructive work and for this work send us not diplomats and generals, but bread and tools with which to produce, and organized builders, those who have so well helped the Allies during those terrible five years to prevent economic disorganization and have repulsed the barbarous invasion of Germany.”

Why the Peasants Are Against Denikin

—The *Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie* (The Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, in its issue of July 20, 1919, quotes from the *Svobodnaya Rech*, a Denikin organ, an admission that the success of his troops has been seriously impaired by the hostility of the peasantry. The reasons for that hostility are stated by the Denikin organ as follows:

“With the gradual advance of the Don troops some sort of ‘punitive’ detachments would usually assume full control in the rear, frequently overstepping the bounds of their authority, broad as it was. The requisitions which sometimes assumed the form of open robbery, the flogging of the population, and the despotic and contemptuous treatment accorded it—such is the common picture of the activities of those detachments.”

Strikes in Siberia Again

THE *Dalnyevostochnoye Obozryenie* of August 31st, reprints from *Amurskaya Zhizn* an account of a strike in the city of Blagoveshchensk. The strike was on in the following establishments: The municipal electric station, the fire department, the railroad repair shops, and a number of private mills and factories. The Chairman and executive board of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and a number of strikers were arrested, and the office of the Central Bureau was closed by the military authorities. These measures had no effect upon the strikers, who elected another Strike Committee which proceeded with the management of the strike.

The strike movement spread to Manchuria. A correspondent of the *Nashe Dyelo*, of Irkutsk, in its issue of August 27th, describes “the painful, endless waiting at the crowded and dirty passenger stations of the Chinese Oriental Railroad.” At the date of his writing the strike was still in progress.

“To be sure there is some traffic, but only passenger traffic, and even that is very irregular, mainly by reason of the shortage of locomotives. They have all been drawn by the Strike Committee to Harbin and have not been moved out of there. . . . The strike was caused by the miserable conditions of the workers and clerical employes, who were paid their wages in ‘Siberians,’ that is in paper which is at the present moment not current in the Manchurian markets. The strikers demanded payment of wages and salaries first in foreign currency, and then in Romanoff paper. . . . There were a number of other demands. Among them was such an essential one as an increase of salaries and wages.

“The traffic, even passenger and military, is as yet incomplete. Freight traffic has not begun at all. All stations are thoroughly stocked with cars which cannot be moved. . . . The authorities treat the strike as a political one, organized by the Bolsheviks. . . . Along the railroad, since August 7th, martial law has been in effect, with all its consequences, including capital punishment, in relation to all strikers. This is told in the orders and announcements of General Plyeshkov.”

As appears from this report the strike on the Manchurian railway must have lasted more than three weeks. Even martial law, involving summary trials with capital punishment, apparently had no deterrent effect upon the strikers.

A Letter to the Editor

To the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

DEAR SIR:

In view of the fact that many reports describing Bolshevik atrocities have appeared in the American papers it may be interesting to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA to hear first hand of the experiences of an American woman in a town which had just been evacuated by the Bolshevik forces.

Last May, while in Lithuania, I happened to visit, in company with two American officers, representing the Children's Relief Committee and the Hoover Food Commission, the town of Vilkomir, which had been captured a few days before by German and Lithuanian troops. On our arrival by motor from Kovno the officer went to the hotel where they met the Mayor and discussed plans for the delivery and distribution of food supplies, while I set off on an exploring expedition. I talked to at least twenty persons, men and women, about the Bolshevik occupation, and I did not find a single person who was able to tell me of an instance of mistreatment at the hands of the Russian troops.

I found that supplies of clothing and food had been commandeered by the Bolshevik forces, but they had all been paid for at fair prices. Troops had been quartered in many houses, but they had respected the property rights of their hosts in every case. Except for some damage done by the bombardment by the German and Lithuanian troops the town had not suffered in the least. It was particularly interesting to note the condition of the hospital, where the limited supplies had been left practically intact. The principal citizens have been held as hostages, but they had been courteously treated and liberated when the evacuation took place. This was all the more significant in view of the fact that the inhabitants of Vilkomir are mostly Social Democrats and not in sympathy with the Soviet idea.

MARGUERITE E. HARRISON,
Special Correspondent, *Baltimore Sun*.

The Japanese in Siberia

(Continued from page 11)

was as clear to the Russians as to themselves. And if America or the other Allies did not notice it, it was evidently because they were so blinded by their hatred of the Soviets that they couldn't see.

It is not any more a case of fighting the Soviets, and it is, at any rate, about time to give up the idea of fighting them in Russia. It is a clear case of fighting the whole of the Russian nation, as the Russians will never stand for Japanese occupation of their land, and if it takes them generations to free themselves from this and other foreign yokes, so much the worse for those whom they will oppose. Because there is a great ideal, the ideal of true democracy, involved in this fight apart from the purely materialistic one, which can-

not be discounted. The issue is clear for the Allies now. It is either war in aid of Japan against the whole Russian people, or no war at all. The whole intervention in Russia reduces itself to a war on the side of Japan for a clean-cut annexation of Russian territory by the latter. No flow of nicely polished words, no matter where they come from, can befog the true issue.

As for the Americans, the whole question reduces itself to this fact: Are the American people ready to help Japan annex the whole of the Russian Far East, or are they not? If they are not, as we honestly believe they are not, they should make their unwilling soldiers return from that land of French and English intrigue, and Cossak and Japanese murder and carnage as quickly as it can be done. It was a great crime to help the Japanese go so far, but to continue to help them in this act of usurpation would be to merely enlarge upon the greatest crime committed in man's history.

Left to face the Japanese alone, the Russians will sooner or later put them where they belong. The Japanese agents, the Semionovs, the Kalmikovs, the Kolchaks, the Horvats, were already found out by the Russians. There is hardly a Russian to be found in Siberia that does not know what these agents stand for and what their true color is. Recognizing Kolchak is, therefore, to recognize the right of Japan to annex Siberia, and unless there is a secret understanding between the Allies to give a further grant to Japan, besides Shantung—and there are persistent rumors in Siberia that such is the case—the Allies, and especially America, should immediately withdraw from Siberia. It was a criminal and an entirely bad job all the way through, and there is certainly no necessity for making things worse.

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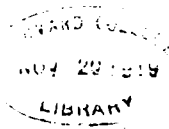
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
STOCKHOLM MURDERERS AND COMMERCIAL "ANTI-BOLSHEVISM"	1	A LETTER TO SENATOR WADSWORTH FROM THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE	14
THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND LABOR, By George Chicherin	4	OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	16
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	6	FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SOVIET RUSSIA AS CENTRES OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION,—The Swedish Embassy.	21
THE BALTIC PEACE NEGOTIATIONS	9	The Norwegian Legation	23
THE ENGLISH UNDER A PRUSSIAN COMMAND	11	ENGLISH PIRACY IN THE FINNISH GULF	23
EDITORIALS	12		
FRENCH WORKERS AGAINST RUSSIAN BLOCKADE	13		

Stockholm Murderers and Commercial "Anti-Bolshevism"

"Anti-Bolshevism" has become a regular and not unprofitable occupation for many of the guardians of the threatened social system, and is frequently used to cover up the most suspicious undertakings. But the most amazing story of anti-Bolshevism comes from Sweden. The readers of SOVIET RUSSIA will recall that a few months ago the American newspapers published a cable from Stockholm stating that the disappearance of a Mr. Ardashev, who was "well known in the Russian colony of Stockholm" and whose corpse was found a few days later, led to the discovery of a band of Russian noblemen who undertook to rid Sweden of "Bolshevik agents." The American press, always averse to sensationalism, naturally found it impossible to publish any further reports on this sensational case, though the American correspondents could easily have obtained a great deal of information on this case from the Scandinavian, and particularly from Swedish, newspapers.

We find, however, in the "Forward," a New York Jewish daily, of October 21, a letter from its Stockholm correspondent about the trial of these noble gentlemen and ladies. The following is a translation of this letter, with few omissions.

THE sensation of the day in Scandinavia is the Russian murder league which was directed by a Cossack general.

I attended the trial and saw the mysterious affair laid bare. In the light of the revelations of this trial, one begins to believe in the "realism" of a certain kind of criminalistic dime-novel fiction. But there is another side, which enriches this sensational novel-reality, makes it more colorful, and, especially, up-to-date; namely, Bolshevism. Under cover of anti-Bolshevism and anti-communism the league carried out abhorrent murders which have horrified all Scandinavia.

But let us turn to the story itself.

The name of the leader of the murder league is General Hadjetlaché. Mohamed Ibrahimovich Bek Hadjetlaché—this is his full name—is a Caucasian prince 53 years old. He has been only one year in Stockholm, with three murders on his conscience

during this year. And he has a lurid, savage past to his credit. He was the general of the "savage division." Under his leadership the savage division left everywhere a trail of blood. When the revolution came Hadjetlaché betook himself to Sweden.

I shuddered when I listened during the trial to the following characteristic story of his childhood, which shows how his character was formed. On the witness stand is Madam Potuloff, a member of the murder league. She relates this story, which he told her a short time ago. In his childhood he was once playing in the reception room of his father's large castle in a Caucasian village. Suddenly he noticed a large ball rolling towards him. He began to run after the ball, and was brought to a sudden stop by the laughter of his father; the "ball" was a man's head,—the head of a servant of their household. The servant had not been suf-

ficiently alert while putting the dress-coat on his father—a Circassian count, and the Count had used his sabre with effect.

Hadjetlaché is Asiatic, and cruelty, craftiness and avarice are the characteristic traits of his individuality. But he poses dramatically as an unfortunate: take pity on me, I am only an unfortunate Russian officer, a victim of the Bolsheviks, and I only intended to serve my Czar and my Fatherland by the decision of the League to exterminate the Bolsheviks!

"I beg of you, do not look upon me as you do,"—he writes in his plea to the jury. "Remember the sufferings that we, Russians, had to go through during the last five years. It is so hard for me to speak, words fail to express my misery. And I cannot bear to see you look upon me, the idealistic servant of the Fatherland, in such a different light."

Money!—this was the chief motive for his murders. But he is clever enough not to let a word about money drop from his lips. With a tragic gesture, he dismisses this subject. He, as a Caucasian Count, as a nobleman and officer, disdains to bother about money. This was the function of his secretary.

But here enters the Stockholm Trade Bank, and with prosaic matter-of-factness shows the following: a day before his first murder at his mysterious villa, in a secluded spot far from the city, Hadjetlaché's account showed 100 crowns to his credit, a day after the murder—5000 crowns, in another day—an additional 5000, and then again—10,000. In another few days another such increase. This was repeated after the murder of the young Russian Jew, Levitzky. In this case, the reward was larger—100,000 crowns. And after the third murder he sent in a check of the victim, whom he had "arrested" at his villa and forced to sign a check for 200,000 crowns!

But let this suffice for the money items. Let us turn to the numerous acts recorded in the indictment. They are more startling and gripping than Rocambole, even by this fact alone—that all this occurred in 1919 in Stockholm, a city guarded by a modern police; and, nevertheless, one man after another was taken from the city to an isolated villa, where he was killed; and his corpse was thrown into the stream in which the residents of Stockholm enjoy their bathing. All the paraphernalia of modern melodrama is used in this affair.

To cover up the murders at the Russian's villa, the undertaking was veiled as an attempt to exterminate the traitorous Bolsheviks. And in the burning hatred of the bourgeoisie toward the Bolsheviks the Caucasian count found his opportunity. Under the banner of patriotism were carried out horrible acts. Hadjetlaché exploited this hatred to gain members for his league, and its mysticism and mysteriousness attracted the Russians.

Hadjetlaché organized his group as would be organized a group which has but one object: money

money, money. And before I proceed any further, I will devote a few lines to the colony of wealthy Russians in Scandinavia. They get out of Russia—these Russian noblemen, former Moscow merchants, barons, generals, with 100,000 or 200,000 rubles. They take no thought of to-morrow, stop at the best hotels, and since the ruble is almost worthless abroad, they are penniless within a very short time. Work is not among their habits, and they begin to look for easy money; they speculate on the Exchange, they turn to card gambling, they venture into quite suspicious undertakings, and they turn to "politics." One "works" for Yudenich, another for Kolchak; or both become smugglers of gold and jewels or, sometimes, work for political aims.

All the members of the group, with the exception of the General himself and his friend, the engineer Ettinger, were ignorant of the real object of the murder league. They started with an anti-Bolshevik paper *Echo Rossyi* (Russia's Echo), with the general as its editor. But in spite of the stern appeal of the Cossack prince that "everyone who has two rubles ought to sacrifice one for the fight against Bolshevism" (that is, should bring it to the office of his paper), in spite of all his efforts, the business was not profitable, and but a very small number of rubles were turned into his and Ettinger's pockets. But, even though the life of his paper was cut short, he nevertheless found many Russians who fell under the spell of his passionate articles. They had no money, but they offered their services for his campaign against their common enemy, the Bolsheviks. Which was precisely what he needed.

Who were all those that gathered in and around the murder league?

All of them were habitual visitors of the rich salons of Petrograd, and had connections with the court of the czar. And now they are in the prisoners' dock of the Stockholm criminal court, and are surrounded by a group of policemen. Here is Lieutenant Bittenbinder—a youth of 25, the son of an admiral and multi-millionaire. Not far from him are seated two sons of General Zeichevsky; both of them dragoon officers. Next to them are their wives—Olga and Valentina, daughters of proprietors of large landed estates. The latter is almost a child, and her blue, innocent eyes seem so out of place in this chamber of crime and murder. These two, Olga and Valentina, have enticed the third victim, Ardashev, to the secret villa, and after bringing him in the black automobile they witnessed the "hearing," the horrible, Sadistic tortures, and the murder.

Not far from them, to the left, is Shensnovich, a highly gifted engineer and inventor. He tugs nervously at his small beard. In the centre of the second row sits a strongly built man in the sixties, with more resemblance to a typical Russian intellectual or professor than to a military man. This is General de Gysser, a former Quartermaster-General

of the Russian General Staff, which is a no less important post than Ludendorff's. He wears several medals which were given to him by the Swedish king in the pre-war days. All his three children, Oswald, Georg and Dagmar, are involved in the murder league affair. He himself was merely "examining" the victims, but did not participate directly in the execution of the murders. But his daughter Dagmar, an extraordinary beauty, enticed Levitzky to the murder villa, where, instead of the promised love, he found death. In general, she is a devil in the shape of a woman. She is so Mephistophelian, so Satanic! And with a despair which is horrifying, she tells the jury: "I did it only for the sake of my country! They were Bolshevik agents!" And the implicit faith of this sixteen-year-old girl in the Caucasian prince is even yet unshaken!

Besides the Russians, several actresses, mistresses of the Cossack General and of Ettinger, are involved, whose husbands were shot as counter-revolutionists by the Bolsheviks.

These are all the members of the league, whose full name was: "Military Organization for the Restoration of Czarist Russia." The members had to sign an official document in which they pledged themselves to put at the service of the league all their possessions and even their life. One who betrays the league thereby condemns himself to a painful, slow death. Hadjetlaché introduced an iron discipline in the league. And, of course, in accord with the signed pledge, he never failed to take away from the members their money and possessions. He attended to everybody: from one he took 10,000 crowns, from another, 15,000, and from the unfortunate Mme. Potuloff he took her last 3,000 crowns. But, excepting Ettinger, all of them had implicit faith in him. His fancy was so fascinating, so bold, so picturesque, that it made an unforgettable impression. Before the league even began to work he already talked to its members of his "titanic mission" and of the Bolshevik agents that have fallen under his sabre. Later a new plan was mapped out: to blow up Vorovsky's* house, where there was supposed to be half a billion rubles for Bolshevik propaganda. Eighteen men would have had to take part in the attempt. But Hadjetlaché needed 25,000 crowns to carry out this plan and he could find no one to finance the adventure. The millions, therefore, remained with Vorovsky. No more successful was Hadjetlaché's plan to blow up the ship which was to take Vorovsky to Russia. And then the Cossack general conceived the plan to kill the rich under the pretext that they had secret connections with the Bolsheviks. The victims were: Calvé, the Jew Levitzky, and Ardashev. All of them were enticed by the general's daughters into the net of a promised love, and when the opportune moment came, the ladies took them (in Hadjetlaché's black automobile) to the secret isolated villa. (Wit-

nesses testified that the automobile used to excite fear among all the residents of that district: it was driven with a mad speed in the middle of the night, the horn emitting wild screams).

Every precaution was taken. When the automobile with the prospective victim started for the villa, a guard telephoned this information to the headquarters. Another guard telephoned when the automobile reached a certain distance from the villa. A special guard was to report if there were any suspicious persons around. As soon as the victim would enter the house, he would be immediately attacked, and then followed scenes of indescribable tortures, suffering, and absolutely perverse cruelty. With his hands and feet bound, and his eyes tied by a dog's collar, the victim would be subjected to an "examination." And in the interval between one examination and another he was subjected to medieval tortures. For days and nights he would be kept without food and drink or he would be fed with herring, with no water to satisfy his thirst. They would break his fingers in door crevices. And all this would be witnessed by young girls, almost children, who would watch this with glee and sometimes would laugh.

When they had cleaned up the victim of all his money and his check books, and forced out all the information about his possessions, they would put a sack over him and Hadjetlaché would declare that he would be taken to Yudenich. But now Hadjetlaché, in savage, murderous ecstasy, with a dagger in his mouth, would begin to strike his victim, all the time dancing around him a wild dance, and shouting "anasani-babasani" (a Mohamedan exclamation expressing wild joy). A trail of blood would follow the "dancing pair." And an hour later the victim, tied in a sack and with a dog's collar on his neck, would be at the bottom of the stream. This was repeated with all the three victims. A number of other victims were to be dragged into Hadjetlaché's clutches. The sacks were already prepared, but at last the Stockholm police interfered.

Now they are only awaiting sentence. It is believed that one or two of them will be sentenced to five or six years' imprisonment, and the rest to penitentiary for life. But an exception will be made for the Cossack prince, Hadjetlaché. The jury demands his head. This will be the last head which will be demanded by the Stockholm criminal court. A law will soon be passed, abolishing capital punishment.

While we are not merely desirous to present the above story for its blood-curdling incidents, we feel sure that it will interest the readers, and promise to keep them informed of anything new that may transpire in this connection.

* Vorovsky was the Bolshevik Representative to Scandinavia.

The Struggle for Peace and Labor

TO THE WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS OF FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND ITALY.

(Radio of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of July 17th, 1919.)

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CIVIL WAR

AT the present moment when the proletariat of England, France and Italy, conscious of its fraternal solidarity with the laboring masses of Russia and Hungary, and understanding the indissoluble bonds uniting the interests of the labor movement the world over with the fate of the proletarian revolutions of Russia and Hungary, as well as the indissoluble ties likewise existing between the counter-revolutionary forces of those countries and the powers of reaction the world over, is about to assert, by strikes, manifestations, and other means, its firm determination to put an end to the military and economic campaign against the Soviet Republic—we deem it proper in our turn, to tell the laboring masses of the Entente countries to what extent they are right in placing all responsibility for the military operations still continuing in Russia and on her frontiers, exclusively upon their own imperialist governments.

Since the signing of peace with Germany, the counter-revolutionists of the world have been deprived of any pretext to explain the counter-revolutionary intervention in Russia by alleged military necessity resulting from the Allied war against Germany. All disguises that served to mislead the laboring masses as to the actual meaning of the campaign which is being carried on by the capitalist governments against the workers and peasants of Russia have vanished.

THE REAL AIMS OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS

The exigency of the war against Germany, which was alleged by the Allied governments as the reason for their intervention in Russia in the beginning, was in reality only a fiction intended to blind the working class of these countries to the actual counter-revolutionary aims of the expeditions which were being sent to Russia and the aid which was being rendered to the reactionary forces of Russia. As a matter of fact the intervention of the Allied countries, diverting a considerable portion of the armed forces of Soviet Russia from the Western front, where German Imperialism was menacing her independence and her revolutionary gains, benefited only Wilhelm II and facilitated matters for his armies. In such sections, as for instance the Don province, where the Russian counter-revolutionary mercenaries of the Entente powers came in contact with their confrères, the mercenaries of German Imperialism, there was no struggle between these local agents of the two opposed Imperialist camps, which were rending each other on the world arena. On the contrary, a tacit agreement was being formed against the common enemy—Soviet Russia and the revolution of the Russian workers

and peasants. But deceptive as this consideration of alleged war necessity was, resulting as it was from the struggle against Germany, at present even this reason ceased to exist, and everybody can now clearly see that the military operations carried on in Russia by the Entente countries or by the Russian counter-revolutionaries supported by Allied ammunition and gold, are nothing but unwarranted aggression on the part of these powers, and a frank attempt to strangle the liberties won by the workers and peasants of Russia. The strength of the Russian White Guard troops, viz. those of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, consists solely in the aid which the Allied countries are furnishing them. In the same manner the governments of Finland and other neighboring nationalities are being dragged into the military adventures and campaigns of aggression directed against Soviet Russia at the behest of the governments of the Entente countries and contrary to the will of the population of those countries. It is therefore the duty of the organized working class of the countries of the Entente to force their governments by all means to give up the attempts to stifle the Russian revolution, which are virtually initiated solely by those governments.

PEACE OFFERS

One of the numerous fraudulent and lying stories directed against the Russian proletarian revolution is the statement that the Soviet Government has imperialistic plots and schemes of aggression of its own, whereas in reality, the working class revolution and the Soviet regime which represents this revolution, holds it as one of its fundamental principles that the laboring masses of each country must fight for their own emancipation, which is to come as the result of their own efforts. Soviet Russia, for its part, has all the time endeavored as far as possible to reach a peaceable settlement of the conflict with the governments of the Entente powers attacking it, and she is now, as before, inclined to put an end to all hostilities between those governments and herself.

On August 5th of last year, when England and France were only beginning their campaign with the object of intervening in Russia—a campaign in which, at that time, America did not participate, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs addressed a letter to the American Representative, Mr. Poole, asking him to ascertain the objects of the Government of England, whose troops had invaded the Murmansk region and Archangel, and the terms on which that government would be prepared to discontinue its attack on Russia. Afterwards, at the moment when the Norwegian representatives were leaving Moscow, the People's Com-

missariat attempted to enter into negotiations through them with the powers attacking Russia, in order to terminate their unwarranted attacks. In a note addressed to President Wilson on October 24th, the People's Commissariat once more asked to be informed as to the terms, and even the sacrifices, which the invading governments would impose on Soviet Russia in order to end all military operations. On November the 3rd the Soviet Government, through the representatives of neutral countries who were still in Russia at that time, tendered an official offer to the governments of the Entente countries to open negotiations with a view to arriving at an understanding. This attempt was approved by the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets which, on November 8th, made a solemn offer to the Entente countries to enter into peace negotiations. The Congress of Soviets gave to the People's Commissariat the necessary power, authorizing it on its own initiative to undertake new steps in that direction. As a result, Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet Government, during his stay in Stockholm, on December 23rd sent a circular note to the representatives of the Entente powers, offering to open preliminary negotiations in order to eliminate all the causes leading to a continuance of military operations. On January 12th, having learned from a Lyons radio that the Chairman of the United States Foreign Relations Commission had stated the reasons which had prompted America to take part in the Russian intervention, the People's Commissariat informed the American government by radio that the reasons stated—whether justified or not at the time—were no longer such at the present moment, and requested the American Government to state the date and place where peace negotiations could be opened. On January 14th, having been informed of England's offer the purpose of which was to put an end to the struggle between the de facto governments of Russia, the People's Commissariat once more informed the Soviet representatives in Stockholm of the readiness of the Soviet Government to begin negotiations with the governments of the Entente powers for the purpose of reaching an understanding. On January 17, having learned that the general labor conference and the permanent administrative committee of the French Socialist Party had noted with satisfaction the declaration of the French Government declining intervention in Russia, the Soviet Government once more sent a radio dispatch to the governments of the Entente, asking them when and in what form this withdrawal of intervention would be realized and how soon negotiations would be commenced for the purpose of carrying out the statements made. Later on, having learned from radios addressed to no one in particular that the governments of the Entente had decided to begin negotiations at the Prince's Isles, with the Soviet Government and with the various other de facto governments then existing in Russia, the Russian Soviet Government addressed a

radio on February 4th to the Allied governments in which it formally offered to begin peace negotiations with all the Allied countries collectively, or with any of them individually, or with those Russian groups that the Allies might want to participate in the negotiations. The declaration to the effect that the Soviet Government rejected the offer of the Entente powers to commence peace negotiations, at the Prinkipo Isles or any other place, is nothing but one of the numerous falsehoods directed against Soviet Russia. In like manner, when the representative of the American Government, William Bullitt, with the knowledge of Lloyd George, came to Russia to arrange with the Soviet Government about the fundamentals of an agreement which the Entente powers could thereafter offer to all the belligerent parties in Russia,—the Soviet Government with the utmost readiness accepted this offer. The peace terms, which were acceptable to both sides, were worked out in detail by the Soviet Government together with the American representative. Equally false is the statement that the Soviet Government has declined the offer of Nansen's commission relative to the furnishing of provisions to Russia in accordance with an agreement to be arrived at with the Entente governments. Not only was that proposal not rejected by the Soviet Government, but in its reply of May 7th it asked Fridtjof Nansen to state the time and place where its representatives could meet the representatives of the commission on food supplies. The only condition made by the Soviet Government was that the negotiations concerning the cessation of hostilities could be carried on only with those who were actually engaged in them, i.e., the Entente governments and their representatives.

CRUSHING THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

Now, having victoriously repulsed all the treacherous attacks against Petrograd by the united forces of the British, Finnish, Estonian, and Russian White Guards, having dealt a decisive blow to Kolchak, having destroyed and dispersed his hordes, having recaptured the entire Ural district together with its capital, Ekaterinburg, which has been in the hands of the counter-revolutionists for over a year, since the Czecho-Slovak revolt, standing as it were on the threshold of Siberia, finding ourselves on the eve of our reunion with the Siberian workers and peasants who are revolting against Kolchak, having torn Ekaterinoslav from the hands of another Czarist general, Denikin, and having gathered sufficient force to crush this hangman of the South, this last bulwark of Allied reaction in Russia,—we nevertheless declare, as we have done in the past, that the views of the Soviet Government and its intentions remain as they have been heretofore, and that it is still the unaltered wish of Soviet Russia to end the war and the blockade. Two hundreds of thousands of soldiers of various nationalities who have been pitched against us by the Entente powers, the English, French, Italian, Greek, Roumanian, Czecho-Slovak, American, and Japanese

troops in Northern and Southern Russia and in Siberia; the enormous quantities of military equipment, the unlimited financial resources, the assistance rendered to our counter-revolution by the generals of Wilhelm II in the Ukraine and on the Don prior to the collapse of German Imperialism and by the Entente generals up to the present day; the continual hostile actions of the reactionaries who are dominating the governments of the neighboring small nationalities, owing to the aid of the Entente, at whose behest they are attacking us; the hostile relations of the neutral governments influenced in the same manner against Russia by the Entente; the economic and political blockade, and finally, the attempts made by Entente agents artificially to incite insurrection within the country,—all this has in no way led to the desired results, and the object of the Russian bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionaries of the world—to destroy the Soviet regime—has remained unfulfilled. The Russian counter-revolution will not be saved by further aid of the European, American and Japanese reaction even if this aid were to be increased tenfold.

SOVIET RUSSIA WANTS TO BE AT PEACE WITH ALL THE PEOPLES

Every new drive against the Russian revolution

only arouses a fresh wave of enthusiasm among the laboring masses and increases their determination to defend their Soviet Government and the gains of the revolution, for the sake of which they have bravely gone through so many trials and privations. Further struggle can only result in further loss of human life and in accentuating the economic breakdown not only in Russia but in other countries as well. Yet we firmly trust that these new sacrifices will no longer be needed, and that the toiling masses of the Allied countries realizing at last the power of the working class and its irresistible might, will develop sufficient strength to compel their governments to put an end to all direct or indirect intervention in Russia, to cease sending troops to Russia, and rendering aid to the Russian counter-revolutionists and White Guards by supplying ammunition, money and other means; to lift the blockade which is paralyzing the economic life of Russia, and lastly to establish normal, peaceful relations with the Russian people, who have no other desire than to live at peace with all nations and to resume unhindered their peaceful productive pursuits from which they have been torn against their will for so long a time.

Signed: For the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs
CHICHERIN.

The War in Russia

STRATEGICAL AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS*

PREMIER Lloyd George, speaking on November 8 at the Lord Mayor's banquet and referring to the effort of the Supreme Council, early this year, for peace with Russia, said: "I hope that the time is not far distant when the powers will be able to renew that attempt with better prospects of success."

"The outlook in Russia is unpleasant," continued Lloyd George, who naturally deplores the collapse of the English policy in Russia, but still hopes that the Bolsheviks will be unable to "conquer the whole" of the country.

Recognizing the inability of the imperialist coalition to crush the Russian Revolution, Lloyd George admits that "England could not continue intervention in a dangerous civil war. The Allies gave an opportunity to the Russian people (?) to decide their form of government, but unfortunately, no section was ready. We have given real proof of our sympathy for the men of Russia who helped the Allied cause, by sending one hundred million sterling worth of material, and support of every form."

Clearly, the British Premier did not have in mind the millions of Russians who bled and suffered in the war against Germany and who are now with Soviet Russia and in the Soviet army. And he is no doubt right that the Allied governments have given real proof of their sympathy for the handful

of the men of Russia who helped the cause of the Allied imperialists.

Mr. Lloyd George confesses that he does "not regret the cost!" Nor does he regret the loss of life and the suffering which was caused by this "help" to the Russian people. Nevertheless, he announces that England is ready to abandon intervention, and for very good reasons.

The general political outlook in Europe at the present moment is very favorable to the Russian Revolution and especially to the strategy of the Soviet army. Peace between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states is only a question of a short time. Finland has definitely refused to support the counter-revolutionists.

The challenge of the French workers to the Powers who are starving Russia and the sanguinary protests of the Italian Socialists during the celebration of the second anniversary of the Soviet Republic, together with Germany's refusal to join the blockade and the reluctance of the neutrals with regard to the appeal of the Entente—all these can only increase the firm confidence of the Soviet General Staff.

It can be stated without any hesitation that in spite of the terrible blockade maintained by the Allies, the military situation in Russia improved tremendously during the last month.

In despair the reactionary press, after a short period of confusion, has resumed its usual methods of

*The strategical analysis is based on the articles of Colonel Roustam Bek which appeared in the London *Daily Express*.

fighting the Russian Revolution by means of lies. The honest and impartial letters of Isaac Don Levine, like the disclosures of Mr. Bullit, Colonel Malone, and others, excite the English press bureau and its accomplices. The *New York Times* of November 9 published a letter from John A. Embry, former American Consul at Omsk, who tries to discredit the reports of Isaac Don Levine which appear in the *New York Globe* and in the *Chicago Daily News*.

A number of lies about Soviet Russia, of a purely military character, again appeared in the American press in despatches from London. The English War Office thus imitates the German method. The famous von Klauzevitz said: "When an army has lost hope of victory owing to the lack of forces, the most powerful weapon against the enemy is the lie." How powerful was this weapon in the hands of Germany is well known. But let us consider this question from a purely strategical point of view. A partial success of the enemy without any strategical consequences for the defeated adversary will sometimes reveal the true situation of the enemy, exposing thus all the lies which he had tried to spread and, of course, destroying the morale of the army.

This was the experience of Kolchak and Yudenich, and this will also be the fate of Denikin.

At Waterloo, for instance, when the French troops were fighting against the numerically superior English army, Napoleon in order to raise the morale of his soldiers spread the rumor that the column of General Grouchy, which was to relieve the French, had already reached the battlefield. The effect of this lie was considerable, as we can gather from the celebrated attack of the Old Guard, by which Marshall Ney crushed everything in the way of his troops. But the end of this bloody drama was fatal to Napoleon's army. In those times, however, there was no telegraph, telephone or other means of rapid communication such as we now possess, and his lie remained for a long time a secret to the world, being only of local strategical significance. Quite a different effect is produced by such lies on the troops and on the whole world in our days, when they remain unexposed only for a short time and even fail to accomplish their object.

Yudenich on several occasions announced in his order of the day the fall of Kronstadt, the fall of Krassnaja Gorka, and so on. How many times has Denikin mentioned the arrival of fresh reinforcements and the alleged brilliant support of the Caucasian army and Ukrainians, while the first has revolted and the second resumed the attack on his left flank and his rear. How often have we read in the Kolchak dispatches about the progress of his "offensive" or about the "advance" of his forces for so many miles, or the "capture" of so many thousands of Reds. And this was reported at the very time when the whole Kolchak army was in panic stricken flight, being pursued by the victori-

ous enemy.

Denikin's strategy in South Russia, thanks to the great number of Cossacks at his disposal, is based on the famous theory of Napoleon that to frighten the enemy is sometimes of greater strategical importance than to obtain a partial victory. The Germans have given practical demonstration to this theory. Denikin's cavalry raids like that of General Mamontoff were based on this theory. Such raids are always accompanied by indescribable atrocities against the peaceful population. However, when Napoleon spoke of these principles he made a reservation, using the word "sometimes," and again, what can be done if the enemy refuses to be frightened, and, though surprised by a sudden attack, recovers in a very short time and pays the attacking party in their own coin? As it was, for instance, in Orel, in Petrograd and in Ufa, on the Archangel front, and in Turkestan.

It seems to us that all the anti-Bolshevik generals in the turmoil of their White terror have forgotten the elementary principles of strategy. We are willing to give them a lesson.

The success of any military operation depends on the strength of the army at the decisive point. At this point the army must have an absolute preponderance over the enemy. This is known in strategy as the *concentration of forces*. Strategy requires that in the decisive moment and at the decisive point all these forces shall be sent against the enemy. In practice it is very difficult to fully realize this principle and it can only be approximately applied, but with the condition that the forces shall not be in any way scattered, because such scattering may lead to defeat. One exception is allowed, —when the *rear and flanks* of the army must be protected from serious menace by the enemy. Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich have quite neglected these purely strategical principles, which were adhered to for centuries and are still approved by the greatest strategists and upheld by the experiences of the Great War. They have scattered their armies on very long distances, and having in possession no reserves left open the flanks and rear to their enemy, who did not fail to take advantage of this opportunity, being led by able strategists and tacticians.

The fighting spirit of an army, as all great captains asserted, is sustained by the winning of battles. It was so with the Carthaginian troops under Hannibal, with the Roman legions under Scipio, the Macedonian phalanx of Alexander the Great, it was so with the American troops in France, and thus it is with the victorious Soviet army, which is bound by an absolute unanimity.

When two or more countries are bound during a war by a military alliance they must be united as one fighting body acting in full harmony and aiming at a definite common goal. If only the slightest disagreement arises between such allied armies, their defeat is absolutely inevitable. This was fully proven by the Great War. Since the begin-

ning of the Allied armed intervention in Russia and of the civil war inspired by the Allies there was not the slightest agreement either between the Allies themselves or between the Russian counter-revolutionists. Therefore they lost the War.

* * *

Trotsky's view of the general strategical situation in Russia, as reported by Isaac Don Levine in the *Globe* of Nov. 4, is of great importance. It should be remembered that the War Minister of Soviet Russia was always accurate in his statements.

Among other questions Don Levine asked the War Minister "whether the Red army was strong enough to withstand General Denikin." "Yes," Trotsky replied, with confidence. "We shall defeat Denikin. Mud and snow, the greatest foes of cavalry, are our allies."

Trotsky does not consider the Denikin army any more dangerous. Since the advance of his cavalry was stopped, the menace diminished 75 per cent., because the offensive of the Denikin army was also arrested. As we have already mentioned, the initiative has passed to the Reds. Denikin is now on the defensive, which is a very bad sign from the strategical point of view. We have in history only one example of an enemy being forced to take a sudden defensive and then being able to resume a successful offensive; this was the famous operation of Napoleon at Dresden and Austerlitz. But in this case the genius of Napoleon rose superior to the ability of the strategists of his enemies; which cannot be expected of Denikin. The fall of Kiev did not worry Trotsky, as a matter of no strategical importance, and he looks on it with the coolness of a strategist who knows that this tactical success of the enemy is a temporary one, and can be easily repaired. And Trotsky is right. Of what importance is the capture of Kiev by a part of the Denikin forces when his main army is defeated and is in retreat. It will be evacuated automatically by the enemy.

The Soviet War Minister is paying a great tribute to the victories obtained by the Reds in Turkestan, where a serious blow was struck directly at England and in a most sensitive spot.

By blockading Russia from the north, west and far east, England directed the attention of Soviet Russia towards Central Asia. "Events will show," says Trotsky, "to what extent we will follow this inspiration," and he gives a rather significant warning to England: "We Russians are quick to learn languages. We master them more easily than do other Europeans. If the British insist much longer on their present policy toward Soviet Russia, then we may show that we can learn Hindoo just as easily as any European tongue. We do not want to turn our attention to India, our interests are wholly European, but if we are driven eastward then we will divert our energies to Asia." This was said in the presence of Colonel Malone, a member of the British Parliament.

Trotsky stated the truth. The Russians are very keen for oriental languages, and almost all Russians in Turkestan speak the native tongues. In every Russian University there are special Eastern faculties where Hindoostani is studied. There was a special oriental academy (established about 1887) in Petrograd in which army officers were prepared for service in the East, and India was never forgotten. Soviet Russia does not entertain any aggressive ideas, but as Trotsky said, "if" . . . and it will be much easier than England supposes.

With regard to the movement of the Soviet army deep into Siberia, Trotsky confirms our supposition which we expressed in former articles. The aim of the Reds in Siberia is "to knock out Kolchak, clear Siberia of marauding bands, organize communication with Russia, and partly to secure our recently freed military and commercial Ural base by a powerful Siberian rear."

Trotsky is well satisfied with the fighting morale of the Soviet army, but he admits that there were great difficulties during the first year of its existence, thanks to several uprisings of reactionary officers. Now this army inspires full confidence. The War Minister is absolutely certain that the Soviet army is considerably larger than the forces of the invaders and that during the coming year it will grow faster than the hired troops at the disposal of Anglo-French imperialism.

The liquidation of Denikin, Trotsky thinks, will be a matter only of months, and this should bring the end of the war very much nearer.

After such a statement from the Soviet War Minister we can be absolutely confident of our final success.

The second year of the Civil War in Russia has terminated with a general defeat of the invaders on all fronts, intensified by the strategic rout of the most important parts of their forces—those of Kolchak and Yudenich. These brilliant victories of the Red armies leave the Soviet General Staff free henceforth to concentrate its efforts on the final blow to Denikin, whose army is already on the defensive and threatened by disintegration.

The Allies must keep in mind that the objective of the strategy of the Soviet army is not the capture of one or another town or place but the complete annihilation of the armies of the invaders, and this seems to be not far off. They must also at last understand that the blockade of Soviet Russia is already partly broken, thanks to the victories of the Soviet army in Turkestan and the annihilation of the Southern Siberian army of Kolchak.

The victory of Soviet Russia is assured. Sooner or later the Allies will have to come to an understanding with the Soviet Government on the basis of putting an end to intervention and lifting the blockade. Is it too much to hope that the Allies will bow to the inevitable and spare unnecessary bloodshed and suffering of millions of people?

The Baltic Peace Negotiations at Dorpat

THERE is no more significant chapter in recent Russian history than the peace negotiations which began early in September between the Russian Soviet Government and the Baltic provinces. The hand of the censor has kept back all but the most minute scraps of information about this event. For this reason we are glad to present to our readers this article from the anti-Bolshevik *L'Europe Nouvelle*, written by its expert on Eastern Europe, M. Felix Thumen.

M. Thumen's article was written before the Allied drive against Petrograd, which has temporarily interrupted the negotiations. The object of the attack upon Petrograd, in which Esthonia, under Allied pressure, was persuaded to join, was to prevent the successful conclusion of the peace negotiations. Our readers will recall the tactics employed by the Russian and Allied reactionaries at the time of the Prinkipo proposals. Fearful that these proposals might lead to the cessation of the war against Soviet Russia, the press agents of counter-revolution manufactured tremendous Kolchak victories, and for the time being persuaded Wilson and Lloyd George into believing that the Russian workers' government would soon collapse and that no negotiations were therefore necessary. That a repetition of these tactics was attempted with regard to the Baltic pourparlers can readily be seen from the speech of the Danish Consul General, reported by the *New York Times*. If Petrograd fell, he said, the prestige of the Soviet government would weaken; and, conversely, if the Soviet armies were victorious against Yudenich, there is no telling where the waves of Communism might spread.

The truth of the situation seems to be that not only the Baltic states, but Poland, Rumania, and nationalist Ukraine are longing for peace. As soon as the drive against Petrograd has been finally repulsed, Esthonia, Lithuania and Lettonia will no doubt resume the negotiations, and the other states will follow in their lead.

The pourparlers between the Baltic states and the Soviet Government were resumed on the 29th of September. We have already called attention to the great importance of these discussions, and we have taken the opportunity to sketch out the general lines of an Eastern European policy which alone will assure peace and order in those countries. Several new events have occurred since in France, and opinions expressed which merit a response. Before touching on them I would like first to indicate what the issue was in the Baltic pourparlers with the Soviet Government at the moment of the resumption of the negotiations.

The government of the Esthonian Republic had been sounded by the government of the Soviet Republic on the subject of the conclusion of peace. The Esthonian Government consulted the Constitu-

tional Assembly of Esthonia, who *unanimously* demanded that it enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government. The date of the opening of these peace negotiations was set for the 15th of September, and on that date the representatives of the Esthonian Government let it be known to the Russian representatives that the Esthonian Government could not accept such negotiations unless the Soviet Government would treat at the same time and conjointly with the governments of Lettonia, Lithuania and Finland.

Now, in the meantime, the Esthonian representative, in the course of a conference at Reval on September 14, met the representatives of the other Baltic states, and learned that the Soviet Government had made the same proposals to them. The Conference at Reval decided then to enter into negotiations with the Russian Government, under certain conditions, among which should be noted: (1) the pourparlers should be carried on by the Baltic states in common; (2) the governments of the Entente should be kept informed of these negotiations. "No important decision will be taken by Esthonia without the consent and the approbation of the neighboring governments. No decision will likewise be taken without the knowledge of the Allied and Associated Governments, with whom Esthonia since the beginning of her independent existence, has sought to act in concert,"—so read the communique of the Esthonian delegation (September 24), who spoke also in the name of the other Baltic states.

One notices in this text a shade of difference in the attitude with regard to the Baltic states and the Entente Governments. For the conclusion of peace with the Soviets, the consent of all the Baltic states is necessary, but the consent of the Entente Governments is not considered indispensable—they need only be informed. This attitude is not dictated by any hostility against the Powers of the Entente, towards whom these states nourish the most amicable of sentiments, but by the necessity of events. It is rather possible that a tacit consent was accorded to these countries by one of our great Allies. This is even very probable.

The attitude of the Baltic countries with regard to the Soviets is based upon absolutely urgent necessities: 1. These countries have only feeble armies and lack supplies. 2. They were not fully provisioned by the Entente Governments. 3. From the moment the government of the Soviet Republic recognized, and was alone to recognize their independence, they had no interest in continuing a useless and unequal struggle. 4. The pseudo-government of the Northwest, which is sustained by certain Allied missions, did not wish to recognize the independence of these countries. 5. These countries, in order to avoid anarchy, have absolute need of peace; they have been ruined, moreover, by the

pillages of the Von der Goltz troops, no matter under what costume they were camouflaged.

This affair deserves certain clarifications, as it is very badly understood by French public opinion and as it is one of the principal reasons for the pitiful social and economic state in which the Baltic states find themselves. The Entente, from the moment of the armistice, had permitted the army of Von der Goltz to remain in these countries, under the curious pretext of maintaining order and preventing the propagation of "Bolshevism."

I shall cite, as proof of the manner in which this army understood "the maintenance of order," only one unpublished document received by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Poland, July 1, 1919, and classified under the figure 7421. This characteristic document had been sent by the Agricultural Commissary of the district of Souvalki. [The document, which we are omitting from the translation, gives specific proof of the German outrages.]

Multiply this document by a thousand and by ten thousand and you will have a picture of the manner in which the German army has maintained, thanks to the authorization of the Entente Governments, order in these provinces. The complaints received by the various Baltic governments and Poland were innumerable. There was nothing to be done. Germany would answer that the troops were there by the order of the Peace Conference.

Was it this that M. Pichon called maintaining order in the Baltic provinces and Eastern Europe? It must be supposed, rather, that this is another instance in which he was not informed and in which he took decisions contrary to the real necessities of the situation and contrary to French interest.

The present situation is the logical denouement of this state of things. Deprived of everything by the pillaging on the part of the German troops, not reprovisioned by the Entente, these countries find themselves without resources, with the prospect of a difficult winter and the German menace upon their backs. The only logical issue of this was peace with the Soviets. It is therefore not exact to pretend that "the Baltic countries will not consolidate the liberties which they have acquired if they negotiate with the Russian Bolsheviks." The rule of the Russian Soviets is at times dissolving and conquering: it dissolves the governmental authority of states which enter into pacts with them . . . it tends to seize new territories. In its quality of dissolvent, it will put the little countries of the Baltic in a position where it is impossible for them to defend themselves. In its quality of conqueror it will absorb the shores of the Baltic even better than Peter the Great or Alexander I."

This reasoning is a striking example of the superficial reasoning and of the lack of careful information which characterizes a part of public opinion, unfortunately that part which surround the official policy of M. Pichon.

In the interest of political realism, I record myself against these allegations. They build up an argument which is apparently simple but which is based only upon press campaigns as inaccurate as often repeated, and upon the ignorance of public opinion. In short, it is not exact: 1. To claim "that the Soviet regime dissolves authority in the states which make peace with it" for the example of Germany demonstrates the contrary. Germany is the only country which has concluded peace with the government of the Soviet Republic. And truly neither Noske nor Erzberger can be considered "dissolvants of authority" in Germany! On the contrary, it has been shown in several instances that authority undergoes dissolution in the countries at war with Soviet Russia. Example: Finland and the numerous mutinies among the soldiers fighting the Soviets.

2. It is not accurate to claim that the new policy of the Soviet Republic is that of conquest. In fact, the numerous speeches of Lenin in the Soviet discussions show that he believes that the little states, who were formerly the victims of Czarist Imperialism, have an absolute right to independence. A proclamation signed by Lenin and Chicherin, and drawn up in the same tone, is a second proof of this. The third is the acceptance, on the part of the Soviet Government, of the independence of the Baltic states as the preliminary basis for the peace pourparlers.

I believe that I have thus established that the attitude of the Baltic states is the only one possible and the only one which will safeguard order in Eastern Europe, a condition which is indispensable in order that the French economic efforts shall not be paralyzed in this part of Europe and elsewhere. I shall add that, contrary to the reports spread by the press, Finland is participating in these negotiations.

What is the present attitude of Poland, of the Ukraine and Rumania?

In Poland there may soon be some surprises. Public opinion is demanding peace boldly as an indispensable condition for internal organization. The entire country wants it. The press, in the great majority of instances, sees in peace *sola salus reipublicae*. We read, for example, in the *Robotnik* of September 18, an article headed: *Finish the War*. "There can be no serious amelioration in our affairs as long as we do not terminate the war. Until that is done, everything will be but in the nature of half measures and patches. The European states began their war under excellent economic conditions, with a full treasury and an orderly internal organization. We have begun war when we were already at the bottom, with our money of no value, without industry, and in the midst of immense internal difficulties. We have prosecuted these wars victoriously. Their continuation threatens us with a catastrophe."

It may be for analogous reasons that M. Pader-

owaky, the President of Council of the Polish Government, recently granted an interview to the correspondent of the *Daily News*, in which he lets it be understood that Poland wishes very much to conclude peace with the Soviet Republic, but that the governments of the Entente are preventing it.

With her twenty divisions Poland cannot carry on war upon several fronts. As she has attained her frontiers on the Russian border, there is no reason why she should continue a struggle against the Soviets which is sapping her blood and weakening her. Is it in the French interest, under such conditions, to impose upon Poland an entente with Denikin? Denikin has not taken the railroad to Moscow, but rather that of Kiev, from which he drove out the government of the independent Ukraine, the indispensable ally of Poland. The *Gazeta Polska*, close organ of Polish government circles, carries, under date of September 21, declarations from Denikin which will no doubt surprise a few of the naive defenders of this Czarist adventurer, but those who know the situation in Eastern Europe will find them quite in keeping with his dreams. From these declarations it appears that Denikin desires to reconstitute the ancient Russia without diminution of territory. After having driven out the Ukrainians from the Ukraine, the army of Denikin will commence an offensive against the Rumanians in order to drive them out of Bessarabia, and against the Poles, to push them back beyond the frontiers of ancient Russia. We shall be told perhaps by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that these declarations do not correspond to the promises made by Denikin to M. Pichon. But what is important to remember is that it is a question not of the declarations of Denikin at Paris, but rather his acts in the East, as well as the good name of France, which are at stake. The entire public opinion of the East is being aroused from this incomprehensible attitude. Poland, in so far as the sane elements in the country are taking the reins of her foreign policies and in so far as her effective independence will be established, will be more and more led to conclude peace with the government of the Soviet Republic.

The independent Ukraine is in full struggle with Denikin, and it is difficult at the present hour to work out a vigorous foreign policy. Rumania, in the throes of immense internal difficulties, refuses to enter into relations with Denikin. It seems that even to purchase her neutrality in the war, the Czarist general refuses to declare the Ukraine independent. Denikin might have made the promise to restore Bessarabia to Rumania!

Public opinion in Rumania is more and more favorable to the conclusion of peace with the Soviet Republic. (The Rumanian Journal, *L'Orient*, published at Bucharest, in its editorial of September 25, demands the conclusion of peace with the government of the Soviet Republic.)

We see therefore that from North to South all the countries of Eastern Europe are obliged to con-

clude peace with the Soviet Government. These governments are in direct contact with the Soviet Republic, and they understand better than certain French official spheres the real situation in Eastern Europe. Their friendship in regard to France, outside of Lithuania, which continues to be directed by Germanophiles, is beyond question. Their internal organization, a condition indispensable to the normal resumption of work, demands peace. The new policy of the Soviets does not render that impossible.

Once more, in concluding this analysis, I put this question: Is the French Government aware that its interest demands that it take the initiative in this, and that if it doesn't, it will later be obliged to follow the movement of others?

The silence of M. Pichon at the sessions of the 18th and the 23d of September indicates clearly the embarrassment of the French Foreign Minister. In the shadow of an erroneous policy, which France continues to pursue to her grave detriment, other interests are installing themselves. They leave to France the responsibility for a policy that is very unpopular in the East and which has produced for herself fruits no less bitter. They do this noiselessly, through the intermediary of military missions, while M. Pichon gives to the world his nationalist philippics against the Soviets. The others, certainly, do not recognize them (France, they say, "does not wish it"), but do business with them. While waiting, they recognize the independence of Lithuania, after that of the other Baltic states, and prepare to draw profit from it.

In Italy, where the censorship does not exist any more and where public opinion is better informed, the center and conservative officials profess the opinions which I have just set in opposition to French opinion.*

Does not the French Government believe that the moment has come for the thorough revision of its Russian policy in the light of an Eastern European policy which is alone capable of assuring order and peace in these countries?

The English Under a Prussian Command

(From *Le Populaire*)

London, October 14 (From our special correspondent)—Speaking in Edinburgh the commandant Kenworthy has declared that the commander-in-chief of the Denikin cavalry forces is a Prussian General von Bredow who must be obeyed by the English volunteers fighting the Bolsheviks in the ranks of Denikin.

One has the right to believe in the fact of the relations of the latter and Kolchak with Von der Goltz with whom the Entente, too, has been keeping up relations for some time.

* The *Giornale d'Italia*, the organ of M. Sonnino, published under date of September 18 an article by M. Armand Zanetti, entitled "E la Russia?" In this article the author demanded: 1. The recognition of the independence of the little states in Eastern Europe. 2. Peace with the government of the Soviet Republic.

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PEACE negotiations between the Baltic states and Soviet Russia, temporarily interrupted by the Von der Goltz-Yudenich adventure, are to be resumed. The military manœuvre which was planned to check the negotiations already in progress has served only to urge upon the Baltic peoples the necessity for coming to friendly terms with Soviet Russia as soon as possible. Yudenich and Von der Goltz in their latest enterprise have exposed to all the world what has long been plain enough to close observers: that the Baltic had been made the theatre for the last desperate stand of military imperialism in Europe.

The great powers, exhausted alike by victory and defeat, did not dare unfold their military ambitions at home, within sight of their own war-weary peoples. The Baltic afforded a conveniently remote meeting ground for the forces of international autocracy. On that common ground the alliances and the hostilities of the great war were suspended while the junkers of the world planned a new assault upon human liberty. Like attracted like. The German legions of Von der Goltz did police duty for the Allied reactionaries. Russian and German monarchists joined forces under the benign patronage of the Paris peace makers. Class interest prevailed against selfish antagonisms.

The concerted attacks upon Riga and Petrograd by the allied forces of German and Russian military imperialism showed the Baltic peoples the alternatives before them. They were not beguiled by the incidental dissensions within the ranks of the imperialist forces. The Baltic peoples knew fi-

nally that the western powers held their flimsy governments in political and economic bondage and had turned their lands into parade grounds for every sort of military adventurer. They knew, too, that Soviet Russia offered them political independence and economic restoration. Whether the Baltic states desire only the fictitious nationalist independence to which they aspired under the hypocritical promises of the great powers, or whether they desire real economic and industrial freedom for their workers, they must make peace with Soviet Russia. No political patronage from the west can overcome their natural economic dependence upon the east. Whatever in the way of recognition and independence may be promised from the west they know they can have freely and honestly for the asking from Soviet Russia. These are the political and economic facts of the Baltic situation which have frustrated all the plans of the Paris interventionists and blockaders.

At the last minute every force of reactionary influence at home and of political pressure from without was exerted to force Finland to the aid of Yudenich. Flattery and bribery, independence and territorial concessions, economic threats and the Bolshevik bugaboo—all were brought forward to persuade the Finns to further slaughter. But the sentiment of the Finnish workers, and the common sense of the Finnish nationalists, prevailed and the Finnish soldiers were saved from the disaster which overtook Yudenich. That was the final test of reactionary power in the Baltic. The spell of the western bankers and generals is broken. The Baltic peoples will now feel their way, cautiously and slowly perhaps, but surely to the peace and security which is offered from Moscow and which has been denied from Paris.

ENGLAND keeps a sharp eye upon the Baltic. English statesmen and English business men understand each other well as regards their purposes in that region; their plans vary only with the changing circumstances. What appears at first a muddle of conflicting interests can be seen in clear design if viewed in relation to the ultimate aim. The ultimate aim of British policy in the Baltic is the Russian market. It may appear utterly illogical to support the German military reaction of the Baltic barons and at the same time to lend aid and encouragement to Baltic nationalism. As a purely Baltic policy, of course, this would be as impossible as it appears. But as a Russian policy it is consistently and characteristically British. The Germans who fear it and the French who are jealous of it know well enough what this British policy is. They know that it is not a Baltic policy. They know the British skill in the matter of trade routes, and they have wisely suspected that whatever happens in Russia and whatever happens in the Baltic, the outcome will be favorable to British trade. They have seen that what has already happened there has been favorable to British trade. All this

seemingly futile prolongation of war upon the borders of Russia has relieved the British warehouses of their overstock of munitions, left on hand by a sudden peace in the west. England could well afford to play at the game of suppressing Bolshevism, which was so urgently demanded by certain European interests at Paris and by a section of British influence at home. And now, having disposed of much useless ironmongery, England can settle down to the development of a new Russian policy for which plans—and trade routes—have been prepared while the assault upon Russia was still in progress. It is officially denied, of course, that there is any immediate intention of making peace with Soviet Russia. The interventionist bitter-enders, in and out of office, must be allowed to continue their denunciations and official "eye-witness" exposures of Bolshevik atrocities. These activities cannot be checked too abruptly. Public opinion must be properly "prepared."

Meanwhile we learn from the *Railway Age* that England some time ago was "seeking a railway concession through Esthonia to Russia, in order to open up a road to the Russian market." The British plans for the acquisition of commercial ports and naval bases in the Baltic are well known. The London correspondent of the *New York Sun* recently learned that, "as regards Russia, British manufacturers are convinced that with that country's raw materials and their own manufacturing resources the two countries could work together to great mutual advantage." An English economic mission to Russia is suggested. "Getting the railways of Russia in shape again is the present problem," continues this correspondent, "and it is not unlikely that when a semblance of calm is restored British capital will take an active hand in repairing and rebuilding the roads. This would solve the food problem in Russia, which is largely one of transportation, and clear the way for building up a great commercial future which leading Englishmen predict is in store for Russia."

The interventionists and monarchists have had their day. Their last great enterprise has failed disastrously. The British trader, whatever his political prejudices, has anticipated their failure and has laid his plans accordingly. English trade is never to be thwarted by the blundering stupidities of a Winston Churchill. While the War Office pre-

dicted the imminent defeat and ruin of Soviet Russia, English agents ran in and out of Petrograd on ostentatiously "unofficial" missions. The voice of Lloyd George rises above the crashing defeat of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich and Churchill, to remind the guests at the Lord Mayor's banquet that he had been an ardent supporter of an earlier attempt to make peace with Soviet Russia. That attempt was frustrated by the en grés and their friends in Paris. "I hope," said the Premier prophetically, "the time is not distant when the powers will be able to renew that attempt with better prospects of success."

CERTAIN out-of-town newspapers published a press dispatch from New York, dated November 7th, which stated falsely that agents of the Department of Justice had arrested "more than 200 radicals assembled in the headquarters of the Russian Soviet Republic." November 7th was a holiday at the New York Bureau of the Russian Soviet Republic in honor of the second anniversary of the Revolution. We were not assembled, our Bureau was not raided, none of our staff was arrested. The misleading press dispatch appears to have referred to a raid conducted upon a body of private Russian citizens who had assembled elsewhere to celebrate the birth of their Republic. A number of these Russian citizens, whose government is unrecognized and who are therefore deprived of the ordinary means of legal protection and redress usually accorded to aliens in civilized countries, were brutally beaten by the police and dragged off to jail. The charge has been widely circulated against them in the press that they were agents of the Russian Soviet Government engaged in revolutionary activity against the American Government. We repeat that these Russians, so cruelly treated on this occasion, were private citizens, and, moreover, that the actual agents of the Russian Soviet Republic in America were entirely unmolested, in spite of the false statements in the press that the "headquarters of the Soviet Republic" were raided and the repeated assertions that some deep-laid plot on the part of Soviet Government officials in this country was thus nipped in the bud. None of these officials has been arrested—for the very simple reason, well known to the American authorities, that no such plot exists.

French Workers Aroused Against Russian Blockade

The London Daily Herald received the following dispatch from its Paris correspondent:

"Delegates of all Paris Unions, commemorating the anniversary of the institution of the Soviet Republic of Russia (October 19th) adopted this order of the day:—'The Parisian workers protest against the infamy of the bourgeois Governments, who are combining to assassinate a people who will rule themselves. Having heard the reports of the heroic sufferings of the Russian people for two years, in liberating themselves, we spit our contempt in the face of all the Governments who are starving a people who wish to live freely. We have decided to put today into force decisions taken at the Congress of Lyons, whereby we refuse to help any transport of goods or ammunition for the armies fighting the Russian Revolution—and we will agitate with all our power in defense of the peasant workers of Russia.'"

A Letter To Senator Wadsworth From the Soviet Representative in America

New York newspapers on the morning of November 4 published a copy of a letter said to have been written to Senator James W. Wadsworth by Assistant Secretary of State Phillips, in which the latter states that the Russian Soviet Government "has availed itself of every opportunity to initiate in the United States a propaganda aimed to bring about forcible overthrow of the present form of government in the United States," together with a number of other equally interesting and characteristic accusations. To answer these accusations and definitely to refute them, L. A. Martens, Russian Soviet Representative in the United States, addressed a letter to Senator Wadsworth, which is reprinted below in full, for the information of the general public.

November 5, 1919.

Honorable James W. Wadsworth, Jr.
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

My attention has been called to the published letter alleged to have been written to you by the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Phillips, in explanation of the policy of the Government of the United States towards the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. In the published letter Mr. Phillips is represented as saying that "as far as the United States is concerned no blockade of Petrograd exists" but that it is the present policy of the United States "to refuse export licenses for shipments to Russian territory under Bolshevik control and to refuse clearance papers to American vessels seeking to depart for Petrograd." The reasons given for this policy are: (1) that the Russian Soviet Government "has availed itself of every opportunity to initiate in the United States a propaganda aimed to bring about forcible overthrow of the present form of government in the United States," and that gold brought into the United States from Russia through commercial transactions would be used to sustain such propaganda, and: (2) that because of the nationalization of the foreign trade in Russia, and because food allegedly is being distributed according to class lines for the purposes of the maintenance of the Bolsheviks in power, trade with Soviet Russia would become a medium of "sustaining the Bolsheviks and their program of political oppression."

It is to be regretted that the Department of State apparently is very much misinformed as to the true situation.

First of all I wish most emphatically to deny the allegation that the Russian Soviet Government is engaged in efforts to overthrow, forcibly or otherwise, the existing form of Government in the United States. The Russian Soviet Government has scrupulously refrained from any interference whatsoever with the internal affairs of this country. As the Representative of that Government in the United States, I myself and my office have strictly observed every rule of propriety in this respect. While the activities of my Bureau have been subject to the closest possible scrutiny by the American authorities, nothing has been disclosed which

might be interpreted as "propaganda to overthrow" your Government, or other interference in the affairs of the United States. The same cannot be said of the Allied Governments, including the Government of the United States, in their attitude toward the Government which I have the honor to represent. For the past two years the Allied and Associated Governments have been actively engaged in direct and indirect efforts to violently overthrow the present Russian Government. These efforts have taken the form of widely organized propaganda within Russia, many Allied Governments fomenting plots against my Government, distributing funds to elements in Russia plotting against it, materially and morally supporting every group of Russian counter-revolutionary elements in their civil war against Soviet Russia, and actually organizing such groups. Without a declaration of war against Soviet Russia, and without stating either the reasons for their attacks or terms on which such attacks would cease, the Allied and Associated Governments have been employing armed forces against Soviet Russia, thereby compelling the Russian people to carry on a defensive war which prevents them from concentrating their efforts on the economic rehabilitation of the country. These Governments and their agents also are inciting neighbors of Soviet Russia to attacks, and actively plot against the conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia on the part of such neighbor states who ardently desire an end to the present hostilities.

It is quite conceivable that such unprovoked attacks, coupled with a blockade of Russian ports, which causes untold suffering to the people, have created deep resentment in Soviet Russia against the aggressors—and that this resentment has often taken the form of appeals to the peoples of various countries urging them to protest against the efforts of their Governments to strangle the working people of Russia. At no time, however, has the Russian Soviet Government embarked upon a policy of interference with the internal politics of any Allied country and especially in the affairs of the United States. It is an undeniable fact that Soviet Russia's attitude toward the United States, in spite of the implied hostility of the latter toward Soviet Russia,—so much at variance with the promises of its good will,—has been one of extreme patience and a desire of conciliation.

On various occasions the Russian Soviet Government has expressed a readiness to offer the United States great economic advantages in preference to all other countries. While hundreds of citizens of Soviet Russia in the United States have been arrested and maltreated, in many instances for no other reason than that they have expressed their sympathy with the efforts of their home government to institute in Russia a system of economic and social freedom, American citizens in Russia have been courteously treated in every respect even in cases where their active hostility against the Russian Soviet Government was proven beyond doubt.

In only one case, concerning an American citizen, that of one Mr. Kalamatiano, in Moscow, was serious punishment resorted to, and that only because said person was convicted of participation in plots directly aiming at the assassination of officials of the Russian Government and in a very serious concrete attempt forcibly to overthrow the Government of Soviet Russia. Prisoners taken in the struggles on the northern front in which American troops have participated 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 reciprocities. The property of American citizens in Russia who comply with the laws of the country, has not been molested and in every case where some complications have arisen in respect to such property the Soviet Government stands ready to recognize and restore all rights of American citizens.

On many occasions the Russian Soviet Government has offered every honorable means of coming to terms with the United States Government, and is still ready to do so. It has repeatedly expressed its willingness to assume the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire toward other countries and it is ready to enter into such agreements as would effectively safeguard the interests of the United States. It stands to reason that the desire and the necessity of Soviet Russia to maintain economic intercourse with this country in itself would be a sufficient guarantee for the fulfillment of such agreements, inasmuch as economic relations again might be severed in case of non-compliance with the agreements.

Mr. Phillips' statement that the establishment of trade relations with Soviet Russia would sustain the Bolsheviki and their policy of political oppression seems to be quite a novel departure in international politics inasmuch as it undertakes to determine what kind of government the people of Russia may establish.

By making this statement the State Department is guilty of that very interference in the internal politics of another country, of which it accuses the Russian Soviet Republic. It would be quite an analogous case if some country would refuse trade intercourse with the United States because the

Government of that country did not like the dominant political party in the United States.

The implication that food and other materials which may be bought by the Russian Soviet Government would be unfairly distributed among the population in Russia is entirely unfounded. While it is true that at the present time an acute shortage of food exists in Russia, as in all other European countries, partly due to the disorganization caused by the war, but mainly as a result of the necessity to employ about 75 per cent of all constructive forces in the defense of the country against unprovoked attacks, and that this food shortage necessitates a strict rationing of food according to the social usefulness of each and every group of the Russian people, it is clear that such measures are the direct outcome of the policy of blockade and intervention and that as soon as peace is restored with outside countries, the artificial food shortage will disappear and a free distribution of food and other supplies will be established. The alleged policy of "political oppression" on the part of the Russian Soviet Government also is ill-suited as a basis for a denial of trade intercourse with Soviet Russia. An impartial investigation would show that the Government of Soviet Russia affords an unusual degree of democratic control. Whatever restrictions of civic activities may be in force in Russia are again due to the fact that the country is compelled to conduct a defensive war on many fronts and is threatened with disorder and plots deliberately fomented from the outside. For its safety's sake it must maintain a degree of martial law, as would be the case in any other country in the world under similar circumstances.

Mr. Phillips' statement that the plan to supply Russia with food through the medium of the so-called Nansen Commission failed because of unreasonable conditions made by the Soviet Government is entirely misrepresenting the facts. The testimony before the United States Senate Committee by Mr. Bullitt, who was an active party to these negotiations, places the blame for the failure squarely upon the Allies.

It is unspeakably tragic that the policy of a great country like that of the United States, having a direct and vital bearing upon the lives of millions of men, women and children, should be based upon such lack of information and misconception of the actual situation as are displayed in the statement of the State Department. It is also to be regretted that whatever inquiries have been made by official bodies in the United States into the conditions in Russia have been based mostly upon hearsay by highly prejudiced people, and have been just as inducive to a policy damaging all parties concerned.

There is nothing whatsoever in the conditions in Soviet Russia or in the activities of the Russian Government and its representatives abroad which we would not be ready to place before the closest scrutiny and I feel confident that if such investigations are made in a spirit of real inquiry rather

than preconceived hostility, there would be no thought of adopting such a policy toward Soviet Russia as suggested in the letter of the State Department. While Soviet Russia for her own material interests is anxious to establish economic relations with the United States it is just as obvious that a very vital economic interest of the United States would demand the bringing about of peaceful and friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

May I also suggest that now that the Russian Soviet Government has been in existence for two years in the face of tremendous external opposition and great internal economic problems, and as at the end of these two years all expectations of a down-

fall of that Government are more utopian than ever before, the stability of my Government has been fully demonstrated, as has been fully demonstrated the fact that it enjoys a more general support on the part of the Russian people than ever has been accorded any other Government in that country.

I shall readily furnish whatever other information you may desire and beg to remain,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) L. A. MARTENS.

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

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

SOVIET WIRELESS OF AUGUST 10, 1919

EXCHANGE OF MANUFACTURED AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

ON THE subject of the decree providing for the obligatory exchange of manufactured products for agricultural products, Arski writes in *Izvestia* as follows: "If our economic institutions are as yet not perfect, they have nevertheless already arrived at a degree of maturity which is sufficient to enable us to determine with reasonable approximation how much is manufactured in each particular industrial branch and what stocks of the various products are at our disposal." In order to prevent such exchange from being conducted along individual lines, and causing the greater part of the products to fall into the hands of the rich and the speculators, who would fleece the poor or medium peasants, the decree has prescribed that "goods will arrive in the country only by the channel of the co-operative organizations" which have in their possession an apparatus capable of carrying out this work. The committees of the Commissariat of Provisions will have only supervising functions. This decree constitutes an immense progress in the establishment of regular relations between the cities and the provinces and will facilitate the supply of both. While during the last harvest we were able to obtain about 120,000,000 poods of grain, the future results will be infinitely higher. The publication of such a decree, which was impossible until now, proves that the Soviet power has now absolute control of the economic apparatus.

KOLCHAK ABSOLUTELY BROKEN

Under this title, *Izvestia* publishes an interview with the commandant of the front. "Kolchak is broken and defeated to the extent of at least five-sixths of his army. His last fruitless counter-attack near Cheliabinsk capped the climax of his defeat and increased the disintegration of his troops. One

of his divisions revolted, arrested its commander, and handed him over to us. The attitude of the population is absolutely favorable to us all over. Our communication with Turkestan has been rendered certain in the future, for the Kirghiz masses are for us. At present a Soviet Congress of the masses of the Kirghiz people is being prepared. The cossacks of Orenburg have in many cases sent us delegates in order to negotiate their entrance into the Soviet camp. On the subject of the South front, the commander declares himself to be extremely optimistic.

* * *

THE SOCIALIST-REVOLUTIONARIES

At a meeting held at Moscow, the members of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries living in that city, as well as several provincial delegates to the ninth conference of the Party, some of them among the best-known members, have just directed an appeal to the members of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. This appeal, signed by Volski, ex-president of the Congress of members of the Constituent Assembly, and by the famous Socialist-Revolutionaries Rakitnikoff, Burevoy, Sviatitzky, is reprinted in *Izvestia*: "The November Revolution forced our party out of its advanced position and pushed it to the right. From that moment the Bolsheviks took the lead of the revolutionary movement and led the revolution on the path of the realization of the revolutionary program. Our hostility against their tactics, as well as—let us admit it frankly—a false party spirit, have dragged our party, in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, infinitely further than the fundamental principles of our program and of our tactics should have permitted. For a long time—the facts prove this clearly—we have taken an erroneous position." The signers state that the writings and declarations of the representatives of their party in foreign countries seem counter-revolutionary even to the Socialists of western countries. They affirm that

their ideal is the social-revolution in Russia and in the entire world. "We must before all aim at the resurrection of the International, not on the basis of concessions and agreements with the ruling classes, as was the case with the Berne Conference, but on the basis of an active struggle against those classes by the methods of revolutionary socialism and of the class struggle with the program of the social revolution." Severely condemning the hesitating line of conduct of its central committee, as well as of the ninth conference of the party, the signers state that the Bolsheviks alone have been able to maintain the fundamental conquests of the Revolution, the suppression of all the old forces of exploitation of the toiling masses, and, finally, the suppression of the economic yoke of the bourgeoisie. These accomplishments must be preserved at any cost, and the struggle against the world bourgeois reaction requires an agreement of all the Socialist parties on the basis of popular representation in the Soviets. The signers invite all their comrades and sympathizers who are in the Red Army to take an active part in the struggle against reaction. All those who are among the White Troops of Kolchak and Denikin are called upon to turn their weapons against the reactionary usurpers.

THE DOMINATION OF THE WHITES

The Whites, during their stay in the Canton of Burgorinskaia District of Tsaritsin, plundered the population and the co-operative organizations, burned a communist alive, hanged several, and shot the rest.

FINE ARTS AND LITERATURE

The Bureau of Artistic Communes has organized a soirée to celebrate collective artistic creativeness, at which the well-known poet, philosopher and scholar, Viatcheslav Ivanov, delivered a lecture full of original ideas. We know that Ivanov, without deserting either his Hellenic spirit, or that of poetry, has already been working for a long time in the field of communist ideas. Everyone observed the touching relations between Ivanov and Lunacharsky, who spoke after him. Thus the Bureau of Artistic Unions has been able to unite all those who work enthusiastically in the creation of the bases of the ideology of a proletarian culture.

YOUNG KIRGHIZ COMMUNISTS

Recently there was held the third regional congress of Young Kirghiz Communists, whose progress has been remarkably rapid.

MUNICIPAL LIFE

At Petrograd the Pharmacal Section has decided that all medicaments ordered by the Soviet physicians shall henceforth be furnished free of charge.

SOCIAL WELFARE

The newspapers quote the paper read at the last session of the executive committee of the Moscow Soviet on the labors of the Social Welfare Section. The Section has concentrated its efforts on the protection of children and old people. On the first of May, the number of children of less than three years who were interned in boarding schools and day nurseries was 886; at present it is 4700. Children from three to seven are placed in kindergartens in groups of thirty at most, in order that the establishment may suggest to them a family life and not an official institution. The feeding, physical and pedagogic care are of the first order and are guaranteed to them. Fifteen thousand children are actually enjoying these advantages. Children from thirteen to seventeen years of age have been sent for the summer to the farm colonies of the Soviet estates, where they are now working. The colonies count almost ten thousand children and four thousand five hundred protégés still remain at Moscow. The Section has also in its charge about nine thousand invalids. Recently a systematic struggle has been undertaken against professional mendicants. The mendicants are gathered in not by the militia but by the "Brothers and Sisters of Social Welfare," and are taken, according to their physical state, either to the workhouse or to rest houses. The Pensions Section has at present under its charge fifty thousand pensioners, not counting the soldiers of the old army. It was decided to arrange immediately for the provisioning of the families of men who have been mobilized, through delivery of national products.

PAPER INDUSTRY

The Central Paper Bureau has at its disposal sixty-three nationalized paper mills and thirty-nine that have not been nationalized. The most energetic measures have been taken to increase the intensity of the work, particularly in the reconquered factories of Viatka and Verkhotouri. Excellent results have already been obtained for the manufacture of paper of various kinds.

ARTIFICIAL TEA

Since the loss of Siberia, Soviet Russia has been deprived of tea, which is a product of the very first necessity, for the population and the army. The Supreme Council of National Economy got to work in November, 1918, at the organization of the manufacture of artificial teas. Since then considerable quantities have been produced and have satisfied all needs. In less than a year, the production has been multiplied by fifteen, and its increase is continuing. On this subject Lomov writes in Pravda: "Thus, in the midst of a titanic struggle, and of conditions of incredible difficulty, the proletariat never relinquishes its constructive function and develops that love in any labor having any chance for success. Many facts like these show more elo-

quently than any words could the power of the workers' movement. A little more freedom and external tranquility, and all our machines and all our men will be easily at work. Let us settle with Kolchak and Denikin and then the prosperity of our National Soviet Economy is assured."

MILITARY BULLETIN OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

August 18th.—*The West Front.* The enemy took, with the use of explosive bullets, our positions in the Bielo-Ostrov region. In the direction of Narva, our troops, after having taken several armored motor cars across a ford of the Luga, took possession of a number of localities two versts of the river.—*South Front.* Encounters continue in the direction of Yekaterinoslav. In the direction of Pavlovsk the battle is engaged on the River of the Khoper.—*East Front. Chernoy Yar.* Our defense is being developed.—*Slomikhinskaya region.* We are continuing to advance toward the East.—*Ural region.* We have taken possession of several positions one hundred versts to the south of Uralsk.—*In the Orenburg region. Sterliamak.* Our troops are continuing to advance successfully and have reached a line forty versts to the southeast of Bugulchan. At this point, organized units of the eighth regiment of Orenburg Cossacks, together with their horses, arms and machine-guns, passed over into our camp, deserting from the enemy.—*Cheliabinsk region.* We have reached a line of villages one hundred and ten versts east of Cheliabinsk. In the Shadrinsk region, our troops have reached the river valleys of the Myas and Iset and have taken possession of several hundred prisoners. In the Turinsk region, we entered Tyumen on August 8th.

THE CAPTURE OF TYUMEN

Through the capture of Tyumen the Red Army definitively enters the great Siberian plain. This important commercial city, situated on the great navigable water-course of the Obi Basin, as well as on the great Trans-Siberian Railroad, is a firm basis for future operations. Its occupation simultaneously constitutes an important strategical advance, since it cuts off the retreat of the hostile detachments which were still on the Kamyshlov line.

THE KOLCHAK ARMY ACCORDING TO ITS GENERAL STAFFS

Pravda publishes seized documents emanating from the chief of the general staff of the Fifth Division of Kolchak marksmen, and showing eloquently how the Whites themselves judge their army. "The division is certainly demoralized, and under the present circumstances is not only incapable of a recovery, but we must fear the complete extermination of the officers' corps by the

soldiers." Among the causes of this fatal demoralization, the chief of the general staff finds Bolshevik agitation, the complete absence of volunteers, and the complete failure of the reactionary propaganda continued among the soldiers. "The Kustanay floggings have had as their only result mass desertions of the soldiers, on whom they produced a very undesirable impression of inhumanity and barbarism. Likewise the expeditions of military police, which pay no heed to the population and flog even pregnant women until they produce abortions, because their husbands are serving in the Red Army. . . . One result of this is to exasperate the people and to prepare them for receiving the Reds with open arms." In order to struggle against this evil, the general staff proposes: "To exterminate mercilessly the ringleaders after having flogged them, unless the whole thing is to begin all over again. To annihilate villages entirely in cases of resistance, and not merely to limit oneself to flogging them, which is a half measure. To put up in the villages great placards declaring that all public conversation with the troops, all criticism of the Government policy, are punishable by death. To oblige the clergy to go into the trenches in order to work up a religious frenzy and to preach a campaign against anti-Christ, also the Mullahs." General Khanjin on June 14th signed a report, declaring: "The Chasseurs are the citadel to which the Command may repair in case of a general revolt such as has already occurred. They are the indicated detachments of repression against army units or populations that may be rebellious. To send them to the front with the others is admissible." There is no need of any comment on these eloquent documents.

ORGANIZATION OF THE HARVESTS

On the matter of the work in the fields, *Pravda* remarks that the results obtained at the end of two weeks are already considerable. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Supreme Council of Defense has decided to send about fifty thousand workers to the governments of Saratov, Samara, Ufa, and Orenburg to aid the populations in gathering the exceptionally abundant harvest of this year. In about two weeks, twenty thousand workers have been sent, owing to the care of the various Commissariats concerned, and of the Sections for distribution of labor of the various industrial centers. "Nothing proves better that we have already gained a considerable experience in the matter of organizing, particularly in the organization of labor. We shall have henceforth an apparatus which will permit us in very urgent cases to execute the necessary labor tasks. An organization which could in two weeks dispatch more than twenty thousand workers from various places, gives us certainty of this, and at the same time imposes duties upon us. Let us put forth efforts like these again and again and victory is ours.

A YOUNG HERO

Pravda publishes the following story: "With one of the Moscow regiments there arrived at the front a volunteer fifteen years old named Kolokolnikov. This child bore without a murmur all the fatigues of campaigning, and was the first in all activities. The soldiers, taking pity on him, wanted to send him back to his home and mother, but the child would not listen to what they said. In January, the unit in which he served met with a reverse. Kolokolnikov, with some others, was taken prisoner by the Cossacks, put at forced labor, but not being willing to work for the enemy, he escaped with eight comrades. He found refuge in a village near the railroad, where he awaited a favorable occasion to escape into our lines. Toward the middle of January, the Cossacks turned our flank, and during their operation left the railroad under guard of an armored train. Our fugitives, noticing this, decided to distract the enemy's attention from the

front by blowing up the road on both sides of the station as well as the munitions car, and then to take possession of the armored train. From the peasants they obtained hand-grenades and a gun, took from the station some ten-pound shells under the very nose of the sentinel, and set to work. Kolokolnikov, with several comrades, succeeded in blowing up the railroad tracks, but the train got away and Kolokolnikov was handed over to the Cossacks by a station employee. The Cossacks subjected him to torture, but could get nothing out of him. Kolokolnikov remained mute, asking only to be shot immediately. When led to his execution, he saw that his comrades were following him. Fearing to betray them by a glance, he kept his eyes turned away from them. The Cossacks wanted to shoot him from the back, but he turned around swiftly and shouted: "Shoot at once, brigands! Hurrah for the oppressed!"

SOVIET WIRELESS OF AUGUST 13, 1919

AN INSURRECTION AMONG THE WHITES

The following is only one example among hundreds of similar cases. In the region around the city of Uralsk, the Cossacks had decreed the mobilization of six classes. The peasants of four villages concerned, toward which the Red Army was then advancing met and decided not to furnish a single man, on the contrary, to support the Reds most actively. The order of the Cossacks to deliver the mobilized men immediately, under pain of death, merely accelerated the decision of the peasants to take up arms. They armed themselves and all the able-bodied men left the villages and began moving in the direction of the Red troops. On the way, they had to fight against the Cossacks, but they carried off the victory, united with our troops, and, without taking any rest, advanced with them to the attack.

KOLCHAK'S LAST DAYS

Omsk is in a state of siege. Court-martials are constantly in session. The corpses of those shot are thrown into the Irtysh. The sessions of the tribunals take place at night and in secret locations. The judges are changed every day.

Public instruction in Siberia is in a most lamentable state. Official Bulletin No. 166 discloses to us that for four months the budget of primary instruction has been as a matter of fact eliminated. Everywhere teachers, in order not to die of hunger, are obliged to sell everything they have.

According to the newspaper *Utro*, issued by the Whites at Cheliabinsk, the Red fronts in the far

East are solidifying themselves every day and the Bolshevik detachments are already approaching the most important centres.

In the Siberian newspaper, *The Fatherland*, an article, signed Pokrovski, gives interesting statistical data on the composition of the municipal governments of Siberia. Thus, at Tyumen, the municipal council has only two workers out of forty-five members, all the rest being factory-owners, merchants, priests, industrials, etc.

AN INTERESTING CONTRAST

A general staff or brigade of the Red army possesses a traveling library housed in a railroad car into which soldiers crowd in order to read pamphlets and newspapers. Several Hungarian soldiers, formerly prisoners of war in Siberia, have recently arrived in Russia. Owing to the excellent precautions taken by the White Command, they had never heard of the Soviet revolution in Hungary.

THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT AND THE HUNGARIAN TRAITORS

The Vitebsk Soviet, in its combined session with the bureaus of the syndicates and the factory committees, passed a resolution branding the social opportunists who betrayed the Hungarian revolution and handed it over to the brigands of imperialism. In a speech to the Kiev Soviet, Rakovski, speaking of the events in Hungary, declared that the fall of the Soviet power in that country must serve as a lesson to us. The Communist Party must maintain its revolutionary and uncompromising policy until final victory is attained.

THE ESTHONIANS AND THE ALLIES

The prisoners taken by the White Esthonian bands relate that the Whites are beginning to refuse to march. Among themselves they speak of immediately deserting the Pskov front; they complain bitterly of the Allies who force them to continue carrying on warfare.

WHITE ATROCITIES

In a locality not far from Uralsk the Red troops have discovered eighty corpses of sick captive soldiers, as well as of women and peasants, all horribly mutilated. The inhabitants of the so-called Budarinsk locality tell that the cossacks have shot at least fifteen hundred Red soldiers whom they had taken prisoners.

THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND RUSSIA

Denikin's newspaper, *Pridnieprovski Krai*, reports a declaration of Colonel Corbel, head of the French Mission at Yekaterinodar, who indicates that the French Government is granting its active support to Petlura and Kolchak as well as to Poland against the Soviet Government. The same newspaper is full of notes on the disorders which are constantly taking place at Rostov. Bands counting sometimes a hundred men go through the cities engaged in brigandage. The inhabitants refuse to submit to the searches and open fire on the patrolling brigands. The order to lay down their arms has not been obeyed in spite of the threats of General Pavlovsk.

Among the Kirghiz in Siberia there is already a Bolshevik Party whose founder Tatchi Marden Andyanov has been shot. This Party has displayed great activity, and has already published translations of the principal communist works in the Kirghiz language.

IN THE NORTH

Telegrams from various localities re-echo the profound impression produced on the populations by the assurance and the revolutionary ardor of the Red troops while passing through. Thus at Tuma, in the Government of Vologda, the passage of an aviation company was sufficient to prove to all the inhabitants that our victory over the White Guards is inevitable. The discipline and the civic consciousness of the troops is the admiration of the peasants, who receive them with open arms.

COMMUNIST DISCIPLINE

Under this title, *Pravda* states the following: "Our Party, which is that of the Communist workers, may well be proud. Not only in the political struggle, and in the military struggle, but also in the economic field, the Communists may consider themselves as the advance guard of the great army of reconstructors of the new world. Where in any country will you find such volunteers of labor and

of discipline? In what country will the workers come to work conscientiously and without pay during extra hours with a productivity several times higher than that of their ordinary hours? Certainly nowhere in capitalist countries, where they have learned to be conscious of themselves as a class. In our country, on the other hand there are groups of workers, daily more numerous, who are class-conscious and who show by their daily example what must be done to create a new world. We have brought about this phenomenon of volunteers of work. Today the famous communist Saturdays are extended throughout Soviet Russia. The military discipline began in our country with volunteers who laid the foundations of the whole edifice. The same phenomenon is observed today in industry. The volunteers of work are preparing a ready-made organization which is to yield immense results as soon as we shall have access to naphta, coal, and cotton. Similarly, in agriculture, you behold the young communists sending out thousands of volunteers to gather the harvest. What a magnificent thing has already been born! In the midst of the chaos which is our heritage from the petty bourgeoisie, new nuclei are crystalizing, nuclei of the new system, and this is the work of the first ranks of our Party. There is no doubt that others will join the advance guard in our struggle. Working together in common labor and in common struggle, we shall drag humanity out of the bloody abyss into which the ignoble imperialists have cast it."

ORGANIZATIONS OF PROVISIONS

Pravda publishes an interview with People's Commissaire for Provisions, Tsurupa, in which the latter declares: "The Commissariat hopes to receive during the approaching harvest, provisions in much greater quantity than ever before. The local organs have developed an energy incomparably greater than was theirs at the beginning of the last harvest. The experience of the year just passed has created among the workers of the provinces great skill. All hopes should be encouraged, but nevertheless, only on condition that the principle of government monopoly of purchase be preserved intact. The various experiences we have had in Ukraine at the hands of Kolchak prove with astonishing unanimity that every violation of the principle of state purchase inevitably brings in its train a disorganization of the provisions apparatus and a decrease in the total products furnished to the population. This truth has become more and more clear to the world. In addition, the Commissariat and its organs must receive energetic support in all the workers' organizations. The Committees of the Peasant Poor, who did so much last year, are no longer in existence. We must now find our support in the local organized proletariat. With this intention, the Central Committee of the Party, as well as the Executive Committee, have ordered the arrangement of local conferences in which the representatives of the provis-

ions Committees and of the executive Committee of each province, presided over by the special delegate of the Central Executive Committee, shall co-ordinate their efforts. In short, the results obtained in spite of all difficulties of military nature, bear witness to a tremendous work already accomplished and of astonishing productivity.

CONDITIONS IN GEORGIA

Georgia is at present in a state of actual warfare with Denikin. In the Sochi district the population is demanding decisive measures from the Government and even going so far as to ask a union with Soviet Russia. The Communists demanded the convocation of the workers' organizations of all the Caucasus. Everywhere the elected delegates have been Communists. The Government of the Mensheviks, fearing the results of the Congress finally prohibited it. The Communists are unquestionably the dominant Party in the Baku proletariat. An extreme unrest prevails throughout the Georgian territory.

CONDITIONS IN TURKESTAN

The elections have just taken place for the Tashkent Soviet. Three lists had been set up. On August 2, 442 Communists were elected, as against forty-two social-democrats, and thirty-four without Party affiliations.

VICTORY IN TURKESTAN

It is announced that as the result of an able manœuver in which the right flank of the White Trans-Caspian troops was turned, the Red troops took possession of the City of Ashkhabad. This important victory, which comes close upon the occupation of Merv, Tedjen and Meckhed, puts into our hands the White Capital of this region and brings to fruition one of the pledges of the Soviet Republic of Turkestan.

CONSUMERS' LEAGUES

The Counter Commune, organ of the Workers' Cooperative in Moscow calls attention to the fact that in the organization of the new consumers' leagues is assigned an important function to control by the masses. It is in fact the Council of Control which, in consultation with the State Control and the Workers' inspection, is to assure a full supervision by the workers' Consumers' Leagues, of all the institutions under the Consumers' League. This organ will be simultaneously an admirable instrument of education, preparing the proletariat to carry out its action of control and of direction in all the fields of social life.

COMMUNAL PROVISIONING

The Bulletin of the Moscow Provisioning Section announces a great increase in the number of communal restaurants in Kiev. Six new restaurants are opening this week, particularly in the workers'

quarters. Meals are delivered at full price or at half-price. Special free meals are furnished to children. In addition a number of tea houses are being opened, capable of furnishing four hundred thousand glasses of tea a day.—The same newspaper gives statistical data concerning the number of persons who are fed at Moscow in the communal establishments, the factory dining-rooms, hospitals, and asylums of every kind. The total on August first, amounts to about 650 persons.

Foreign Embassies in Soviet Russia as Centres of Counter-Revolution

THE SWEDISH LEGATION AT PETROGRAD

Newspapers in Entente countries frequently print accounts of violations of "diplomatic immunity" by the Soviet authorities; thus, New York papers recently had the following telegram, which we quote from the *New York Times*:

GOT LOOT IN SWEDISH EMBASSY

Stockholm, Oct. 10.—The Swedish Foreign Department, in a communique issued to-day, confirms the recent reports of the sacking of the Swedish Legation in Petrograd and the consular offices in Petrograd and Moscow by the Bolshevik authorities. It is declared that valuables and private deposits aggregating 12,000,000 rubles were confiscated.

Why did the Soviet authorities invade the Swedish Embassy, and whose money was it they seized there? We regret to say that all the embassies and legations in Russia were used by the Russian Bourgeoisie, whose money was being legally confiscated, as depositories, places of concealment, for tax-dodging and other counter-revolutionary purposes.

THE NORWEGIAN LEGATION AT PETROGRAD

It is Guilty in the Smuggling Incident

FROM a particularly well-informed and trustworthy source we received a number of weeks ago, a documentary account of the departure of the Norwegian Embassy from Petrograd. The report will be found printed in another part of this newspaper. Our reason for waiting so long with its publication was that of journalistic caution. Although we felt convinced that the report was correct in all essentials, we postponed its publication in expectation of further information on which we might base our statements.

We have now received such additional data. We now no longer doubt that the Norwegian Legation at Petrograd was guilty of criminal acts in the conduct of its office, and we are no less certain that these crimes will be exposed, in large part, even if not all together. The scandal will at any rate—of this we are fully convinced—assume very large proportions. Persons are implicated who were in high position in our public life; of at least one of these persons it can be maintained with certainty that he has committed a crime for private

gain. The Petrograd Legation assigns as the reason for its departure from Russia the fact that "lawless conditions" prevailed there. Forcible entry had been made in the premises under the protection of the Norwegian. After all we know about the legation, we do not hesitate to believe that it also framed up this offence of forcible entry, for it has been guilty of equally serious offences; why should it not have gotten up the burglary incident? It was clear from the documents concerning the break with Russia which were submitted to the Swedish Riksdag in May, as will be recalled, that the three Scandinavian governments were acting according to a preconcerted plan in this matter. The three governments had agreed to tell the same lies. They probably did not suspect that the truth would come out a day or two early—the truth that these crimes can be named in connection with the Scandinavian legations, since they were perpetrated by the legations themselves.

Betrayers, liars and blackguards—it is a nice little diplomacy we have. But the pitcher will go to the well once too often.

The Account of the Incident

WE have received the following communication:

In accordance with a proposal of the Swedish Government the Scandinavian nations held a meeting of ministers at Copenhagen in order to deliberate on the political situation, and particularly to discuss the relations of Scandinavia to Soviet Russia. It was pointed out that Bolshevik influence is becoming stronger and stronger and that the Soviet Government was making use of courier privileges to send out agitation literature. Examinations had shown that the baggage of the couriers consisted chiefly of pamphlet literature. It was decided to break off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia.

In the Norwegian Embassy there now began busy days. For a long time great numbers of Russians had been storming the embassy in hopes of finding an opportunity to sell art objects and other articles of value and usually these gentlemen were unfavorably received. But there were cases in which the personnel of the embassy, profoundly impressed with the distress of the owners of such objects, permitted themselves to be persuaded to purchase. For many rich people had lost their all and were selling their last articles of value in order to maintain life.

In this manner most of the members of the legation had filled their coffers with valuable art objects which were to be forwarded over the boundary together with the embassy's papers. An additional complicating circumstance was the fact that in several cases the officials had not given a negative answer to the stream of persons and institutions who had begged the legation to transport their property safely over the boundary (for instance, in such cases when the petitioner was of a particularly engaging personality or when the amount of the consignment was in itself large enough to inspire respect).

Owing to these conditions, the volume of baggage far transcended the normal, and in the confusion and bustle which arose when everyone was trying to safeguard his own things, the taking of a complete inventory of what was being carried with the embassy was neglected. Yet the departure came off in the best shape, some of the employees were particularly animated and declaimed songs and bits of Russian to the soldiers at the way-stations, which they had learned at Petrograd.

At the last station in Russia the retinue, to their great astonishment were detained and denied the privilege of continuing their journey. The Soviet Commissar at the boundary declared that he had received orders from Moscow to stop and inspect the Norwegian legation. The leader, Mr. Huitfeldt, protested, and a long, tiresome dispute

ensued, in the course of which the Commissar frequently communicated with Moscow over the telephone.

It seemed as if the object of the Commissar was to hold up the Norwegians at any price, since he, as soon as the embassy had agreed to comply with the conditions for the continuance of their journey, stated that now they must make certain additional concessions. Repeatedly he broke his word under the influence of new orders from Moscow and annoyed these people in every possible way. Finally Mr. Huitfeldt yielded and gave permission to inspect all the baggage. At the same moment the soldiers went for the sealing wax of the trunks with their bayonets and proceeded to go through all the receptacles.

One of the gentlemen in the retinue—let us call him P.—became extremely nervous at this turn of affairs; throughout this time he had been holding on to three suit-cases, containing absolutely contraband material—gold articles, ruble notes that were private property, in all amounting to 15,000,000 rubles. He indicated his misgivings to Mr. Huitfeldt who grew pale and admitted that he had entirely forgotten these suit-cases when he gave his consent to having the baggage opened. There now followed a tense moment, in which the two gentlemen struggled each for his own and the others' safety. Mr. P. began manipulating the suit-cases over to the open door, while Mr. Huitfeldt tried by means of gestures and outcries to attract the attention of the soldiers to himself. Mr. P. finally got the suit-cases out on the sleigh on which were lying the objects already inspected. Simultaneously Mr. Huitfeldt insisted that he would not tolerate any further examination of the baggage. Towards evening he issued a verbal statement to the effect that there was no longer any gold or money in the remaining boxes, and the embassy now received permission to pass over the boundary. The general opinion was that all of them would have been immediately shot if the three other suit-cases had been opened. Mr. P. was warmly thanked by his leader, in the hearing of all, for his presence of mind and Huitfeldt promised to report his prowess to the foreign minister and the foreign department. He neglected to do so however, and Mr. P. again fell into the background, while Mr. Huitfeldt himself received all the credit at Christiania for the successful return home.

The Sentiment Among the Siberian Peasantry

IN its issue of July 2, 1919, the *Dalnyevostoknoye Obezrenie*, of Vladivostok, quotes the following from the minutes of the meeting of the Tungus Volost (County Council), with editorial comment:

"In many houses the women and children have been terrorized, the population is dispersing in panic, and many do not return to their homes for many days." The Council complains to the administration that peaceful life has been destroyed and cites numerous instances of searches, accompanied by corporal punishment, in the following villages: Dezyenevka, Vladimirovka, Novokamenka, Kalinovka, and Nilosevka. In conclusion, the Council demands the "safeguarding of the persons and property of peaceful citizens."

In another editorial item, the same paper quotes the following utterance as characteristic of the sentiment of the peasantry:

"In accordance with the prophecy of John the Divine, we await the world revolution."

"This, generally speaking, is the feeling in all villages," concludes the editorial. It is still unknown what forms of government will be ours in the near future, but judging by the news, one thing is certain—all the roads leading to the restoration of the old political regime are closed. All the

news received bears witness to this. Whenever the Czar is mentioned, the common answer is, "We need order, and not the Czar."

English Piracy in the Finnish Gulf

"ESKILSTUNA III" CAPTURED AND RUN AGROUND
(From *Politiken*, Stockholm, September 23.)

Helsingfors, Monday. (Swedish Telegraph Agency).—The general staff reports: Saturday afternoon a Swedish trading steamer was observed proceeding on its westward journey from Kronstadt along the Ingermanland coast, accompanied by a Russian vessel. English ships later captured the above-mentioned trading steamer, and took it in to Björkö, when the steamer was run aground. On board there were three passengers, one of whom was a Finnish citizen.

The captured Swedish trading steamer is said to have been "Eskilstuna III." Whether the steamer was run aground intentionally is not known. The crew was taken ashore and is now under guard of the local commandant and the English. The inspection of the cargo which is said again this time to consist of flax, was undertaken under the supervision of the English authorities.

We are dealing here with a flagrant violation on the part of the English captain against a Swedish steamer which had been at Petrograd on commercial business. The thing is all the more unexpected since the English government in Parliament had officially declared that there was no longer any blockade against Russia. The above telegram shows what gross deception this declaration involves towards the English people. But the thing may have its good side, when the shameless double game of the British government becomes known in England because of this capture of a neutral vessel. The English workers should see to it that the days of this cabinet shall be numbered. What is

our Swedish Liberal Socialist Government now going to do to combat this lawless procedure so damaging to the national dignity of Sweden as well as to our country's economic interests, committed on this occasion by the English, and not long ago by the White Finns?

LECTURES ON REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

To provide an opportunity for a proper understanding of the social and political experiment, which was begun in Russia in November 1917, the Rand School of Social Science has arranged a course of 36 lectures dealing with the social and cultural background of the Great Revolution and the achievements of the Soviet Government since its establishment. Dr. I. A. Hourwich, Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Charles Kuntz and Alexander Trachtenberg, themselves Russians and students of revolutionary history, will conduct the course.

Dr. Hourwich is the author of a study of the Russian Village Commune (Mir) and is at present acting as economic expert for the Russian Soviet Bureau in the United States. He will deliver the first series of twelve lectures in the course dealing with the social and economic development of Russia from the peasant uprising in 1773-74 to the proletarian revolution of 1917.

Dr. Goldenweiser, until recently instructor in Anthropology in Columbia University and at present lecturer at the New School for Social Research and the Rand School of Social Science, will follow with an analysis in ten lectures of the literature and social teachings of the various elements which were engaged in the struggles for liberty.

Mr. Alexander Trachtenberg, formerly affiliated with the Russian Socialist movement, a participant in the Revolution of 1905-6, will take eight sessions for a review of the development of the revolutionary Socialist and labor movement from the organization of the People's Will Party, which was responsible for the assassination of Alexander II, March 1881, to the proletarian uprising, which overthrew the Romanov Dynasty in March, 1917.

Mr. Charles Kuntz, formerly associated with the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government, will conclude the course with a series of six lectures on the progress of the Revolution to the establishment of the Soviet Government and will analyze Russian economic and political life under the proletarian dictatorship.

The course will be given on Mondays and Fridays from 8.15 to 9.45 P. M., beginning November 10th. It will continue on both evenings until February 6th and will be given on Fridays only, at the same hour, from February 13th to April 30th.

Further information concerning the course may be obtained at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, where also a bulletin describing the various other courses can be secured on request.

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2. The English Rule of Terror in North Russia.
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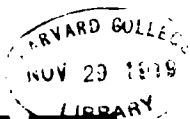
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MASSACRE OF THE JEWS BY DENIKIN'S BANDS	1	EDITORIALS	12, 13
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	3	A LETTER TO SECRETARY OF STATE FROM THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN AMERICA	14
THE CHURCH UNDER THE SOVIET	5	STATEMENT BY THE BUREAU	15
THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BALTIC REGION		BUILDING UP SOVIET RUSSIA	16
By O. Preedin	6	OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT	19
THE ENGLISH RULE OF TERROR IN NORTH RUSSIA	7	THE KOLCHAK-DENIKIN ADVENTURE	21
A PHOTOGRAPH OF AN EXECUTION OF A RED GUARD	9	ENGLISH AND FINNISH PIRACY IN THE BALTIC	23
THE FREE PRESS IN SIBERIA IN 1918-1919	10	BALTIC PEOPLE FOR PEACE WITH RUSSIA	24
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN RUSSIA	11		

The Massacre of the Jews by Denikin's Bands

"STRUGGLING Russia," the American organ of the Kolchak-Denikin government, in its issue of September 20th has an article on "The Jewish Problem in Russia," from the pen of Dr. D. Pasmanik, a leading Russian Zionist. The writer urges upon the Jewish people to uphold Kolchak and Denikin. He admits that it is generally supposed "that the Bolsheviki are not instigating or making any Jewish pogroms, that they secure all civic rights to the Jewish population," and "that the armies of Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin are saturated with hostile feelings towards the Jews, . . . and will visit all sorts of disasters upon the Jewish people; pogroms, atrocities, persecutions, and the total extermination of their entire population."

The writer further says that he knows from personal observation that General Denikin's army "does not love the Jews." Nevertheless he hopes that in spite of the anti-Semitic attitude of some officers and soldiers the Volunteer Army as a whole would not allow any pogroms which would sow the seeds of the dissolution of the State."

Apparently that article was written before the wholesale massacre of the Jews by Denikin's Volunteer Army, and the atrocities committed by Denikin's volunteers upon defenseless Jews, as reported by the special correspondent of the Jewish Daily Forward, of New York, Mr. N. Shiffrin, in the following cablegram dated Copenhagen, October 25th:

"The newspaper *Kievskaya Zhizn* (Kiev Life) reports that in the pogrom at Fastov, which was made by Denikin's soldiers, 600 Jews were killed and 1,200 wounded. The newspaper *Minsky Courier* reports details of the terrible tortures which the Jews

of Fastov suffered while the Denikin hordes were there. The ruler of that city was the Cossack chieftain Bulakovich, and his attacks upon the Jews were most brutal. Every day innocent Jewish children were hung on lamp posts in the presence of Bulakovich's officers.

"Three days in succession all the lamp posts of the city were 'ornamented' with innocent Jewish children, and around the posts lay the corpses of the children which had fallen from the posts and had been followed by others.

"Before hanging the children the murderers treated them in the most horrible way imaginable. The children were forced to have sexual intercourse, and were themselves compelled to tighten the nooses around their own necks, and when those unfortunate little ones hanging from the posts would kick their legs in the last convulsions of agony the murderers would catch hold of the legs and pull them downward. If a child fell, half dead, it was immediately thrown into the river.

"Jewish mothers were hiding their children in cellars and attics to save them from witnessing these horrible sights, because such of the children as were fortunate enough to escape manifested signs of insanity, partly through fear, and partly through having seen such horrors."

"Copenhagen, October 26. I received today official reports about the terrible pogrom which was conducted by Denikin's hordes at Fastov. So far seventy seriously wounded Jews have been taken to Kiev hospitals. On October 5th a military commission of Denikin's arrived at Fastov for the alleged purpose of investigating the massacre. Several Jewish delegations, from Odessa, Kharkov, and

Fastov, came to Denikin's headquarters at Rostov, to ask him to put an end to the terrible pogroms and to repeal all his orders limiting the rights of Jews, but the Cossack General ordered all these delegations out of the city.

Some Christian political organizations sent delegations to Denikin to ask him to stop this terrible massacre of the Jews. These delegations presented to Denikin a great many facts proving that high military officials were involved in the pogroms. They asked him to take energetic measures to prevent the expected recurrence of the pogrom wave.

Every day many liberal organizations send to Denikin resolutions of protest against the bloody pogroms on the Jews.

The Congress of Ukrainian physicians which was held recently, adopted the following resolution:

"We protest against the endless horrible pogroms and massacres which are being perpetrated on the peaceable Jewish population. These psychopathic, bestial, Saddistic acts find support among various dark pogrom elements of different sections of society. All these dark forces pretend that these horrible actions are caused by a desire for revenge on the Jews, but in reality revenge has nothing to do with this. The true causes of the pogroms are simply bestial passion and the lust for plunder. These vile acts must be stopped, and we appeal to the conscience of Russian society."

General Denikin did not remain ignorant of the murderous deeds of his army. His attitude to the pogroms appears from a cable to the New York Jewish daily, *The Day*, from its London correspondent, Mr. Podruchnik, which appeared in the issue of that paper on October 15. (It is to be remembered that the policy of *The Day* is outspokenly anti-Bolshevik.) Says Mr. Podruchnik:

"From reliable sources I am informed that Denikin sent a cable to London with regard to the pogroms which occurred on the territory occupied by his troops. In his statement he says that he has issued stern orders against pogroms. This, however, has been of no avail, because the soldiers on entering the cities find that the churches have been destroyed, and Christians murdered, while the Jews and their synagogues are undamaged. This enrages them, and it is impossible to stop them from venting their anger on the Jews."

Thus General Denikin admits in the first place that pogroms against the Jews are made by his soldiers, and that he is unable to enforce sufficient discipline in the army to make his soldiers obey his orders. In the second place, the excuse is characteristic of the old pogrom policy of the Czarist regime. Because Christian churches are alleged to have been destroyed, the Jews are murdered by the soldiers. It is not alleged that the churches have been destroyed by the Jews.

It is a well known fact that the established church, under the Czars, was a part of the government machinery. The Soviet Government has proclaimed the separation of the church from the state. This

is fully in accord with the government systems of America and France. The overthrow of Czarism was accompanied by a revolt of the Christian population against the churches. This movement is but a repetition of the revolt of the French peasantry against the church at the time of the French Revolution. The Jews had nothing to do with it.

Nevertheless in the opinion of General Denikin this revolt is a valid excuse for his soldiers disobeying with impunity his own orders against pogroms upon the Jews.

The same special correspondent of the *New York Jewish Daily Forward*, Mr. Shiffrin, published in the issue of that paper of October 30th, a dispatch taken from an official statement by General Denikin. The statement contained an admission by Denikin that his soldiers had participated in the pogrom in Fastov and in Nyezshin. "But," says the General, "I expelled from the army the officers who were guilty of the pogroms; and I have sent an investigating commission to Fastov and also pamphlets and proclamations."

Thus, according to General Denikin, expulsion from the army is an adequate punishment for army officers who were found guilty of wholesale murder.

The Murder of Mrs. Efimenko by Petlura's Hordes

BLAME PLACED UPON THE BOLSHEVIKI—AS USUAL
(From *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Sept. 19, 1919)

Helsingfors Telegraph, (Rosta).—The Russian counter-revolutionary paper, *Ruskaya Zhizn*, which is published here, has recently printed a very significant "correction." Some time ago this paper published a statement that a well-known professor in the highest school for women in Petrograd, Mrs. Efimenko, has been murdered by Bolsheviks, at Kharkoff. This information has just been denied, by a Mr. Elkin, who states with proof, that Mrs. Efimenko was murdered in Kharkoff in the latter part of December, 1918, or early in January, 1919, when there were no Bolsheviks in Kharkoff. She was murdered by the troops of Petlura, in trying to defend two daughters from the attacks of soldiers under the leadership of Neklyudoff.

Thus did Petlura's counter-revolutionary troops kill other Ukrainian counter-revolutionists, and, as always, accuse the Bolsheviks of crimes they themselves had committed.

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.

The War in Russia

THE capture of Omsk by the glorious Soviet army did not surprise us at all; we expected it at any moment. It was sufficient to read the cable of Robert Wilton, the well-known war correspondent of the *London Times*, in order to understand that Kolchak scarcely would be able to save his capital.

In his dispatch of November 7 about the desperate situation of the White armies, Robert Wilton confesses: "The failure of our Cossacks to justify the hopes and promises made by their leaders entailed the collapse of the left flank of the third army compelling the abandonment of Petropavlovsk." The correspondent admits that the Reds now "are in a position to continue operations against Omsk." Describing the attacks of the Reds, Robert Wilton says that they are attacking in close formation "recklessly, desperately and courageously."

The Kolchak staff decided to remain in Omsk in spite of advices of the Commander-in-Chief, General Dietrichs, who very wisely insisted on removing the headquarters from Omsk to Irkutsk. General Dietrichs, the former chief of the Czechoslovaks, is an experienced general and certainly must have realized the danger for the main general staff of Kolchak to be cut off, thanks to the increased activity of the Red "guerillas" around Krasnoyarsk in the rear. The disagreement between Kolchak and Dietrichs attained such an acute form that the latter resigned and has been replaced by General Sakharoff. The reputation of the latter is by no means brilliant. During the Russo-Japanese war, as well as during the Great War, he was very frequently censured, and finally, was appointed as a chief of intelligence service, in short, kept as far as possible from the battle field.

In his speech in the House of Commons, of November 13, Premier Lloyd-George admitted that the Bolsheviks were rapidly approaching Omsk, and that the fate of the place would only be decided as the result of the battles that might be fought shortly in front of the city.

We have also before us a cable from Tokio of November 9 (exclusive cable to the Universal Service and the *London Daily Express* by Hugh Ryas): "Open rebellion has broken out in the army of Admiral Kolchak," says a message just received direct from Omsk. "Kolchak's soldiers are killing many of their officers while retreating. Those officers who are spared are arrested (?) and dressed as privates."

Omsk is situated on the eastern bank of the river Irtysh which, if Kolchak had a considerable army, would present very useful positions for the passive defense of the town, or to meet the enemy's attacks on the eastern banks of the river. But Kolchak neither had in his possession the necessary number of troops, nor was his tactical position strong

enough to check the enemy's advance, even by assuming passive defense tactics.

Being in possession of the town of Tobolsk, situated on the middle course of the river Irtysh, the Reds could easily send their barges with troops and with artillery and might penetrate even in the rear of the enemy, or at least seriously threaten the northern part of the Omsk defence sector. On the other hand, the town of Tomsk, which is, as has been reported, in the hands of the Reds, lies in a N. E. direction from the town of Novo-Nikolayevsk, one of the nearest intermediary bases recently created by the Kolchak army, and it is certain that the Reds of this region did not lose an opportunity to support the main Soviet forces in that way.

The strong Red army which is occupying Semipalatinsk, situated on the upper Irtysh, S. E. of Omsk, certainly did not remain inactive, and being connected by railway-line with Barnaul and Novo-Nikolayevsk, as well as with Omsk, by the river Irtysh, probably had undertaken a rather dangerous operation for Kolchak, threatening his communications with the rear even by means of comparatively small forces. We must not forget that from Semipalatinsk the troops have to move down the river and could cross it at any desired place.

The fall of Omsk has a very great political importance for the Soviet Republic at the moment when England is intriguing to break down the possible peace arrangements with the Baltic States and Poland, and when Finland is still hesitating. Strategically, Omsk did not present to the Red General Staff a very great importance because, as we have always repeated, the strategical aim of the Reds is the annihilation of the army of the enemy, and if the Reds will be able to annihilate the retreating Kolchak by means of an energetic pursuit, the battle of Omsk will be of real strategical significance, while now it is simply a great tactical victory.

We must not neglect the fact that in Eastern Siberia considerable forces of the Japanese are concentrated, which certainly will hurry up in order to cover the fragments of the Kolchak army, thus preventing their complete annihilation, but taking into consideration the long distance which separates the Kolchak battle front from the Japanese and the revolutionary spirit of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks as well as the Siberian, Ussuri and Amur Cossacks, half of which are inclined to join the Reds, we venture to prophesy that the annihilation of the whole Kolchak army may be possible even before the Japanese can intervene. In any case, by capturing Omsk the Soviet army has again proved to the world its titanic military strength. On the other hand, it has inflicted a mortal blow on Kolchak's prestige in Asia and in the eyes of the neutrals.

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is fully in accord with the government systems of America and France. The overthrow of Czarism was accompanied by a revolt of the Christian population against the churches. This movement is but a repetition of the revolt of the French peasantry against the church at the time of the French Revolution. The Jews had nothing to do with it.

Nevertheless in the opinion of General Denikin this revolt is a valid excuse for his soldiers disobeying with impunity his own orders against pogroms upon the Jews.

The same special correspondent of the *New York Jewish Daily Forward*, Mr. Shiffrin, published in the issue of that paper of October 30th, a dispatch taken from an official statement by General Denikin. The statement contained an admission by Denikin that his soldiers had participated in the pogrom in Fastov and in Nyezhin. "But," says the General, "I expelled from the army the officers who were guilty of the pogroms; and I have sent an investigating commission to Fastov and also pamphlets and proclamations."

Thus, according to General Denikin, expulsion from the army is an adequate punishment for army officers who were found guilty of wholesale murder.

The Murder of Mrs. Efimenko by Petlura's Hordes

BLAME PLACED UPON THE BOLSHEVIKI—AS USUAL

(From *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Sept. 19, 1919)

Helsingfors Telegraph, (Rosta).—The Russian counter-revolutionary paper, *Ruskaya Zhizn*, which is published here, has recently printed a very significant "correction." Some time ago this paper published a statement that a well-known professor in the highest school for women in Petrograd, Mrs. Efimenko, has been murdered by Bolsheviki, at Kharkoff. This information has just been denied, by a Mr. Elkin, who states with proof, that Mrs. Efimenko was murdered in Kharkoff in the latter part of December, 1918, or early in January, 1919, when there were no Bolsheviki in Kharkoff. She was murdered by the troops of Petlura, in trying to defend two daughters from the attacks of soldiers under the leadership of Neklyudoff.

Thus did Petlura's counter-revolutionary troops kill other Ukrainian counter-revolutionists, and, as always, accuse the Bolsheviki of crimes they themselves had committed.

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.

The War in Russia

THE capture of Omsk by the glorious Soviet army did not surprise us at all; we expected it at any moment. It was sufficient to read the cable of Robert Wilton, the well-known war correspondent of the *London Times*, in order to understand that Kolchak scarcely would be able to save his capital.

In his dispatch of November 7 about the desperate situation of the White armies, Robert Wilton confesses: "The failure of our Cossacks to justify the hopes and promises made by their leaders entailed the collapse of the left flank of the third army compelling the abandonment of Petropavlovsk." The correspondent admits that the Reds now "are in a position to continue operations against Omsk." Describing the attacks of the Reds, Robert Wilton says that they are attacking in close formation "recklessly, desperately and courageously."

The Kolchak staff decided to remain in Omsk in spite of advices of the Commander-in-Chief, General Dietrichs, who very wisely insisted on removing the headquarters from Omsk to Irkutsk. General Dietrichs, the former chief of the Czechoslovaks, is an experienced general and certainly must have realized the danger for the main general staff of Kolchak to be cut off, thanks to the increased activity of the Red "guerillas" around Krasnoyarsk in the rear. The disagreement between Kolchak and Dietrichs attained such an acute form that the latter resigned and has been replaced by General Sakharoff. The reputation of the latter is by no means brilliant. During the Russo-Japanese war, as well as during the Great War, he was very frequently censured, and finally, was appointed as a chief of intelligence service, in short, kept as far as possible from the battle field.

In his speech in the House of Commons, of November 13, Premier Lloyd-George admitted that the Bolsheviks were rapidly approaching Omsk, and that the fate of the place would only be decided as the result of the battles that might be fought shortly in front of the city.

We have also before us a cable from Tokio of November 9 (exclusive cable to the Universal Service and the *London Daily Express* by Hugh Ryas): "Open rebellion has broken out in the army of Admiral Kolchak," says a message just received direct from Omsk. "Kolchak's soldiers are killing many of their officers while retreating. Those officers who are spared are arrested (?) and dressed as privates."

Omsk is situated on the eastern bank of the river Irtysh which, if Kolchak had a considerable army, would present very useful positions for the passive defense of the town, or to meet the enemy's attacks on the eastern banks of the river. But Kolchak neither had in his possession the necessary number of troops, nor was his tactical position strong

enough to check the enemy's advance, even by assuming passive defense tactics.

Being in possession of the town of Tobolsk, situated on the middle course of the river Irtysh, the Reds could easily send their barges with troops and with artillery and might penetrate even in the rear of the enemy, or at least seriously threaten the northern part of the Omsk defence sector. On the other hand, the town of Tomsk, which is, as has been reported, in the hands of the Reds, lies in a N. E. direction from the town of Novo-Nikolayevsk, one of the nearest intermediary bases recently created by the Kolchak army, and it is certain that the Reds of this region did not lose an opportunity to support the main Soviet forces in that way.

The strong Red army which is occupying Semipalatinsk, situated on the upper Irtysh, S. E. of Omsk, certainly did not remain inactive, and being connected by railway-line with Barnaul and Novo-Nikolayevsk, as well as with Omsk, by the river Irtysh, probably had undertaken a rather dangerous operation for Kolchak, threatening his communications with the rear even by means of comparatively small forces. We must not forget that from Semipalatinsk the troops have to move down the river and could cross it at any desired place.

The fall of Omsk has a very great political importance for the Soviet Republic at the moment when England is intriguing to break down the possible peace arrangements with the Baltic States and Poland, and when Finland is still hesitating. Strategically, Omsk did not present to the Red General Staff a very great importance because, as we have always repeated, the strategical aim of the Reds is the annihilation of the army of the enemy, and if the Reds will be able to annihilate the retreating Kolchak by means of an energetic pursuit, the battle of Omsk will be of real strategical significance, while now it is simply a great tactical victory.

We must not neglect the fact that in Eastern Siberia considerable forces of the Japanese are concentrated, which certainly will hurry up in order to cover the fragments of the Kolchak army, thus preventing their complete annihilation, but taking into consideration the long distance which separates the Kolchak battle front from the Japanese and the revolutionary spirit of the Trans-Baikal Cossacks as well as the Siberian, Ussuri and Amur Cossacks, half of which are inclined to join the Reds, we venture to prophesy that the annihilation of the whole Kolchak army may be possible even before the Japanese can intervene. In any case, by capturing Omsk the Soviet army has again proved to the world its titanic military strength. On the other hand, it has inflicted a mortal blow on Kolchak's prestige in Asia and in the eyes of the neutrals.

The victory in Siberia becomes very important thanks to the considerable successes obtained by the Soviet armies in South Russia, where Denikin's army is in a most critical position. This is not admitted by the New York *Times*, which, in its Sunday Magazine of November 16th published a photogravure of General Denikin "Advancing on Moscow from the Southeast of Russia, Commanding Victorious Cossack Troops." Let us remember that the "Victorious" Kolchak was greeted in the same way by the same New York *Times*, of whose prophecies about Russia not one has been realized. Of a quite different opinion, in regard to the Denikin situation, is the British Premier Lloyd-George; he considers it a "very difficult" one. "General Denikin," the premier pointed out "was holding with a small army a front of 1,300 miles, with marauding bands in his rear—a territory of such vastness that Denikin was unable to administrate it properly."

Well, this was known at the very beginning of the armed intervention, and Lloyd-George, we are perfectly well informed, was several times warned by experienced military experts that Denikin would be powerless to accomplish his task without an army at his disposition of at least a million men, and even if he should have such an army, there was a great doubt that the local population would welcome the invaders.

The British, French and Russian reactionary strategists, before starting their military operations, it seems to us, had to calculate their own forces as well as the strength of their enemy, and if they did so, of which we are very doubtful, they accomplished it very superficially. The results are proving it.

We have just received a very interesting statement published in *Le Journal*, of Paris, in which Mr. Wendziagolsky, the General Commissar of the Russian army under Kerensky, and a personal friend of Boris Savinkoff, describes the situation in Russia. Wendziagolsky is a Pole and came to Paris to form a Russo-Polish army; he is an ardent enemy of Germany, reaction and the Bolsheviks—he is one of the advisors of Kolchak and Denikin. In his interview with a representative of "Le Journal" Wendziagolsky bitterly attacks his comrade Prince Lieven, the Commander of the Russo-German army, which is a part of the Von der Goltz forces. He openly denounces Lieven as a German agent, an Anti-bolshevik of German origin. According to the statement of Wendziagolsky, there is in Berlin one "All-Russian Government" more, under the title of the Western Russian Government. This government exists on German money, and sits under the presidency of Mr. Belgrad (we think it is Mr. Belgardt). The members of the cabinet are: Messrs. Lutz, Denitchenko, Antonoff, a member of the late Duma; Generals Biskupsky and the famous Skoropadsky, the fallen Hetman of Ukraine, decorated by the Kaiser, and Colonel Zielenievsky. The aim of this govern-

ment is to crush the Bolsheviks, but in order to accomplish this, it must first crush Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich.

The most curious thing is this, that Prince Lieven has also just arrived in Paris and in the next issue of *Le Journal* we notice his interview, in which he is defending his Russian origin. We know well that Lieven belongs to an old Baltic German family. Lieven, as he says, is a partisan of the Russo-Polish Entente, which he considers as inevitable sooner or later, therefore he is ready to enter into Poland at once . . . with the German troops!

He gets his recruits from the President of the Western Russian Government in Berlin, Mr. Belgrad, who at the same time is the president of the Commission of Repatriation of the Russian Prisoners. What a real dramatic position for those poor Russians who are forced to enlist in such an army as that of Lieven, under the conditions: "either starve or join!" Only by such means are they able to return to their motherland, after a long and unbearable slavery. And this method is called by the Allies "the salvation of Russia."

The coming peace between England and Soviet Russia fully depends on the military successes of the Red armies; therefore we are very hopeful that it will come sooner than the world expects, because the strategical position of Soviet Russia is a brilliant one. The renewal of negotiations, in which the Baltic States, Poland, Ukraine and Soviet Russia are taking part, for an armistice to begin November 18, and to be followed in December by a peace conference at Dorpat in Esthonia (*Springfield Republican* of November 12), to which the Allied powers would be invited to send representatives, proves that England has lost the initiative not only in her strategy against Russia, but also politically. The great powers, which tried fruitlessly to convoke the Prinkipo Conference, now have been invited to come to Dorpat. The initiative comes from Moscow and is supported by a coalition of several states of Western Europe, which have decided to stop the bloodshed so obstinately supported by England and France.

The events of the nearest future will show what will happen, but it looks as if the coalition of the small nations, together with powerful and victorious Soviet Russia are stronger than the Big Four in their fruitless effort to establish peace in Europe by means of a most illegal and savage warfare.

The self-determination of the small nations, in spite of all the intrigues from London and Paris is a fact which has to be realized, thanks to the superhuman sacrifices of the two-year old Soviet Russian Republic.

In order to discourage the honestly thinking people of the interested countries, the British Press Bureau has again started its campaign in the American newspapers. So, for instance, the New York *Times* of November 14 pathetically declares "Yudenich army again advances." The Associated Press still has the courage to inform America that

"an advance is proceeding in the direction of Pskoff" or "the Whites are progressing east of Gorstissa" or "in the direction of Gatchina the Whites have begun a counter-offensive and have taken 12,000 prisoners." Was it not sufficient for the Associated Press that all its lies have been so recently exposed by the real facts, when they became known to the world? Why manufacture such new and most improbable movements on the part of the entirely defeated Yudenich? Every man with even elementary military knowledge will understand that had Yudenich been in possession of solid reinforcements, somewhere in his rear (he has no rear at all), even in that case he would have had to spend not less than several months in order to reorganize the fragments of his beaten army. Even the 30,000 Finnish volunteers would not have been able to encourage him for an immediate repetition of the advance on Petrograd,—it would have meant being defeated piecemeal. The Soviet army gained sufficient time to accomplish a new concentration of its forces and certainly is ready to meet any surprise.

We are far from believing that any co-operation of Yudenich and the Finns is possible in the presence of the very unfavorable strategical and political circumstances of the Entente powers; the Finns are a very practical nation and much too cautious to join an adventure which may cost them their independence. On the other hand, since the Allies are handicapped on the Archangel-Murmansk front, the Finnish volunteers have to operate under the menace of being outflanked at any moment by the Soviet army, especially now that the Lake Ladoga will be soon frozen and will thus cease to protect the left flank of the Finnish army if it starts its movement from the nearest point of the Finnish frontier, Terioki, situated on the Petrograd-Viborg railway. The advance of the Finns from their Karelian front never can be successful; here the Finnish volunteers have at their disposal no single strategical railway, while the Reds have in their possession a great part of the Petrograd-Murmansk railroad.

In regard to the possible danger to Petrograd, as was suggested by London, Lt.-Colonel B. Roustam Bek writes in the *New York Call* of November 15:

"The Soviet General Staff must have now at its disposal sufficient reserves with which to support the Petrograd garrison, and, if necessary, can send adequate armies for the relief of Petrograd should it be approached again, which I do not believe in any case probable. I am as confident today that Petrograd is out of danger as I was when I predicted the previous defeats of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich.

"I do not believe that the army of Yudenich, after such a debacle as it has suffered, is able to perform a counter offensive. Reports of such a movement are no more worthy of belief than all the old tales about the fall of Petrograd and Kronstadt. Any army, after such a crushing defeat as that which has

been suffered by Yudenich followed by a retreat with the victorious enemy in full pursuit, must first find shelter in which to collect all its dispersed fragments.

"Only after a complete reorganization and strong reinforcement can it start such a movement again from the very beginning. General Yudenich has had neither time nor any military possibility of accomplishing this essential reorganization.

"I do not, therefore, pay any attention to the news about the new danger of Petrograd."

On the other hand the Finnish Socialists have categorically declared their intention to stop any hostile movement towards Soviet Russia that may be planned by the nationalists, and, taking into consideration that the Socialists in Finland are very powerful and are a majority in the Diet, we do not consider the Finnish invasion to be possible.

The Church Free Under Soviet

The anti-Bolshevik propagandists in this country have accused the Soviet Government of persecuting the Greek Catholic Church. It is, therefore, highly instructive to learn what Bishop Nestor, of Kamchatka and Petropavlovsk, one of the leaders of the Church Council which re-established the patriarchate in Russia, had to say to a representative of the official Russian Telegraph Agency, at Omsk.

Bishop Nestor left Russia towards the end of 1918, and spent nine months in traveling by way of the Suez Canal to Omsk. The "*Sibirskaya Zhizn*" (Siberian Life), of Tomsk, in its issue of September 2nd, has a verbatim report of that interview. It goes without saying that Bishop Nestor is no friend of the Bolsheviks, and accuses the Soviet Government of persecuting the church. Here are, however, the facts admitted by Bishop Nestor.

"Patriarch Tykhon daily performs divine services in the churches of Moscow and vicinity. . . . Almost daily largely attended meetings of various societies take place in which the Patriarch participates. . . . Processions of the Cross, in which masses of the people participate, are held constantly. In the fall of 1918 the Patriarch performed a service with a general Procession of the Cross, in which about 6,000 worshippers participated. On the same day Bishop Nestor served a liturgy in the factory district of the Nicholas-Golutvin Church. In his Procession of the Cross more than 10,000 workers participated."

Bishop Nestor himself admitted that the Soviet Government did not interfere with these religious manifestations. This does not look like religious persecution. The real grievance of the Greek Catholic Church is the separation of the Church from the State, by which the priests of what was formerly the established church have been deprived of the emoluments they had formerly drawn from the public treasury.

The Economic Significance of the Baltic Region

By O. PREEDIN

LATVIA and Esthonia, the two new "nations" of the Baltic region, are situated on a very important route of world trade.

Until the war Russia had three principal routes for foreign trade: the Baltic sea, the land roads through the Western border, and the Black Sea.

The relative importance of these routes is shown by the following data. Of the total import and export of Russia for the period 1904-1908, the trade which passed through the three above-mentioned routes was distributed as follows:

Route	Value in Millions of Rubles	% of Total Foreign Trade
Western Border Land Roads----	464	25
Baltic Region -----	561	30
Black Sea -----	509	28

And for the period 1909-1913, the distribution was as follows:

Route	Value in Millions of Rubles	% of Total Foreign Trade
Baltic Region -----	891	33
Western Border Land Roads----	857	30
Black Sea -----	670	25

Oats, flax, flax-seeds, hemp, eggs, butter, and leather constituted the principal products of export. In 1912, 85% of the butter exported from Russia passed through Riga, Reval, Libau, and Vindau. This butter was produced in Siberia and in the northern and northwestern regions of Russia.

In the export of lumber and woodwork the Baltic ports occupy the first place. The export of these products was distributed as follows:

Years	Percentage of Total Export	
	Through Baltic Ports	Through Land Roads of Western Border
1901-1905	44	36
1906-1910	46	33
1913	48	27

That the development in the future will continue in the same direction is determined by the fact that near the Baltic ports there are about 18,000,000 diessiatins of forest, while near the land roads of the western border there are only about 7,000,000 diessiatins.

The increase of imports through the Baltic ports was greater than the increase of exports. From the period 1904-1908 to the period 1909-1913, the export through the Baltic ports increased by 59%, while the imports increased by 62%.

During the latter period (1909-1913) through the Baltic ports passed 91% of the imports into Russia from the greatest industrial countries: England, Germany, France, the United States, Holland, Belgium, and Norway.

But the development of the ports of Libau and Vindau, which are situated in the southern part of the Baltic region and whose waters never freeze, was greatly hindered by intrigues. In view of this more advantageous position of these cities, the merchants of Riga were afraid that the current of world trade might be turned aside from Riga, and they tried to prevent this. They resorted both to agitation and to "political" influence, bribing the officials of the Czar, to prevent compliance with the numerous appeals to connect Libau with the rest of Russia by more convenient railway branch lines.

That the German interests had a hand in these intrigues can be seen from the fact that there were frequent accusations to this effect in the Baltic press. Indeed, such an assumption is very plausible. Libau and Vindau might draw a big fraction of that part of Russian foreign trade which was passing through Germany, precisely because only these two ports of the Baltic region were open to navigation the whole year, like the ports of Germany, and did not freeze for two or three months, as is the case with Riga and other Baltic ports.

These intrigues were successful. The extremely necessary railway branch lines were not built. During their brief existence the Workmen's Soviets of Latvia requested the Soviet Government of Russia to undertake at once the building of a few railway lines. But the German army of Von der Goltz, with the support of the Allies, suppressed the Workmen's Soviets of Latvia, and all their plans for improvements, including the plan to build new railway lines, came to naught. And thus Germany is still in a position to control part of the foreign trade of Russia.

This particularly advantageous position of the Baltic region is the basic cause of its present trials. On account of this advantageous position, the Baltic region became the seat of endless intrigues on the part of the great powers—intrigues which lead to bloody clashes. The Baltic has become a centre of attention of *all* the imperialists of the world.

At the present time the Baltic region is no longer merely a question for the imperialists, which it had been for a long time, but has already become a definite *battle cry* for the domination of this region, for its *absolute* domination.

Three groups of conquerors of the Baltic region have now come to a definite clash there: (1) the Russian imperialists—the Kolchakists, who are

The Kolchakists are too weak to undertake anything independently, except venting their rage in violence against the local population. They are hostile to both the latter groups, but they can demonstrate their hostility only by supporting one or the other of them. At present they side with

the Germans, not because they love the Germans but because they hate the English and are opposed to their getting a firm foothold in this region, under the guise of strengthening the "independent" "national governments" of Latvia and Esthonia. But should the Germans be temporarily victorious, the Kolchakists will naturally change sides. The position of these "Russian anti-Soviet armies" is such that they must themselves destroy their victories. Fate left them only one kind of ammunition which they can call their own—their vices. Any other ammunition they must get either from the Allies or from the Germans.

Both the Germans and the English, striving for the domination of the Baltic region, make headway only in proportion to their success in devastating it. But this devastation has not yet gone far enough to assure the definite subjection of this region. The present battles near Riga, where the very badly armed Lettish and Esthonian armies are facing the cannon of the combined German and Kolchakist bands, mean merely the mass-slaughter of that part of the local population which can bear arms. The real battles are yet to come.

The clash between the policies of encroachment in the Baltic region of Germany, on the one hand, and England, on the other hand, has been maturing for a long time. Each of these groups has pursued its own methods to achieve its aim. At present their conflicting interests must come to a head, because the strong influence of the pan-Germans in this region, which cost them a great deal of energy, cannot be extended without destroying the foundation which the English laid for their domination; and, *vice versa*, the English cannot extend and increase their influence in this region unless they uproot the German influence.

The present battles at Riga are not the result of an accidental conflict, but are the long, matured and inevitable conflict between the imperialist groups, which cannot dominate together but must force out their rivals.

They made common cause in this region in the war on the Soviets, but secretly each group strove to occupy strategic positions and to force the others out. The battle at Riga exposes these secret aspirations, and Soviet Russia may contemplate these movements of its formidable enemies without apprehension.

The English Rule of Terror in North Russia

NORWAY DEPRIVED OF ITS FISHING EXPORT.

THE STORY OF FUGITIVES FROM THE MURMANSK COAST

(From a recent number of *Social-Demokraten, Christiania, Norway*)

THE occasional correspondent in Finmarken writes as follows:

Fugitives from the Murmansk Coast have the following to say concerning the English tyranny and rule of terror in North Russia:

The White Army in North Russia is an international army, consisting of English, French, Italians, Americans, Serbs, and recently even Finnish White Guards, and a few Russians, but it is the English officers who are in control and who have the greatest personal interest in this bandit enterprise. As a matter of fact, the English are said in reality to have rather few soldiers there. This is probably due to the state of opinion in England. But English officers and "organizers" are there in great numbers. They are attempting to transform the country into an "autonomous" English colony. It seems that the Americans particularly are inclined to relinquish the whole campaign, for only the English have anything to gain in it.

THE ENGLISH OFFICERS MONOPOLIZE TRADE IN NORTH RUSSIA

They have assumed the right of "helping" to supply the impoverished and starving population of North Russia with foodstuffs and other goods. And this process is for the most part a private business in the hands of English officers. Half a year's service out there has made rich men of many of these

sample-case heroes. The population is famished and often in need of absolute necessities. The prices are monstrous. The rich resources of Finmarken in fisheries, are right at the door, and North Russia has hitherto been the principal market for the fish of Finmarken. But now the English find a way of introducing large cargoes of second-rate Scottish herring which presumably cannot be sold elsewhere. This is forced upon the starving population, and so long as any of the half-spoiled goods are still available, northern fishermen are prevented from selling to Russia. But that is not all. The thing is carried on systematically. The English are about to introduce a fixed moderate duty on fish for North Russia of 26 öre per kilogram. In fact, this may already have been done. It is manifest what this means for North Norway. There will certainly be famine in Finmarken this winter. Who will be to blame? The English intervention! In addition, all other trade with North Russia is being squeezed out by the English. They have even discussed the question of entirely excluding Norwegian merchants from doing business in North Russia.

"We have no interest in your selling any goods here," were the words of a higher English officer, spoken in answer to a Norwegian who was pointing out the great lack of goods and the distress prevailing in Northern Russia.

The Northern Russian rubles are worth nothing. Therefore the National North Russian government is merely a puppet in the hands of the English. Everything must be financed by the English. All officials are paid by them. Of course, in return for a guarantee of the inexhaustible forest resources of the country, etc. This is the economic tyranny of modern imperialism in all its splendor, but side by side with this there proceeds a *military terror*, which is just as terrible in its forms as that practiced by the Germans and White Guards in Finland. The "voluntary national northern army" is about the most wretched piece of humbug on God's earth. Formerly the poorer population was impressed in its ranks by economic pressure and threats. The same thing is of course still abundant in an exaggerated form, but the recruiting did not seem to get along as fast as necessary, and, therefore, about two months ago, there was issued a Draconic ordinance on compulsory mobilization of all men from fifteen to forty-five years of age. Those who refused service, as well as their families, were subjected to all sorts of humiliation. Those who were particularly recalcitrant, were put before a court-martial and given short shrift. Simultaneously, there was introduced a very severe passport control throughout the country. House-searches and brutal transgressions of personal liberty are on the order of the day. Military patrols roam about in the little country towns, going through the houses from cellar to attic, looking for "volunteers." The consequence in several places has been that the people actually deserted their houses. Hundreds have traveled over the Norwegian boundary and are helping in the fisheries. Others traveled out into the forests and wilds. Back at home, there are, as a rule, only old men, women and children, who are left without rations. For many this means complete ruin. It is time for haying, but the people lack all physical strength. Absolute famine is before the door.

Everyone in the towns is subject to the most rigorous provisions. No one, for example, may go about in the streets after a certain hour of the evening. Archangel, which is the center, and near the front, is worse situated. Executions are daily occurrences. When, a few days ago, eight objectors were shot at Murmansk, the execution took place on a square in the middle of the town, in order that the people might be duly impressed. About the same time, three women were shot down because they had been found in the vicinity of the food stores. A mere suspicion of Bolshevik sympathies is sufficient to cause one's departure from this world. Those who are recruited by force are given uniforms and guns and are sent out without any previous training—for they might on the drill ground be susceptible to agitation and might therefore desert by whole companies! They are sent out to the most exposed positions at the front, where their service is simply that of cannon fodder. No one dares send the former Finnish Red Guards, since their desertion en masse to the Bolsheviks is feared. They only do guard and labor service.

This is Lloyd George's "helping Russia to help herself." It is not surprising that even purely bourgeois elements are praying to "God to help us from our friends!" It is self-evident that the English have caused themselves to be hated by the great masses of the population. And under these circumstances the experiences of the people will themselves correct the effects of the gross propaganda of lies directed against the Soviet power. In spite of the fact that the Bolsheviks are proclaimed by pulpits, placards and advertisements as the worst offspring of hell, the population is aware that it can not be worse off in any case than under the English sample-case terrorists. And the desire is growing from day to day to have them thrown into the sea.

A LETTER FROM THE MURMAN FRONT

(Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, September 17, 1919.)

MASS DESERTIONS FROM THE WHITE ARMY

The English butchers here, during the course of the year, put compulsory military service into effect in Murman. Besides, unemployment and famine have forced the people to join the English army, from which these conscripted troops are being sent to the front. In this way a number of workers have found themselves among the mobilized former Red Guards who have been living at Murman, and who, having participated in the Russian Revolution, are thoroughly class conscious, and self-conscious. It is, therefore, natural that such men as these are not inclined to fight against Russia. This is the reason why great numbers of them come over to join our forces. Hundreds of deserters have joined our right wing within a short time, all of them completely armed, one orderly sergeant even carrying with him a machine gun.

These comrades come to us telling us of the agony they endured when they were forced to fight against their class brothers. But no protest avails. The officers stand behind them and force them forward with whips. Volunteers have been appointed to watch the soldiers to prevent desertion. Any open discussion about wholesale desertion is, therefore, impossible, but each one suspects the other, and so they run away separately and secretly, and are much surprised when they meet their comrades in our ranks.

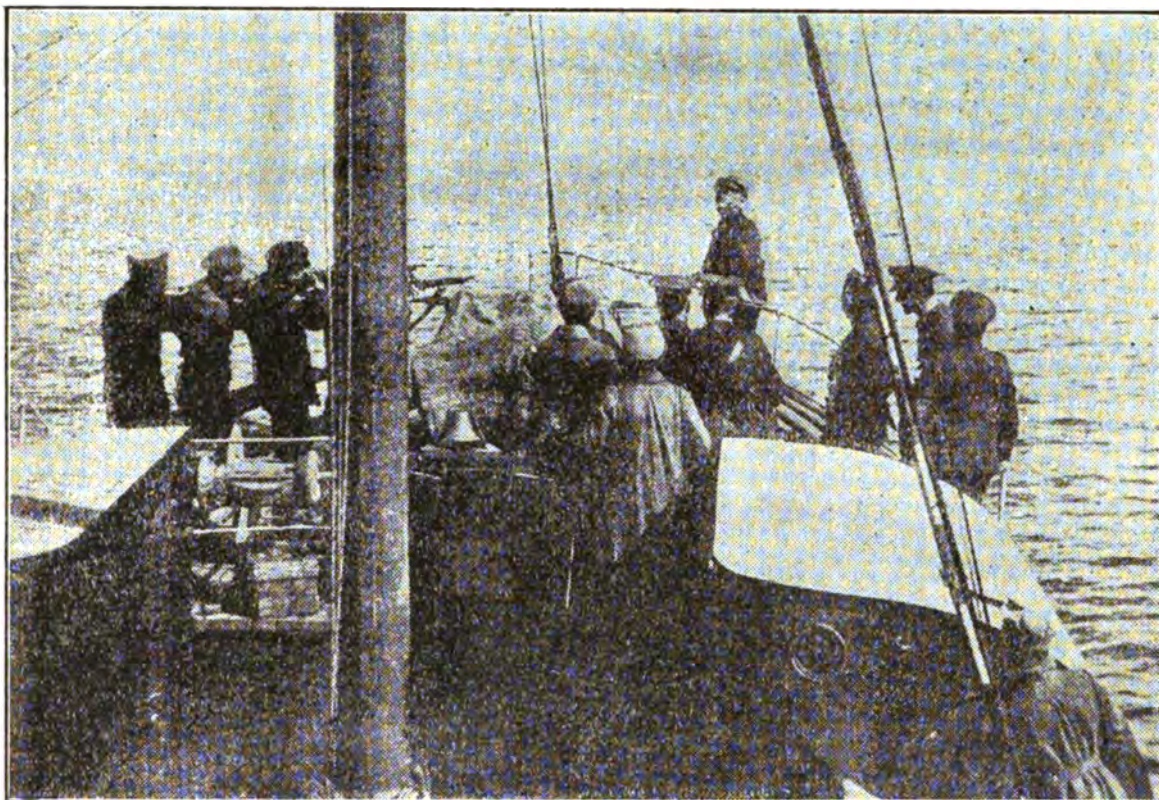
Another method used by these butchers is trying to frighten the soldiers with frightful stories of the way we torment and kill deserters. Being asked whether this really frightened them, those that come to us always say that a few of the more ignorant ones are frightened sometimes, but that on consideration they all realize that in a proletarian

army brothers do not fight and kill their class brothers, and that they will be received as class brothers.

We, on our side, do everything possible to explain the situation to those who are fighting against

us, and to urge them to join us. If such a wholesale desertion continues for any length of time, the White Army will be very small indeed, and the triumph of the Red will be early and complete.

T. A.—N.



THE EXECUTION OF A RED GUARD ON AN ENGLISH GUNBOAT ON LAKE ONEGA, RUSSIA, IN THE PRESENCE OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN OFFICERS

"Only Twenty-Seven Shot"

Manchester Guardian, October 28

IT is the fashion in this country to attribute unlimited atrocities to the Bolsheviks and to assume that all suggestions that there is such a thing as a White Terror both are and must be groundless. As we are officially the friends of the anti-Bolshevik leaders, as almost all our information about their doings comes from them, as very little comes out of Bolshevik Russia, and when it does it is ignored by the bulk of our press or disbelieved, on the mere ground of its source, it would be astonishing if people generally recognized what is the truth—that in a civil war such as rages in Russia there is almost certain to be a White Terror no less than a Red. We do not usually look for evidence as to the intentions of the Whites with regard to their Red opponents in the columns of the *Times*, but one piece of illumination appeared yesterday in a telegram from its special correspondent at Helsing-

fors. He is describing the captures of prisoners in the advance to Petrograd, and adds: "Only 27 of the Red Commissaries taken have been shot." If this means anything it means the Whites are shooting their prisoners and are executing the Bolsheviks' political leaders simply on the ground of their political importance, which is just as much an "atrociousness" as it would be for the Bolsheviks to shoot their own prisoners. We have said before, and it cannot be too often repeated, that a heavy responsibility weighs on us who are seeking to put the anti-Bolshevik leaders in the seat of power in Russia. Civil war is being waged with cruelty on both sides, but we shall have no means whatever of checking the measures of repression which the Whites will almost certainly take to extirpate their enemies, and of which the shooting of the twenty-seven Commissaries on the Petrograd front is a small but illuminating example.

The "Free" Press of Siberia in 1918-1919

By BORIS DIUKEN

We offer to the readers of "Soviet Russia" another article on conditions in Kolchak's Siberia by the Siberian correspondent of the Jewish daily, "The Day." The article appeared in the November 1, issue of that daily. The readers will bear in mind that both the author of this article and the newspaper in which it appeared are strongly anti-Bolshevist.

"A MIRACLE of miracles"—thus K. Aksakoff once characterized the "free word."

Two and half years ago the last miracle occurred in our country: the chains which fettered the free word in Russia were broken.

But our joy was short-lived. The "strong government" appeared and once more forced upon us the same chains, only much stronger, much more stifling than before. They are so stifling that some of the newspapers, the weaker ones, have already gone out of existence; and the remaining ones, the stronger newspapers, are at the end of their resources.

The "satraps" of the "strong government" have received unlimited power over the press: the big satraps in the big cities, and the small satraps in the smaller cities. And they have shown what they can do.

Day after day repressions, fines and arrests, and again repressions, fines and arrests.

They fine on every pretext: for criticising Japan, for writing favorably about democracy, for writing about strikes, about bribery on the railroads, about Kalmykov's "work," about Semionov's activity, about the Black Hundred,—in short, they persecute for every word which displeases them.

And what fines and punishments they impose! The good old days when the fine was only 100, 200, or 500 rubles, are no more. Gone are the days when the arrests were for no longer than three months. Now there are no fines of less than 5,000 rubles, and frequently the fine reaches 10,000 and even 15,000 rubles! And there are no more arrests,—only imprisonment, and for not less than a year!

They fine even for a harmless feuilleton. Thus, for instance, the newspaper *Novaya Sibir* (New Siberia) paid a fine of 5,000 rubles and the editor was sentenced to imprisonment for a year on account of . . . a slice of ham.

It is a very interesting story.

This newspaper published in the issue No. 103 a "short feuilleton" (coseerie) under the title "Ham," in which the behavior of custom-house officials was depicted in a way that very much resembles reality:

"A slice of ham, sent to one of the citizens of our city from Harbin, arrived at the custom-house.

"Examining this piece of meat, the custom-house officials 'in due performance of their duties' cut off for themselves small bits, indeed, very tiny bits, just enough to get the taste of it. One of the officials, who was the first one to get through with his

'very tiny bit,' suggested to the other official that the ham, in his opinion, is not "Russian," because it smells with "manchurka" (Chinese whiskey). The other official, supporting the Russian 'origin' of the ham, replied: Fool! The ham is Russian, and as to the smell,—well, I am to blame for that. . . . The two officials then decided to take the ham to the higher officials, who, as experts, were to decide whether the ham is Russian or Manchurian. When they returned there was nothing but bones left."

And for this harmless feuilleton,—and everybody in the city knew that the story was true—the punishment was 5,000 rubles fine, and a year's imprisonment for the editor.

The newspaper, unable to pay the fine, was forced to suspend, and the unfortunate editor is spending his days in jail.

They punish not only for a feuilleton—which may be interpreted as a satire,—but even for a typographical error. In Blagoviestchensk there is a newspaper *Blagovestchenskaya Russ* which cannot possibly be accused of Bolshevism. An editorial in this newspaper spoke of Kolchak as "the savior of the Russian people." Through a typographical error this was changed into "the savior of the Prussian people." And for this absurd and obvious error the newspaper was fined 5,000 rubles.

In Khabarovsk, as in other Russian cities, there are high school boys who are in love with high school girls. There is nothing extraordinary about this. One of the high school boys wrote a poem which was dedicated to a popular high school girl, and he closed the poem with the words: "O, would that I could give my life for you!" The censor, who, incidentally, is never sober, fined the newspaper which published the poem by 200 rubles, adding to his decision the following remark: "When the Fatherland is in need of soldiers to fight the Bolsheviki it is a crime to sacrifice one's life for a girl!!!"

In Omsk, in the capital of the "strong government," the newspaper *Zaria* was fined four times for refusing to remove the word "democratic" from its sub-heading. The first time it was fined 2,000 rubles. The newspaper paid the fine and continued to appear with the statement that it is a "democratic" newspaper. The "strong government" fined the newspaper a second time,—this time the fine was raised to 5,000 rubles. But the *Zaria* was prosperous, and stubborn: it paid the fine and again appeared with the word "democratic." A third fine followed, of 10,000 rubles. Again the fine was

paid, and again the newspaper refused to submit. And for the fourth time the Government imposed a fine, this time of 15,000 rubles. . . . This was too much even for a prosperous newspaper, and it was forced to suspend.

Of course, had this happened somewhere else, in the dominion of Semionoff or Volkoff, of Annenkoff or Kalmykoff, the editor would not have been so stubborn or he would have paid dearly. Omsk is a little better, particularly when it is expected that the Allies should recognize Kolchak's government . . . as the truly democratic government of Russia, indeed, as the most democratic government Russia ever had.

The newspaper *Nashi Dni* was fined and closed for reporting a theft which occurred in a military warehouse, in spite of the fact that the facts about the theft were given to the reporter by the police.

Newspapers are fined not only for what might be called original matter but also for reprints from other newspapers which did not incur the displeasure of the respective censor, and even for publishing despatches of the "Russian Telegraph Agency."* It would seem that nothing could be less "seditious," and yet there are censors who fine even for this.

Thus, the newspaper *Trud* was fined 5,000 rubles for publishing a despatch of the above mentioned agency reporting the evacuation of Cheliabinsk by Kolchak's army. And when the editor of this newspaper came to the censor to protest against this fine for publishing an official despatch the censor for want of better argument, beat up the editor and threw him out of the office.

The provincial newspaper *Barnaulski Krai* was fined three times, 6,000 rubles in all, for refusing to accept an announcement from a private individual about a memorial to Nicholas Romanoff which was arranged by the black forces. Three times the announcement was brought to the newspaper, and three times the newspaper refused to publish it. The refusal was a matter of principle, because the announcement was first sent by the "commandant" Stantzia, an ensign, who simultaneously sent an official "order" that it be published in the newspaper; to which the editor replied that the "order" of the "commandant" is not obligatory and that such an announcement had to be paid for, because the newspaper was a private undertaking. Having no power to fine the newspaper himself, the ensign appealed to the "proper authorities," and the newspaper was fined as mentioned above. . . .

I could mention thousands of such incidents, but I believe that the facts quoted above are sufficient to enable one to form an opinion about the fate of the "free" press in Siberia.

*Kolchak's official news agency.

Economic Conditions in South-eastern Russia

The *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie* (Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, in its issue of October 5th, has an exhaustive article on the economic conditions of Southeastern Russia and the Northern Caucasus, that is, those sections which are at present under the rule of General Denikin.

We reproduce from that article the results of a statistical investigation of the changes in the cost of living from June, 1914, the time next preceding the war, and the month of January of the present year. In the following table the prices in June, 1914, are taken as 100:

	Prices in January, 1919
Foodstuffs	
Flour products -----	1325
Meat products -----	1432
Cereals -----	1875
Oil (vegetable) -----	1920
Dairy products -----	2864
Sugar -----	4444
Eggs -----	5217
Salt -----	5333
Potatoes -----	6285
Cabbage -----	14000
Other Necessities	
Soap -----	1354
Petroleum -----	1777
Wood (fuel) -----	4687

The author of the article says that there is an abundance of breadstuffs in Southern Russia. In general, that section has always been the granary of the Russian Empire. Under such conditions the rise in the price of flour to thirteen-fold the price prevailing before the war; the rise of potatoes to sixty-two times the pre-war level; and of cabbage to 140 times the pre-war level, can be accounted for only by the extreme depreciation of the currency. The situation became very acute during the second half of the year 1918, when the prices of bread and lard increased five-fold and the price of sugar forty-fold.

A pair of boots sold last January at 600 rubles, which would have been equivalent, nominally, to \$300. The plainest pair of women's shoes sold at 800 rubles, which would have been equivalent to 400 in gold before the war.

To the unprejudiced mind these figures are clear evidence that the present industrial depression is not peculiar to any one section of the former Russian Empire, nor can it be charged to any particular government which happens to be in control of any given section. Southeastern Russia, and particularly the province of Kuban, has been under the control of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks since the spring of 1918. There has been no blockade of that section. Manufactures have been imported since May, 1918. The utter depreciation of the currency and the fabulous rise of prices are clearly the effect of the war upon the economic condition of Russia.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

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Address:

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110 West 40th Street, Room 304, New York, N. Y.

ACCORDING to information "received through official channels," says a Washington dispatch, "it is not because of the strength of the Bolsheviks but owing to the weakness of the forces opposing them that Petrograd does not fall."

Have it your own way. If the pride of reaction is less offended by a confession of its own weakness, we shall not dispute the distinction. Whether the Soviet Army is stronger than Yudenitch, or Yudenitch weaker than the Soviet Army, does not affect the fate of Petrograd. The result is the same in either case. Petrograd does not fall. Nor are we seriously disturbed by the opinion of "one diplomat" quoted in the same dispatch: "The Bolsheviks are so weak that a very feeble army has been worried to death." The Red Army will survive its present worries. We leave Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch to judge of its feebleness.

The correspondent of the New York *Globe* in Estonia evidently has not had the advantage of receiving his information "through official channels." He reports that the Reds not only outnumbered their enemy, "but also had heavier and more guns and a large force of cavalry." He predicts the end of Yudenitch's army: "The troops will be either exterminated or captured in the final desperate clashes with the victorious Bolsheviks, or be permitted to enter Estonia to be disarmed and possibly interned." To the "diplomat" in Washington the case does not look so bad. "All Yudenitch needs," he says, "is a little help." As ever, the counter-revolutionists are fertile in suggesting sources of help. The Finance Minister

of the Northwestern monarchists tells the Associated Press of a new plan: "Namely, a fresh campaign, with the help of Finnish and Estonian recruits, the Allies to foot the bill." All these plans have this curious similarity—that the Allies are to foot the bill. Repayment, says the imaginative Finance Minister, will be guaranteed with "flaxseed."

The sole purpose of all this fantastic nonsense is once more the desperate hope that some means may be found of interrupting the peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states. "It is too bad," sighs our diplomat, "that the Dorpat conference is being held." Of course it is too bad that anything should be done anywhere that might lead to the end of useless slaughter. But to all the powers of reaction throughout the world the Baltic peace conference is fraught with the terrible significance that it is the first sign of yielding to those resistless economic and social forces everywhere which demand the end of warfare upon the Russian workers.

A FEW significant points in the English Prime Minister's address to the House of Commons last week deserve more attention than they received in general in the published reports in the American press. Mr. Lloyd George assured the House that the Government would not assume responsibility for further financial burdens with respect to Russia. If any were to be incurred, Parliament would have to consider additional taxation for that purpose. This was as much as to say flatly that England would not engage in any more useless and expensive Russian adventures. Until now intervention and support of counter-revolution has been continued on one pretext or another under the sanction of war-time powers and by stretching war-time budgets. But with the English people in their present mood, it would be suicidal for any government to come forward with a deliberate scheme of taxation to cover further enterprises of this kind. With all due allowances for political equivocation and hypocrisy, this is therefore nothing less than an announcement that England is done with intervention and counter-revolution. It is no binding pledge, nor would we place any confidence in it if it were. But it shows the drift of policy.

So much for the war. What of the blockade? "The settlement of the Russian problem was most imperative," said the Prime Minister, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "because Russia was one of the great sources from which came the supply of raw materials, while the present state of Russia was a contributing cause of the high prices." Here is the belated confession that the social and economic factors will determine the Russian question, and in the end will override all the political and dynastic schemes of the counter-revolutionaries in Paris. The cost of building materials and the scarcity of flax in England are

more potent than the pleas of the emigrés. The English worker demands that the war upon Russia shall end, he demands that the blockade shall be lifted; also he demands houses and clothing and food and employment for himself. And he knows, and his government knows, that these demands cannot be separated. The war upon Russia and the blockade of Russia is a blight upon the industry of all Europe. England, as Lloyd George admits, cannot afford to fight Russia. Much less can she afford to blockade Russia. Having raised these most practical considerations, the Premier felt it opportune to take the humanitarian view that the civil war in Russia should be brought to an end as soon as possible and "on terms acceptable to the Russians themselves." "The Government, therefore, had always been ready to take any reasonable opportunity to effect a settlement, . . . etc."

* * *

AN English officer in talkative mood has supplied a respectful newspaper man in Archangel with some illuminating British reflections upon the Russian problem. The Russian peasants, he says, are "simple, patient, reliable, efficient and trusting children, 'black men' with white skins." Passing over the evidence to the contrary as to the "trusting" nature of the Russian peasant with respect to his English visitors, here we have the clue to much of British stupidity and British misdoing in Russia. To this British officer and to his spiritual messmates at home, the Russian is just another "native"—the fond term by which the Britisher the world over designates the interloper in the crown colonies. This "native" of the British imperial imagination is always a trusting, childlike, simple fellow, tremendously fond of his British guardian, though sometimes wayward and naughty in his childlike fashion and needing the kindly chastisement of British rule. For the good of these benighted natives everywhere the Britisher leaves his comfortable island home and goes forth to take up the white man's burden. In this mood the English came to Russia. Before this officer arrived at Archangel he had foolishly thought of the Russian as a white man with a country of his own, not, as he later discovered, a simple black man with a white skin, a potential native for another English colony. "I never realized this until I came here," he says. "It is the white skin which puts us wrong every time. If they only had a black or a yellow skin we would know how to deal with them." One can readily see that the ancient problem of "the bear who walked like a man" was as nothing compared with this deeper perplexity of the black man with a white skin. It was unfair to put such a burden as this upon any "ruling class" Englishman.

Lord Hugh Cecil has grasped the difficulty. "I think," he said to the correspondent of the *New York Sun*, "that some persons are in danger of making a profound mistake about Russia." How

delightfully pointed sometimes is the English habit of understatement! "Some persons," says Lord Hugh, imagine that the Russians "are really a people like the Egyptians, who need the tutelage of some abler state to land them into the paths of civilization. I am sure this is untrue." Therefore it is unwise for England to attempt to lead the Russians. No doubt this conviction is strengthened by a shadow of suspicion that even among the untutored Egyptians the white man has recently stumbled under the weight of his traditional burden. At all events, something has convinced his lordship that the Russians "are conspicuously devoted to their own independence." The Englishman, therefore, would do well to depart from Russia and carry his civilizing influence elsewhere. "The Russians," he concludes, "will make their own government and will follow to the end their own policy, whatever Englishmen or Germans may do." This much must be said for the English statesman: In the end he accepts the inevitable fact.

The Russian Soviet Government Stronger Than Ever

SENSATIONAL STORIES ABOUT ITS RETIRING OFFICIALLY DENIED

On account of a telegram having been recently sent from Washington, via Paris, in which the "official" information is given out that the Soviet Government is willing to abdicate provided its leaders are given free passage to South America, I wish to circulate an absolute denial of this statement. I have very recently received a communication from the government at Moscow in which I am advised that the position of the Soviet Government is stronger than ever, and the situation with the republic of the Russian workers is very good indeed. The Soviet Government has never for a moment considered an abdication or a retirement.

I would be very thankful if this communication would be brought to the knowledge of the public.

Very respectfully,

FREDRICK STRÖM,

Representative of the Russian Soviet Government
Stockholm, Oct. 1, 1919.

The Bolsheviki Now Control Siberia

TROTSKY CONSIDERS THE SITUATION BETTER THAN EVER BEFORE

(Private communication to *Politiken*, Copenhagen,

The representative of the *Times* at the Russian east front telegraphed that the Bolsheviki are rearranging their armies. Almost the whole of Siberia is now under their control. Red troops have taken Tomsk.

Before a Congress of Workers at Moscow Trotsky declared that the future now looks brighter than ever before, and that Russia is free from danger of intervention from outside forces. Denikin has suffered a great defeat and is now surrounded at Kiev.

A Letter to Secretary of State Lansing from the Soviet Representative in America

HON. ROBERT LANSING, November 15, 1919.
 SECRETARY OF STATE,
 Washington, D. C.

Sir:

In behalf of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic I have the honor to call your attention to the following facts:

Many citizens of that Republic residing in the United States are at this time subjected to unwarranted persecution and cruel treatment by Federal and State officers, as well as by violent mobs acting without any authority. The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has accorded American citizens in Soviet Russia civil and considerate treatment even in cases where active hostility on the part of such American citizens toward the government of Soviet Russia has been proven beyond all doubt. Only in some exceptional cases, where offences of a particularly grave nature against the Russian Government had been committed by American citizens, were they prosecuted by officers of the law. American soldiers taken prisoners in the Archangel district, which was invaded by American troops without a declaration of war, have been treated in Soviet Russia with especial consideration, and were unconditionally released as soon as it was practicable to send them home, so that there remain today no American prisoners of war in Russia. Property of American citizens who have complied with the laws of the country has not been interfered with, and wherever any complications have arisen in this respect the Government of Soviet Russia has been, and is, ready to adjust matters so as to safeguard the rights and the interests of American citizens.

This attitude has been maintained by the Soviet Government toward the United States and its citizens, resident and sojourning in Russia, notwithstanding the fact that Soviet Russia, against its will, finds itself in a state of war imposed from without, and in the midst of a revolutionary struggle which naturally makes the conditions in the country abnormally critical. Yet, contrary to the comity of nations, citizens of Soviet Russia in the United States have in effect been denied the protection of the law.

The lot of thousands of Russians in the United States today is exceedingly unhappy, through no fault of their own. Through daily abuse in the press and the prejudice created by a virulent campaign of misrepresentation, their Russian citizenship has become a bar to employment and advancement. They are indiscriminately accused in the most sweeping terms by government officials, of criminal and subversive acts and intents against the Government of the United States, of which they are quite innocent. They have been arrested with-

out warrant and subjected to oppressive treatment against which they have no adequate protection, as citizens of a country whose Government is not recognized by the Government of the United States. Within the past few days great numbers of Russian citizens in the city of New York and elsewhere have been arrested and have suffered the most brutal physical violence at the hands of public officials. Their homes, and the places where they associate, were invaded by public officers and arrests have been made on suspicion of alleged unlawful activities. No effort, however, had been made by the police first to ascertain the probable guilt of the Russian citizens who were to be arrested. So, for instance, in the City of New York alone, according to press reports, over one thousand persons were recently arrested, among them many citizens of Soviet Russia, and although these arrests were made in a manner which caused much suffering and physical injury to these Russian citizens, and although property belonging to them was wantonly destroyed during those raids, it developed that very few of them could be held for further investigation and criminal prosecution.

In behalf of the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic I deem it my duty to protest against such acts.

A number of affidavits bearing evidence to the fact that the lives and liberties of Russian citizens have been threatened without reasonable ground will be submitted to the State Department in a few days.

According to reports in the daily press, a number of citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic are being held in custody by United States immigration officers, and it is proposed to deport them to parts of Russia which are under control of enemies of the Soviet Republic. Having no means to ascertain the truth of such reports, I still deem it my duty to call your attention to the fact that such deportation would mean certain death to those Russian citizens and would constitute a most flagrant breach of all principles of international law.

Moreover it is quite unnecessary for the Government of the United States to take the trouble of deporting citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. My office has received thousands of applications from Russian citizens who desired to return to their homes. They had been driven by the political, economic, and religious oppression of the Czar's government to seek refuge in the United States which they believed to be a haven for the oppressed of all nations. They had hoped to make their homes here and to become useful members of the community. Now, however, that they are daily insulted in the press or by public officials, too, with intimations that their presence is not wanted in this country, they are only too anxious to leave. But

they are prevented from leaving America by the authorities of the United States, who have made it practically impossible for citizens of the Soviet Republic to receive the requisite papers without which they cannot secure transportation.

I therefore respectfully suggest that the United States Government could be easily relieved of the presence of unwelcome Russian citizens, if these citizens of Russia whose lives are becoming unbearable in the United States were permitted to depart. I desire to assure you, Sir, that the Government I have the honor to represent is ready and

willing to provide means of transportation from the United States to Soviet Russia, for every Russian citizen in this country who desires to return home, or whose presence in this country is undesirable to the Government of the United States.

Trusting that this suggestion will receive your favorable consideration, I am, Sir,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) L. A. MARTENS.

REPRESENTATIVE IN THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FED-
ERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

STATEMENT BY THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
NOVEMBER 15TH

The subpoena served upon Mr. Martens by order of Senator Clayton R. Lusk required him to "produce check books, bank books, books of account, both of yourself and of the Soviet Bureau . . . and also all documents, letters and other papers sent by you and your Bureau to Soviet Russia, as well as copies of letters, documents, and other papers sent by you and your bureau to Soviet Russia, all between January 1, 1919 and this date, also copies and records of all so-called passports and credentials issued by you to the agents of yourself and your Bureau."

In response to this summons Mr. Martens submitted to the Investigating Committee all the check books and accounts of himself and the Bureau. Under the advice of counsel, he took the position that the communications between himself and his Government were not subject to examination and that if any inquiry into his relations with the Soviet Government were warranted by law the State Department of the United States Government would be the sole authority vested with jurisdiction in the matter.

Under the uniform practice of the law of the State of New York, a subpoena *duces tecum* (a subpoena to produce certain papers) does not require appearance in person. Therefore in failing to appear in person, Mr. Martens was following the procedure generally recognized by the New York courts. The following letter from Mr. Martens to Senator Clayton R. Lusk explains fully the attitude which Mr. Martens, under the advice of counsel has taken towards this subpoena:

Sir:

I respectfully decline to comply with that part of the subpoena served by your order upon me which requires me to produce "all documents, letters, and other papers," received by me and my Bureau "from Soviet Russia, as well as copies of letters, documents and other papers" sent by me and my Bureau "to Soviet Russia," also copies and records of all so-called passports and credentials "issued" by me to "the agents" of myself and my Bureau.

1. I take the position that your request for the production of copies of my correspondence with

"Soviet Russia," which is evidently intended to designate the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, which I have the honor to represent in the United States, is clearly in excess of the jurisdiction of your committee and without warrant in law. Under the rules of international law the communications between my government and myself are privileged and not subject to examination by the government of any other nation or state.

2. If any inquiry into my relations and correspondence with Soviet Russia were warranted by law, the State Department of the United States Government would be the sole authority vested with jurisdiction in the matter.

3. Your committee was created for a definite and limited purpose which cannot under any circumstances be held to include matters of an international character.

For the reasons stated I hereby decline to comply with the above quoted portions of your subpoena.

Respectfully,

(Signed)

L. A. MARTENS,

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

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."

SOVIET RUSSIA

110 West 40th Street,
Room 304 New York, N. Y.

Building Up Soviet Russia

ACCORDING to a report of the Moscow central organ for Russian national economy, *Economic Life*, the large manufacturing establishments have instituted special technical bureaus, whose task is the registration of productivity. The first measure of these bureaus has been to introduce again in certain branches of industry the premium wage system by way of experiment. Thus the premium wage system has been introduced in Petrograd in the large automobile factories "Amo," "Russo-Balt," and "Russkireno," where it has led to a considerable increase in production. The same is reported of the Petrograd tobacco and cigarette wrappers factories.

If one considers the economic conditions of Russia, and particularly the plight of the transportation system, the lack of sufficient means of transportation, one may understand the importance of increasing productivity in every way.

THE RISE OF INDUSTRY IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The following reports of the Supreme Council of National Economy in Russia show that the decrees issued are by no means merely on paper. After the recent economic stagnation there is noticeable already a gradual and certain rise of industry.

The workers' administration of the textile factories has begun to function. All these factories had either stopped in the midst of operations or were abandoned by their former owners.

Starch Sugar.—The Supreme Council has made arrangements (for the first time in Russia) for the factory production of starch sugar. In the provinces of Kostroma and Vologda, as well as in the Northern region, there have been equipped, up to June 1st of this year, sixteen factories which are producing starch sugar. The factories have been put into complete order and set into operation.

Paper Industry.—Owing to the stoppage of paper export from Finland, there is felt in Russia a lack of paper. Out of fifty nationalized paper factories ten are at a standstill, due to the lack of fuel. Besides, the paper requirement has grown considerably since the time of the revolution.

Tanneries.—The Kiev tannery produces daily 400 poods of liquid extract, while its maximum productive capacity is 700 poods. The low productivity must be explained by the lack of raw materials and the wearing out of machinery and of various appliances. The Economic Council has put another tan-extract factory into operation at Vasilkov, whose productivity is 500 poods daily.

Sugar industry.—About 120 sugar refineries in the Ukraine have been put into order and have resumed work. The Commissariat for Agriculture has assigned 100,000 dessiatines of land in the part of the Ukraine on the left side of the Dnieper for the cultivation of sugar-beets.

Peat.—The People's Commissariat for Agriculture has examined 100,000 dessiatines of swamp in the steppe region of the Volga, and found that most of it contains peat. The drainage of the swamps, which will yield useful fertile soil as well as heating material, has already been started. Up to May 15, seventeen million rubles have been expended on hydro-technical work.

Repair Shops for Agricultural Implements.—In the entire republic a network of agricultural repair shops numbering 430 (up to June 10 of this year) has been organized. Each shop is equipped with a forge, a machine department, a molding department, a carpenter shop, and a weaving division. The purpose of these shops is to aid the peasants in installing their agricultural and domestic implements.

The metal industry in the Government of Olonez.—In the Government of Olonez, on Wyg Lake, a foundry has been built which produces two million poods of pig iron annually. The factory utilizes the water power of the lake and produces magnetized iron and lake metal. Two of the former munition factories have been converted into railway repair shops. Most of the other factories produce agricultural implements.

Lumber industry of the Government of Penza.—During the war thirty-five out of fifty-six large saw mills were closed down; in the revolutionary period most of them were demolished, only two factories remaining. The Forestry Division of the Eastern Soviet has put thirty-eight factories into working order, and they are going to full capacity. These factories are supplied with raw materials to last several decades.

Waterway between Baltic and White Seas.—The project of a waterway connecting the Baltic with the White Sea has been looked into and found feasible. The project comprises three independent tasks: the construction of locks on the Neva, making a channel for seagoing ships up to Lake Onega, and making Lakes Onega, Segg, and Wyg navigable.

Brick Yards.—In the region of Schlisselburg a solemn opening of the brick yards took place. These yards, which had been abandoned by their owners during the period of the revolution, have been repaired by the workers and put into operation.

Cardboard Factory.—The cardboard factory "Nadezhda" in Petrograd, which had been nationalized by the Government, has begun operating. The factory, which had been inactive up to now, was put into operation by the workers themselves.

Petersburg Automobile Factory.—The united automobile factories have published a review of the productivity of the factories from January to May, 1919. If the constructing of one automobile be taken as a unit of productivity, then the

productivity of each factory will be expressed in the following table:

	Production by units	Per cent ratio	No. of days spent on one production unit	Relative product- ivity
January -----	99	100.	83.0	0.012
February -----	179	180.8	45.5	0.022
March -----	260	262.6	28.5	0.036
April -----	285	287.8	24.5	0.041
May -----	302	305.0	21.5	0.046

According to this table, the productivity of labor has increased thus four times.

Seed Supply.—Up to May 1 about three-fourths of the necessary amount of seeds was prepared. The supplying with seed went on. It proceeded ten times more successfully than last year. First in order are supplied the families of the soldiers of the Red Army, the peasants, and the workmen.

Natural Resources of the Tikhvin Region.—The investigation of the Tikhvin region, which had been undertaken by the District Council of National Economy, has demonstrated that three out of sixteen rivers (the Rogozha, the Konshba, the Volshba) supply an energy of 10,000 horse power. These water falls are in places rich in mineral ores. The examination of the ores has proved the existence of simple and aluminum lime earths, dyes of the best quality, quartz, and various minerals; furthermore, peat soid is found there. Exploitation has been begun.

Canal Construction.—At the end of May the preliminary works for the building of the Onega-White Sea road have been finished and work begun on the construction proper. This road shall serve mainly for the lumber export into the Baltic Sea, and, besides, for the establishing of communication between the White Sea and the Volga Basin. The direction of the water way had been already decided upon in accordance with its tasks.

The Productivity of Labor.—There has been noticeable lately a considerable rise in the productivity of labor everywhere. In the Northern region, despite the unfavorable food conditions, the productivity (compared with that of the pre-war time) has risen considerably. In the accumulator works, "Vidor," it rose from 100 to 125, in the Ossipov Leather Works, from 100 to 128; in the Skorehorod Shoe Factory from 100 to 112.

THE PROLETARIAN CULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

In the Government of Voronezh, in the District of Zadonsk, cultural work is progressing very well. Everywhere theatre performances, moving pictures, and meetings take place. In the country communities community councils for popular education and school boards have been formed. In the District there are forty-one circles pursuing cultural aims and forty-eight well-attended schools for adults; people's houses, libraries, and moving picture theatres already organized or in process of formation.

In the District of Zarevo-Koikshaik (Government of Kazan) a District people's house has been opened in the home of a refugee merchant. The Soviet library numbers 10,000 volumes. There are fifteen rayon people's houses. There are especially many people's houses among the Mussulman population. There are several cinemas. At the instigation of the teachers, theatre performances are arranged. Stages are constructed in the schools. A translation section has been formed to translate the productions of Russian and other literatures into the Maori tongue. People's choruses and peoples' orchestras have been organized. On May 2 began various courses of instruction for adults.

In the city of Penza there are three libraries: the General Central Library, with 50,000 volumes and 1,200 members; the Central Academy Library, with 1,000 valuable books, and the Library of the Proletarian University. Besides the Central Libraries, there are two rayon libraries, one Jewish and Tartar. In the Government there are thirty community and forty-eight village libraries. Each community library comprises on the average 1,200, each village library about 700 volumes.

In the Government of Olonetz, in the District of Konakshansk, there is a cultural and literary circle of the local intellectuals, in which the peasants participate. A tea house and a reading room have been opened. In the village of Pavliuki the peasants have formed a dramatic circle, opened a reading hut, and bought a moving picture machine, which they use regularly.

At the end of May the preliminary works for the construction of the Onega-White Sea Canal and the land works themselves were begun. This canal is to serve mainly for the transportation of lumber to the Baltic Sea and to establish connections between the White Sea and the Volga Basin. The direction of the canal has been fitted to its use.

The "Educational Palace" for Red Guardists.—In Moscow there is an "Educational Palace" for Red Guardists. In it there are schools for general education, in three divisions, technical and agricultural schools, and a special school for the training of bookkeepers, etc. For Red Guardists who have some preparation lectures are given which aim to prepare them for entrance to the peoples' universities. Libraries and a pedagogical museum have been opened. Besides this, a model theatre troupe has been organized, and dramatic and other artistic studies established.

Workers' Universities in Moscow.—In Moscow, in the Karl Liebknecht-People's House and in the Alexeiev-People's House, workers' universities have been founded. The first courses were on the subjects: "The labor movement and its reflection in literature and art," "The triumphant petty-bourgeois (epoch of Alexander III)."

The Proletarian Club in the Village.—In the village of Chory-Kassach, in the Government of

Kazan at the instigation of the local peasants group of the Communist Party, a Proletarian Club was formed. The opening was attended by the whole village, the school children, and the Soviet representatives. On the day of the opening a meeting was held in the Chuvash language, including a performance and a musical program.

Dramatization of Belletristic Works.—The theatre division of the Commissariat for public education has begun to adapt for the stage belletristic works dealing with phases of the social struggle. For this purpose the Division established a free competition. The following novels in dramatized form have been included in the summer repertoire of the Moscow Theatre: "The Outlaws" and "1793" by Victor Hugo; "Till Eulenspiegel" by deCoster; "Tale of Two Cities," by Dickens; "For the Right" by Francois; "Two Thieves" by Noi-ory; "The Gadfly" by Voinich, and others.

ORGANIZATION OF CHILDREN'S COLONIES IN RUSSIA

Soviet Russia is particularly concerned for the welfare of the younger generation. In this field it has attained results which thus far no state in the world has been able to show. After seeing to the better nourishment of the children at public expense, after having done all in its power to advance the mental and physical development of the children, the state is now caring for their recreation and play.

All city children are taken to "Children's Colonies in the summer time in healthful, well-provisioned districts of the country. These children's colonies are in the form of children's homes, giving the children an opportunity to spend their time in closest communion with nature. The main purpose of the colonies is to develop independence in the child; the chief task to give the child close contact with nature, awaken in him the spirit of initiative and the desire to create, accustom it to systematic work, and by means of collective labor to develop its physical and spiritual powers. All the city children are divided into groups of thirty-five to forty, subjected to medical examination, in order to avert danger of contagious disease, and then sent to their appointed destinations under the guidance of directors (one to ten or fifteen children) in trains specially provided for the purpose.

The places chosen for these children's colonies are the best of the former manorial estates which are equipped with dairies and provisions and have vegetable and flower gardens. To these estates which have been fitted to receive them, the young colonists bring playthings, libraries, dishes, domestic and agricultural equipment, medicine chests, clothing, etc. The life in the colonies above all accustoms the children to work. They work, each according to his capacity, in the vegetable and flower gardens, keep their own rooms in order, brush their clothing, etc. The directors work with them. Instruction in the various studies according to schedule does not exist. There is, however, in-

struction and class work in drawing, modeling, and needle work. Most of the time is spent in the open. Outdoor games are conducted and short outings taken. Meals are taken five times a day—at 9 A. M., tea, followed later by breakfast, then luncheon, afternoon tea, and supper at 7 P. M.

All the expenses for the establishment and upkeep of the colonies are borne by the state. Besides the People's Commissariat for Education, which has undertaken the immediate management of the colonies, another department concerned with their establishment and the transportation of children is the War Commissariat for Social Welfare. Not only school children but also those who have not yet begun school are taken care of in the colonies, all the uncared-for, the former street children, who have now been placed under the supervision of the Commissariat for Social Welfare. The first to be sent are the young generation of the proletariat.

Getting Out of Siberia?

SOMEWHAT startling is the report sent by the Associated Press correspondent at Omsk that Col. George H. Emerson, of the American railway mission, has ordered the withdrawal from Siberia of the American railway corps, the withdrawal to coincide with the departure of the Czecho-Slovak forces which are returning to their own country. It is explained at Washington that this is merely a retreat before the advance of the soviet armies, which are again nearing Omsk. Yet if the reconstruction of the railways has become hopeless a general withdrawal from Siberia would appear to be the logical sequel, since protection of the railway workers was the principal reason assigned for the retention in Siberia of American troops.

What the situation in Siberia will be if the railway corps leaves and if the United States military forces should follow is much too difficult a question to discuss till an official statement has been made. The present outlook, however, is extremely gloomy for the all-Russian government at Omsk, whose armies have just sustained new defeats in the field which have brought them back to the low-water mark, while the credit of the government has been hit a hard blow by the recent action of Great Britain in withdrawing support. It can look for aid only to the United States and Japan, and the services of Japan would cost Russia dear, while Kolchak's associates have been doing their best to make impossible the co-operation of the United States. Last August Ambassador Morris reported that it was doubtful whether the Kolchak government could survive the next 30 days: it has passed that limit, but there is nothing to show that it has gained in strength. It is wholly unable to keep order in Siberia or even to control its own agents, and it may well be that the departure of the Czechs will make it hopeless for the railway mission to continue its work in a vast area infested with guerrillas.

—*The Springfield Republican*, November 5.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

SOVIET WIRELESS OF AUGUST 10, 1919

DECLARATION OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ECONOMY, MILYUTIN

THE attempts by the Allies to isolate Soviet Russia economically are causing in the first place tremendous injury to those countries themselves, still dominated by imperialism. The raw materials found in Soviet Russia, such as flax, hemp, wood, platinum, etc., are being accumulated and cannot be used as much as they should be. On the other hand, Soviet Russia might be one of the largest and most active consumers in the world market, and importation into its territory would have a powerful and favorable influence on the development of world industry. The Supreme Council of National Economy has calculated the total needs of Soviet Russia which might be satisfied by imports, and has arrived at the following conclusions:

The most important demands are in the field of agricultural implements. The Soviet power considers it to be one of the most important tasks to furnish machines and agricultural implements to farmers. Now that the peasant class has so largely increased its agricultural holdings, it is putting forth great demands for agricultural machinery. In addition, the Soviet power has organized on the former estates of the large landed proprietors numerous Soviet estates, exploited by the most perfected methods and requiring comparatively complex machinery. The Soviet estates cover an area of fifteen hundred thousand hectares. Although the industry of Soviet Russia is endeavoring to increase its production of machines and agricultural implements, its internal production cannot, as our figures for this year show, cover more than from twenty to twenty-five per cent of the demand. Finally, the Supreme Council of National Economy has at present concentrated in its

hands three thousand nationalized enterprises chosen from among those that are most important, and representing, from the point of view of production, ninety per cent of all industry. These enterprises have been organized in great national combines, as, for example, that of the machine shops and metallurgical shops, that of the electro-technical stations, of the mines, a number of textile trusts, each including from five to ten concerns, etc.

The nationalized industry has in its possession a sufficient quantity of raw materials, except cotton. But our demands are far from being satisfied in the matter of machines and parts of machines and accessory materials. The figure proposed by the Sections of the Supreme Council of National Economy for importation from foreign countries amounts to twenty-five milliards of rubles. We also feel a great lack of medicaments and chemical products and substances of all kinds, as well as automobile motors, etc., all of which needs could be covered by importation. Thus Soviet Russia, with its organized and centralized economy, presents an immense market for international exchanges. The imperialistic policy is pursuing its destructive work in preventing the economic development and industrial activities of the peoples. On the contrary, the economic policy of the Soviet power consists in creating a real collaboration of all peoples in the domain of their economic relations. For such collaboration it summons the workers of the whole world.

(Signed)

V. MILYUTIN,

Vice-President of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

SOVIET WIRELESS OF AUGUST 11, 1919

THE SOVIET POWER AND THE MUSULMAN WORLD

The new director of the Soviet policy in the Musulman Orient, Narimanov, is a native of the Tifl's Tartar population. He was born at Tiflis, of a poor family of the petty bourgeois, carried on his primary studies in a practice school attached to a normal school. After graduating from the normal school, he became a country school teacher. A year later, on the recommendation of his former teachers, he was appointed a professor of the Gymnasium of Baku, in which position he remained for twelve years. He then entered the faculty of medicine at Novo-Rosysk, which he left in 1908, returning then to Baku. Narimanov is simultaneously a literary man, a journalist, and a man of Public affairs. His reputation as a writer is wide-spread in the Caucasus, Persia, Turkey, and India. His literary career began even in his school

years. It was then that he wrote the first act of his drama entitled "Ignorance." His historical drama, "Nadir Shah," had a great influence on the political life of Persia. This work, written twenty years ago, remained unpublished until 1909. In his novel "Begadir and Soni," he defends the idea of the separation of church and state. In his short story "The Sanctuary," he arrives logically at the idea that humanity must change its social system. In these three works he expresses, as far as the censorship permitted such an expression at that time, a systematic thesis embodying a complete reform of human life, and social revolution. Under the pseudonym of "Ner," he has for twenty years been writing in the Tartar newspapers and reviews as well as in those of Azerbaidjan. He was for a time the principal correspondent in the Caucasus of the Calcutta Journal *Abdul Matin*, which is the

most widely circulated of all. As a political man he is known not only in the Caucasus, but also in Astrakhan, where he spent five years of exile. Narimanov is a revolutionist. His theoretical work in this field may be traced through all of his literary productions. His work begins with the creation of the social-democratic organization which was called Goummet. He was the first to train and dispatch agitators to Persia. The first Persian revolution may properly be called the product of the work of this organization. In 1906, at the first Congress of Teachers at Baku, he violently attacked the then all-powerful millionaire Tagiev, and for that was put in quarantine by the bourgeoisie and a part of the intellectuals. After his arrival at Tiflis, a month later, he was locked up as the result of a search, in the Metekh. At his house documents concerning the revolution had been found. After seven months of captivity he was deported to Astrakhan, where for five years he devoted himself to an intensive labor of political agitation. At the end of this period his return to the Caucasus was permitted. He went to Baku and in spite of his former affair with Tagiev he became popular as

a physician and devoted himself with zeal to literature. A few months before the revolution he began to deliver scientific lectures on labor questions. The police prohibited his lectures. At the beginning of the revolution he was elected president of the organizing committee of the Goummet. From the very first day of the November revolution he completely gave up his practice of medicine and devoted himself exclusively to political work and to the publication of the Party newspaper. Being People's Commissaire for Municipal Economy he was invited to go to other cities of Trans-Caucasia to deliver political lectures. These unusual exertions injured his health and he was obliged to go to Astrakhan, where, after being treated for a month in the mud-baths, he resumed his political activity and was soon moving about again. At Astrakhan he was director of public instruction. Before being summoned to Moscow he was delegated by the Communist Party to the regional Kirghiz Congress. His lecture of two hours, delivered in the Kirghiz Tartar language, had a great influence. All the resolutions proposed by the Communists were passed.

British Imperialism and Intervention in Russia

The following analysis of the Russian policy of Great Britain is taken from the *Springfield Republican*, November 9th:

It is impossible to appreciate the complexity of the Russian problem without allowing for the fact that Russia and England have never been good friends, and that if the Allies had won the war by a military victory on all fronts, no revolution intervening, the rivalry of the Russian and British empires would in all probability have become not less menacing than the rivalry of Germany and England became after 1900. The Russian alliance was never popular in England; it was opposed strongly by most liberals, and it was supported mainly by imperialists who shared Kipling's view of "The bear that walks like a man" but who considered the triple entente necessary as an answer to the triple alliance: their friendly disposition toward Russian plans in Asia would not long have survived after the elimination of the German menace.

Anglo-Russian Rivalry

To call England and Russia natural enemies, as some have done, is extreme and reprehensible, but it is the simple fact that the chief rival of the British empire since the fall of Napoleon, has been the Russian empire, and that as the world has shrunk, their rivalry along thousands of miles of frontier has been intensified. This fact has an obvious bearing on the Russian problem, because, however sympathetic the British government may be toward Russia in its misfortunes, those who have to look out for British imperial interests do not specially desire to have the frontiers of the

empire again subjected to pressure from outside. The alliance with Russia was sealed by a partition of Persia; this Great Britain now annuls to establish what, despite disclaimers, is taken to be essentially a British protectorate over all Persia. In Central Asia likewise the collapse of the Russian empire has given the British empire room to expand prodigiously.

British imperialists, therefore, would have no reason to be dissatisfied with the status quo if it were not for the menace of the spread of Bolshevism among the subject nations of Asia. So far as boundary questions are concerned, they could deal more satisfactorily with the Soviets than with the Russian imperialists, who are reluctant to sacrifice either the territory or the pretensions of the Czar's empire. The Soviet Government, on the contrary, has declared for self-determination, and now appears definitely to have promised freedom to the Caucasus, the Ukraine, and the Baltic provinces, as well as to Poland and Finland.

This would make very easy the way to a settlement, were it not for the danger to the British empire, which would be involved in so conspicuous an example of the self-determination of nationalities. India, Egypt and other parts of the empire are already in a ferment, and while they may escape the more obnoxious phases of Bolshevism which spring from the peculiar features of Russian history and Russian life, they are extremely sensitive to the revolutionary anti-imperialism which governs the foreign policy of the Soviets.

To this may be ascribed much of the special hostility of British imperialists toward Soviet Russia; they have toward it much the feeling which Bismarck expressed in regard to Switzerland, a "nest of republicans" which he was eager to destroy. It remains to be seen how much this feeling may be assuaged by the consent of the Lenine government to abstain from official propaganda abroad, but of late a considerable division of opinion among British imperialists may be noted; Russian imperialism is as stiff and unchastened as ever, and its aims conflict at many points with British interests.

On the other hand, while Bolshevism is a subtler and deadlier menace to a small nation wielding an enormous empire, it is now being questioned whether its influence can be destroyed by the overthrow of the Soviets. The doctrine of self-determination has by this time spread so widely that it perhaps no longer depends on instigation from Moscow, while the continuance of a tedious and ineffective war tends to make unrest chronic. It is quite possible, therefore, that on strictly practical grounds Great Britain may find it expedient to protect its imperial interests by promoting peace. It has been loyal to its Russian allies, but it cannot be expected to labor indefinitely to restore a Russian empire which for a century has been to Great Britain a cause for anxiety.

The Blockade of the French Revolution

Nor is there so obvious a motive for continuing indefinitely the blockade as cynics have found in the case of the blockade of the French Revolution.

One of these has put it: "Trembling with indignation at the murder of the French sovereigns, and at the introduction of the religion of reason; deeply incensed by the proclamation of the republic, and fearing the liberties of Europe, England flung herself—on the trade and industry of France. The latter was to be isolated from the rest of the world. The British Government declared that it was necessary to starve the French nation by preventing the importation of corn. The real purpose of the English blockade was the destruction of the entire industry of the continent."

Without taking so cynical a view of the England of Pitt, we may conclude that the England of Lloyd George has more to lose than to gain by the protraction of the blockade. Certain commercial interests may see their chance in working through the various counter-revolutionary governments, in some of which big business has a hand. Thus the *Review*, a conservative weekly which supports Kolchak warmly and has the advice of experts in Russian affairs, is extremely critical of the Baltic group, which is the special creation of British interests: "The supporters of Yudenich include many powerful financial and industrial leaders, who in the nature of things are less unselfish (than Kolchak) in their patriotism and think chiefly of regaining their property."

Broadly speaking, however, the interest of Great Britain, as of Europe in general, lies on the side of the restoration of trade, and this consideration is likely to overbalance special interests. For the present it can only be said that a strong conflict of opinion is going on, with the issue in doubt.

The Kolchak-Denikin Adventure

"Izvestiya," PETROGRAD, JULY 31, 1919

INTERESTING news is received now from Novorossiysk which sheds light on the "history" of the agreement between the sinister "Supreme Ruler of All Russia" and the hangman-Denikin. The reconciliation between these two champions of the native counter-revolution was preceded by following circumstances.

The strengthening of the right wing in the Yekaterinodar Government with Krivoshein and Lukomski as its leaders has compelled the "left" group of the extraordinary council headed by M. V. Vernadsky and N. I. Astrov to have recourse to the aid of the Entente in order to prevent the Krivoshein group from capturing the power for good. Astrov succeeded in gaining for his side General Dragomirov and the former Governor General of Irkutsk, Piltz, who enjoys an exceptional influence in French military and political circles. Thanks to the intervention of Piltz, who is to play an exceptional role in the future unified Kolchak-Denikin "government," the representatives of the Entente have indicated to the representative of Denikin in Paris that if Denikin desired to secure

for himself a real assistance from the Allies he would have to submit to Kolchak and to recognize his program. The French diplomats laid particular stress upon the circumstance that the Kolchak government is, as it were, of a more democratic composition.

Simultaneously with that, Vernadsky and Astrov have presented a memorandum to Denikin. The latter was hesitating long before to take a definite decision. General Lukomski, supported by the monarchists, began to conduct a campaign against the Allies. Lukomski twice made a report before a meeting of a monarchist circle in Yekaterinodar. Lukomski was supported by Rodzianko. Both of them pointed out that it was of no use to rely upon the Entente because there, too, a ferment was growing among the workers, and that Wilson was absolutely against intervention in the affairs of Russia. Lukomski was building all his plans on a counter-revolution in Germany which, according to his opinion, will take place soon and will restore the throne to Wilhelm. This campaign of Lukomski has found its reflection in a number of letters from

Denikin to Kolchak, in which the former pointed out that it was not of much avail to put one's trust in the Allies, that at the decisive moment the Allies would refuse to intervene. Boris Savinkov acted as a go-between. He had written a letter from Paris to Denikin. Savinkov argued that the conflicts created by the monarchists were only grist to the mill of Soviet Russia, and that the Allies viewed these conflicts as a sign of weakness of the Whites. The same opinion was expressed by Maklakov. Particularly effective for the reconciliation of Denikin with Kolchak was the influence of Milyukov, who had sent a lengthy letter to Denikin through the medium of Gurko. Milyukov offered the information that Clemenceau has made the following remark to one of his French friends with regard to Denikin: "General Denikin may know how to hate the Bolsheviks, but he converses badly with the Allies." Lukomski has not succeeded in winning over Denikin to his point of view, and the compact with Kolchak has been concluded. In consequence of this pact, which, by-the-way, is kept secret (the newspapers are forbidden to discuss it up to the time when a union between Kolchak and Denikin should be effected), the government of Yekaterinodar is to remain; but after the union takes place, the extraordinary council will be abolished and the Kolchak cabinet reorganized.

AN INTERESTING SECRET LETTER FROM DENIKIN TO KOLCHAK

DENIKIN DISSATISFIED WITH THE FRENCH
(From *Social-Demokraten*, Christiania,
September 25, 1919.)

THE Russian Soviet Telegraph Bureau has received from Moscow a copy of an extremely interesting secret letter sent by Denikin to Kolchak in April of this year. We reproduce herewith a translation of this document in full:

*To the Supreme Commander of the Army Forces in Siberian Russia. No. 149.
Much Honored Alexander Vassilyevich:*

Just now the officers sent out from your staff (Lt. Col. Egorov, etc.) have arrived. Conditions have been now at least somewhat cleared up, even though they are already a matter of the past.

In my previous letter, which you have doubtless already received, I expressed my opinion as to the necessity of creating a uniform power in the Eastern and Southern regions (i. e., in the "realms" of Kolchak and Denikin). I find this thought expressed also in your last letter. I am very glad of this. With God's aid we shall join forces in Saratov and there settle this question to the advantage of our country.

The circumstances concerning which General Grishin-Almazov will report to you, will show the necessity of depending entirely upon our own Russian forces. . . . The Allies are about to perform for us their well-known miracles from Russian Life. (*In other documents the relations*

between the "White" Russian generals and the Allies in Southern Russia are illustrated in more detail. We shall come back to this subject.—Note by Russian Soviet Telegraph Agency.)

The role of the "Political Conference" in Paris (*the Conference of Russian counter-revolutionaries so often spoken of in the press*) and its policies, are not clear to me. Official relationships are maintained exclusively with Sazonov who is considered as a representative of the Supreme Commander of the army forces in Southern Russia, together with Maklakov and Hirs. There would be no objection to Lvov's and Chaikovsky's taking part in the Conference.

The French Command in Southern Russia defended its false step by recognizing the "Russian Government" in Paris. I do not recognize this government at all and consider it to be without rhyme or reason. I believe that the French have not understood the role to be played by the "Conference."

For the present we are getting rather extensive assistance from the English, and simultaneously meeting with considerable assistance from the French; but all this is of far less importance than the union of our forces, which I am awaiting with great impatience. With all my heart I wish you success and progress in your enterprise.

Yours faithfully,

DENIKIN.

OUR FRIENDS THE RUSSIAN MONARCHISTS

WE are in possession of a secret report of an English agent regarding the plots of the Russian monarchists in France.

According to this document these plots have for their end the re-establishment of a monarchy in Petersburg, Vienna and Berlin and a close alliance of the three emperors bound by a promise to unite their forces in order to regain their lost territories.

It has been also the opinion of Bismarck that monarchy, absolutism and militarism were a kind identical in the three countries enriched by the spoliation of Poland. Was not he also the man who had a hand in preventing the Russians from carrying out their program of reforms.

This attitude, which was natural to him, is not so easy to explain when pursued by the French Government, whose police cannot ignore the following facts:

Recently Denikin has sent to Shcherbachev—chief of the Russian army in France—a lieutenant Solovkov who was charged with making, together with another of his agents, named Golovkov, an active propaganda in Russian circles in favor of an alliance between Russia and Germany and Austria and of a restoration of monarchy in these three countries.

They met in Paris Pogouliolev, an admirer of Myasoyedov.

According to them the salvation of Russia depended upon the success of their project to con-

duct the Germans to Petrograd and to sign with them a separate peace and an offensive and defensive alliance.

The attempt which failed in 1915 may succeed now, thanks to the co-operation of the German counter-revolutionary army.

Solovkov asserts that Denikin and all his officers have in mind to unite with Germany and Austria, with a view of crushing the Bolsheviks and re-establishing the three dynasties later.

Le Populaire.

English and Finnish Piracy Against the Steamer Eskilstuna III

HELSINGFORS, Wednesday.—The Finnish News Agency reports:

In the matter of the Steamer Eskilstuna III, recently captured on its journey to Björkö and run aground, it is reported that the steamer is still stranded. A portion of the bottom has been knocked out. The vessel is insured in a Swedish company for 550,000 pounds but with the reservation that it was not to take from Petrograd any Bolsheviks or any objectionable merchandise. But in the investigation there was found in the bunkers a mysterious figure, presumably a Bolshevik, for which reason it is probable that the insurance will not be paid. There is also a Finn on board who states that he is the head of the Finnish Red Cross at Petrograd and says that he is on his way to Finland to approach the government on important matters. He maintains that on the journey he was robbed of several hundred thousand (Finnish) marks which he had on his person. The investigation is still going on under English supervision.

(According to all information coming from this quarter, the above details must be taken with a grain of salt. The spirit behind it is altogether too clear. Editor's Note.)

The owners and agents of the vessel have furthermore issued the following details concerning the object of the vessel's journey to Soviet Russia: "The reason for the Steamer Eskilstuna III's earlier trip to Petrograd was that there was among Swedish industrial circles and merchants a general wish to resume commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The attempt proceeded very favorably to the extent that some exchange of goods was realized with Soviet Russia and the vessel took on a full cargo of flax at Petrograd of which raw material, as is well known, there is great need in our country.

The good feeling of Soviet Russia in its intentions to resume commercial relations with Sweden must therefore be considered as fully demonstrated.

When Eskilstuna III was on its way back to Sweden, the vessel as is well known, was captured against all valid international principles of law, by the Finnish authorities and taken to a Finnish port. The vessel was proceeding under a Swedish flag, under Swedish command and with a Swedish crew, and every right-thinking Swede must therefore have

been indignant at the treatment of our fellow-countrymen by the Finnish authorities. Instead of this, the greater part of our press, including also the right Socialist newspapers, seemed delighted to express what had happened in blazing reports, followed by more or less offensive accusations, without touching in a single word upon the unheard of violation of neutrality which had actually been committed and yet such was the condition of affairs that had actually been completely ascertained in official investigations.

In spite of the sad experiences on this journey and not the least in spite of the fabricated objections on the part of the Swedish linen spinning league to the sale of the flax that had been brought as a return cargo by the steamer, it was nevertheless decided to undertake a new trip to Petrograd, since a number of Swedish industries believe that they could advantageously market their products in Soviet Russia. According to communications from the English government there was no blockade of Soviet Russia in operation, and the *head of our foreign department declared on being questioned that there was nothing to prevent this vessel from undertaking the journey to Petrograd*, unless the maritime division of the commercial division should find some objections to be present. On the basis of communications received from the maritime division, the vessel took on its cargo early in August consisting of various Swedish goods destined for Petrograd. The journey thither this time also came off successfully according to telegrams previously received. But on the return journey, according to a telegram to the daily press, and two private telegrams to the undersigned, it was again captured and taken to Björkö, run aground in the process, and the crew removed to Finland, where for the present it is kept under a Finnish-English guard.

The most alarming thing about this capture is probably the violation from the English side of a ship belonging to a neutral state, which is involved in the removal of commander and crew from their vessel.

A short time ago the statement was made in the English Parliament that there was no blockade of Soviet Russia. We are involuntarily led to ask ourselves how an English statesman can issue such assurances as later transpired to be in complete contradiction of the truth.

Has this capture taken place with the connivance of the English Government and are we here dealing with a violation on the part of a commander flying the English flag? The first capture of Eskilstuna III may be explained away as having been a mistake, but a repetition which is now the case, might involve the most serious consequences.

The government can hardly retain the confidence of the people if it does not in the most vigorous manner guard the most rightful interests of Swedish subjects and instead permits more or less voluntary pirates to insult our flag time and time again—so the vessel's agents write to us.

Social-Democratic Parties of Baltic States and Finland Demand Peace with Soviet Russia

THE conference of representatives of the (nationalistic) Social-Democrat parties of the Baltic states and Finland, which was held on September 7 at Riga, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the war between Soviet Russia and Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is only a defensive (!) war forced upon these states by Soviet Russia; and

"Whereas, the world war, the civil war in Finland, and the war of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania against Soviet Russia, have impoverished the population of these states economically and physically; and

"Whereas, the peoples of the Baltic states and especially the working classes are opposed to any intervention in Soviet Russia, because such intervention only helps the imperialistic and nationalistic reaction aiming at the destruction of the communistic dictatorship and the establishment of the dictatorship of military reaction, which is a menace to both internal and external peace; and

"Whereas, with the cognizance and approval of the German Government strong German imperialistic and militaristic bands, in concert with the supporters of Kolchak's Russia, are establishing on the soil of Lithuania and Latvia a reactionary German-Russian alliance, which endangers not only the independence of the Baltic states but also the world's peace; and

"Whereas, the best weapon against this reactionary alliance is not Kolchak's Russia, but a democratic Russia established in the process of internal regeneration;

"The conference of the Social-Democratic Parties of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania requests their Governments to accept the peace offer of Soviet Russia and to do all in their power for the conclusion of peace, which will insure the independence, safety, and peaceful development of these states.

"The conference calls upon the Socialist parties of all nations, and especially upon the working class parties of the Allied countries, to resist with all their power the attempts of the imperialistic forces to hinder the peace negotiations and the conclusion of peace, which may lead to universal peace in Eastern Europe.

"The conference calls upon the Social-Democratic party of Germany to declare itself definitely and clearly against the organization of German-Russian reaction which is being formed in the Baltic states under the protection of the German military forces.

"The conference declares that the proletariat, as well as the whole democracy of the Baltic states does not consider the truly democratic Russia as an enemy. The democracy of the Baltic states wants to live in peace and friendship with the democracy of Russia, and desires close mutual economic relations with democratic Russia."

THE NEXT NUMBER (NO. 26) OF

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

WILL BE OUT NOVEMBER 29

It will contain the following special features:

1. THE SOUTH AND THE EAST. *This is an interesting analysis of some of the features in the Denikin-Kolchak Correspondence of which a part is printed in No. 25.*
2. French Political Machinations in Ukraine.
3. Pharmacy in Soviet Russia.
4. Full Account of the Lawless Seizure of *Eskilstuna III*.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
FOR THE RUSSIAN MARTYRS	1	J'ACCUSE, by Henri Barbusse	18
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	4	SENSATIONAL REVELATIONS AT STOCKHOLM	20
OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS OF THE SOVIET GOVERN- MENT	7	THE BLACK STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA	22
THE DORPAT CONFERENCE	11	MORE DETAILS OF THE CAPTURE OF ESKILSTUNA III	27
THE BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA	11	THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT TOWARD JAPAN	30
DOCUMENTS ON DENIKIN'S ATROCITIES	12	AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE BLOCKADE	31
EDITORIALS	16, 17		

For the Russian Martyrs

I.

The Russian Prisoners in France

OUR first word in our condition of freedom will be in favor of the Russian revolutionists who have been suffering and are suffering martyrdom in the jails of M. Clemenceau's Czarist republic. During the war we were forbidden even to refer to these ignominies, to these follies of the regime and of the men in power. There was never any cessation, during the war, of the hunt for Russians. During the Nicholas-Rasputin regime this hunt was conducted in the interest of the reigning Czar. Since the succession of the Bolsheviks, our nationalist reaction is martyring the men, the women, and even the children of Russia who are living in France, in the interest of the Czar who is to come.

The banking bourgeoisie and its men in power, who have for a quarter of a century been keeping alive the régime of night with a flood of gold, are continuing this same reactionary task by persecuting the Russians who have been so naive as to believe in the hospitality of the country of the rights of man.

Who will ever relate all the material and moral suffering borne in France by the Russian revolutionaries and soldiers since August 4, 1914, that black day forever accursed? Even now, thousands of Russians are dying of hunger in our concentrations camps— and of all the other ferocities of an imbecile and beastly reaction. Just ask Longuet, Guernut, Lafont, or Cachin, who are constantly tormented by countless requests for protection, and who being true friends of Russia have done everything they could. But the truth is that their good

will has been constantly meeting with the blind resistance of the governments and of the reaction, which have been making all our ministers do exactly as they like.

And why this persecution? The Russian revolutionaries were always the most far-seeing friends of the French people: when the Czar had begun to empty the stockings of French savers, with the aid of powerful subsidies to the newspapers, the Russian revolutionists at Paris never ceased to admonish public opinion as to the inevitable consequences of the folly of an alliance with Czarism. For myself, I can say that I have repeated often in public meetings the words: "Say good-bye to the milliards which are going to Russia; you will never see them again!"

When the war broke out, the Russians divided into two camps: some, without being forced to do so, enlisted and gave their lives in what they believed to be a war for the Right. Others, while cherishing a warm sympathy for the French people, pronounced themselves as being in favor, for purely Socialistic reasons, of this illigerent or that, but as against the ignoble massacre of which they foresaw the disastrous consequences for the whole world.

The Russian volunteers, who, for the most part, belonged to the élite of the Russian revolution, and some of whom were party leaders, were handed over to the officers of the Foreign Legion, who are accustomed to having under them elements whose character is well known. There resulted bloody tragedies and a profound disillusionment. However, they continued fighting. Men of all parties including Bolsheviks like Dr. Davidoff, fell in the Cause which they had espoused as the result of the free

action of their conscience. I shall never forget one of my intimate friends, Comrade Selenski, who died with a volume of Descartes in his pocket. He was a young thinker with a heart of gold.

The thousands of soldiers who came from Russia fought like lions. When the Russian revolution broke out, they asked to be allowed to return to their country, which was a natural and reasonable desire. The Russian reactionary officers hesitated, marked time, and finally succeeded in arousing all the Russian soldiers against themselves. Massacres of soldiers followed. This is a painful and tragic page in the history of the war. Thousands of soldiers are still suffering the terrible consequences. We cannot here go into the details. Incriminating documents will some day be published which will throw a glaring light upon the mentality of our "saviours of civilization."

What are we going to do with these unfortunates? The papers announce that it is the intention to send them back to their native country. We tremble at the thought that instead of liberating them and putting an end to the scandal of their martyrdom, they will probably be transformed into instruments of counter-revolution by handing them over to the Denikin and Kolchak bands, which are preparing to make a shambles of revolutionary Russia.

I turn to all men who have any heart. Do not permit a new crime to be added to all the innumerable misdeeds of our ruling classes. Every atrocity committed will rebound upon those who have committed it or stood silently by while it was being perpetrated.

We demand absolute freedom for the Russians imprisoned in France. The Bolshevik Government will certainly not refuse to order reciprocities, if it is true—and I am not informed on this point—that several French citizens have been imprisoned by Soviet Russia.

The war should now definitely be closed. Let not the role of hangman be assigned to us. The murderous blockade is already a sufficient accomplishment to secure to the Allies a rather lasting notoriety in history.

CHARLES RAPPOPORT.

P. S.: I speak also for the Russian soldiers of the Oriental army, whose trials have been particularly serious.

Le Populaire, October 20th.

II.

In the Concentration Camps

WE HAVE received a detailed and circumstantial memorandum of the sufferings inflicted in France in the various camps in which have been concentrated Russian prisoners who were formerly prisoners in Germany. It is useless to take up month by month the picture of their miseries. They repeat themselves with a distressing regularity.

After the armistice, all the Russian prisoners in

Germany hastened, as soon as they could, to enter France.

The name of France was a name that had been taught them as signifying generosity, humanity, and now it came to them as a promise of liberty. Peace, a return to their native country, was what they expected from their Allies when they left the enemy's jails.

Herded like animals, they were distributed under guard of military jailers into camps surrounded by barbed wire fences.

They were forbidden to go out; they were forbidden to communicate with the civil population.

Their lot had therefore not changed. From time to time they were lined up and important officers held an inspection. Interpreters asked them what they wanted.

"To go back to Russia."

"Why not? All right. Nevertheless, as the war is not yet over, our transports are not yet available. You must wait. It is impossible for us to send you back at this moment. Until then you must work." At first, as they hoped to be soon permitted to return to their homes, they submitted with rather good grace to the labors to which they were assigned. But the food was insufficient, the pay ridiculous, the discipline very severe. Nothing had changed since their imprisonment in Germany.

The Russian, while he is passive and timid individually, is capable of an indomitable obstinacy in carrying out a decision that has been taken together with others, after one of those animated deliberations to which he has been accustomed since long before the legal institution of the Soviets.

One fine day the whole camp refused to go to work.

The scanty daily ration is further decreased; the "ring-leaders" are arrested and shot on the spot. This is the reply of the authorities.

The rest are told they will be sent back to Russia. There is a general rejoicing.

Unfortunately they must wait before being sent back until they are in another camp. Separations take place, changes of place; but their lot does not improve.

On their arrival at their new camps, they are told by their new authorities: "If you want to go back to Russia, you must be enlisted in the Kolchak army. We have no ships at our disposal except for the transportation of troops."

Many of these soldiers are simple fellows, who have been prisoners since the early days of the war, and are quite ignorant of the gravity of the political situation in their own country. The name of Kolchak perhaps does not, when first mentioned, mean anything to them. But they hate war. They want to have no more of it. Their *izba*, their families, their fields, their primitively simple lives, considerably ennobled by a dream of evangelical fraternity, that is all they ask.

But fight! Never again! They are obstinate and will refuse even the most seductive offers.

Then they are put at forced labor. Our gold-braided prison guards forget that even Czarism, in order to endure, had to make use of the wise precaution of never imposing on its "subject" serfs, or on its free peasants, the obligation of working more than they wanted to.

And this desire to work is but slightly developed in the Russian.

The following is therefore what happens, inevitably, about once a week, on all the points of French territory where there are Russian "prisoners."

They refuse to enlist; they refuse to work! The mutineers are transported to another camp. After herding them in a space enclosed by a barbed wire fence on which machine-guns are trained, the French officers, who have become merely prison guards, give an order to set out for the day's work.

No one stirs. The machine-guns begin to operate. There are dead and wounded! Those who remain—after a few more have been sentenced to be shot as a good example—are put to the task assigned. For two or three days some of the prisoners will consent to work, and then the whole business starts over again.

How long will this outrage continue? The manner in which the French authorities are treating our Allies, the Russian soldiers who escaped the jails of Germany, is one of the most shameful pages in the history of human iniquity.

ISTINA.

—*Le Populaire*, October 26th.

III.

A Letter to the League for the Rights of Man

WE TURN to you, noble citizens of the French Republic! Our sole hope is in you, guardians of the rights of man. We are going to tell you our trials. Those who have devoted themselves to the great cause of defending the rights of man cannot remain deaf to our cries of distress.

Our rights of man are being trampled under foot!

Exiles against our will, forgotten by the whole world, we are beyond the law. Imprisoned in a camp that is surrounded by ten barbed-wire entanglements, we are suffering intolerable conditions. Torn away from the outside world, deprived of the slightest contact with all that is dear to us, we have not even the right to obtain the Russian paper published at Paris. Medical aid is practically non-existent.

After a brutal search, they took from us even the things that the American soldiers had given us as gifts or that we had bought in Germany. They left us hardly a change of underclothing. Not only do they not give us things that are of the utmost need, but they do not even allow us to buy them with our own money. Very few of us really had any money.

We tried to gain a hearing from the commandant of Verdun, but in vain. The gross scorn and the violent treatment to which we had been subjected by the French military authorities, know no bounds. Innocent Russian citizens are shot for the slightest offense. In the camp at Souhemes, four Russians were wounded by the sentinels because they sat down near the barbed wire fence and were learning their lessons. In the camp at F. there were also men killed and wounded.

All these terrible maltreatments are imposed upon us by persons who occasionally still deign to call us their former friends and Allies.

That is why we dare not keep silent. And we want to believe that in this country, which considers itself free and noble, our cry will find a favorable echo. Among this people, which was the promoter of three great revolutions, there are still men with feeling hearts who will lend an ear to our cries of pain. We hope that our confidence in you is not misplaced.

The League for the Rights of Man sent a Commission to Poland to conduct an investigation on the pogroms against the Jews. We feel the strongest sympathy for this act, and we ask that you conduct a similar investigation of all the horrors and ill-treatments to which the Russian citizens in this country are exposed—right in the heart of France. We cannot describe to you the one-hundredth part of the miseries that we suffer here.

Come to our aid; attempt to influence your Government. Alleviate our sufferings!

Do not let us perish in exile! Permit us to return to see our homes, our fields! Do this so that we may preserve a better memory of France, and that this country may remain in our minds what it formerly was—sublime and free. We have faith in you. Do not disappoint this faith.

There follow the signatures of sixteen representatives of the former Russian prisoners of war.

IV.

For Shame

Here are several lines taken from a letter received from a Russian soldier, forwarded by him from Saint-Ouen, on January 25th:

"On January 20th, there occurred here an incident similar to that of January 9, 1905, at Petrograd. The people demanded something to eat. And they received bullets.

"Result, six dead and nineteen wounded.

"All that I have seen in my youth is nothing as compared to what I am here experiencing under the protection of the Allies. But all this will not daunt me. I shall remain firm as long as I live, with confidence in the justice of my position.

"Tell me, why are we being considered here, in general, not as men, but as beasts, for whom there is no longer any room in the world?"

These short lines tell only too clearly the material and spiritual sufferings of the Russian sol-

diers who still remain in France.

Where are the representatives of the Red Cross?

Where is the League of the Rights of Man? Where is the human conscience?

—*La Vie Ouvriere*, July 9.

The War in Russia

STRATEGICAL AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ON
TURKESTAN

LITTLE has been heard about the military operations of the Soviet armies in the vast war area of Turkestan. Some brief, vague cablegrams have appeared in the American press from London, indicating the considerable success of the Red Armies along the whole Persian frontier. It was also several times reported that by means of a successful demonstration of the Turkestan army in the rear of General Denikin, the latter was obliged to stop his advance to the north.

The Turkestan Red forces on two occasions were able to land troops on the east bank of the Caspian Sea, from Trans-Caspia, and at the same time constantly watched from the left bank of the Volga the movement of the Baron Wrangel army. We have been aware for a long time that the Soviet Government has succeeded in establishing a firm control over all of Turkestan and Trans-Caspia, and the situation in this important part of Soviet Russia has inspired us with no anxiety, in spite of all the English intrigues directed against a certain part of that state. England became rather alarmed since friendly relations were established between Soviet Russia and Afghanistan, that "buffer state" of British creation between Russia and India. The English at once took all measures to isolate all the roads leading from Russia to India. Suddenly, Afghanistan was cut off from India, together with which it has been bound in a common life for centuries. This has certainly irritated the Afghans and consequently given cause for a quick approachment between the latter and Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile the so-called "Fergana front" created by the English and made up partly of the local White Russian detachments and partly of British Indian "volunteers," was dispersed by the Turkestan Red Army, which in a very short period succeeded in cleaning the whole region of the reactionaries and their supporters. Consequently the roads to Eastern China, through Kashgaria, as well as to Afghanistan and Persia, became open to the Soviet Russians. The regular communication between Tashkent and Orenburg by means of the railway was established, and simultaneously the whole Trans-Caspian railway, with its strategical section from Merv to Kushk (the extreme Russian advance-post on the Western frontier of Afghanistan) came under the full control of the Soviets. According to the *Sun* of September 11, all the fortifications along the Persian border were surrendered to the Reds and the capital town of Trans-Caspia, Aska-

bad, was taken. This was several times confirmed later on.

These events were kept in absolute secrecy by the British Press Bureau, and we do not know at all in what way the glorious Turkestan Army has accomplished its difficult strategical problem.

The complete annihilation of the South Siberian Army, with all its consequences, caused an understanding between the Orenburg Cossacks and the Soviet. This was of great importance for the military operations in Turkestan. Communication with Russia was now no longer exposed to any menace by the hostile Cossacks, and the necessity of concentration of special detachments in the Orenburg region on account of the Turkestan forces automatically expired. On the other hand, the Turkestan merchants henceforth became free to send to Russia their goods, and especially the native boots and winter overcoats and caps, which are manufactured in quantity by the native population, and which, in spite of their Asiatic cut, could be easily used by the Russians. The cotton, rice, dried and preserved fruits, silk, coal and other raw materials of various kinds, could be freely transported from the rich Turkestan States to Russia and the Caucasus. The trade with Persia and Afghanistan and Eastern China certainly was established, and as far as we have been informed, the Turkestan market was never so busy as during the last year.

The Sarts, Kirgizes, the Turkomans and Bukharians have done a good business with the Russians. Under the Soviets, they are enjoying the real freedom of a most complete home rule and witnessing the abolishment of bribery and corruption of officials, to which they were accustomed since the annexation of their country by the Czars; they are now happy and are supporting with all their strength the new regime, which is compatible with their customs and traditions. According to *The Christian Science Monitor* (cable, Sept. 5th) "Moscow wireless states that the Turkestan Trade Unions resolved at a meeting in 'Red' Tashkent to fulfill all the tasks which 'Red' Moscow demands from Turkestan."

He who knows the East thus will understand how quickly news, especially when it is of political importance, is spread amongst the native population of Central Asia. Like a wireless message it passes from one bazar to another and so reaches the most remote corners of Asia. Therefore it becomes quite clear that the Afghans, Hindoos and Persians became acquainted in a very short time

with all the changes in the political existence of their Asiatic brethren of Russian Turkestan. We must not neglect to note that neither Afghanistan, nor Persia, nor India is a capitalist state, and they are scarcely anxious to be under a parliamentary regime. The appeal of the Soviet Government to combat capitalists was interpreted by the natives of Asiatic States as an appeal to combat the English, because, as Professor Barakatulla, the envoy of Afghanistan to Moscow, stated in *Izvestia*, the official Soviet paper, "the word *capitalist* for the Hindustanees and for the Afghans is synonymous with the word *foreigner* or to be more exact, *Englishman*."

The annulment by Soviet Russia of all the secret treaties concluded by the imperialistic governments, and the proclaiming of the right of all nations, no matter how small they be, to determine their own destiny, produced a great effect on all the tribes and states of Asia. Especially the Chinese appreciated this, being the victims of many most disgusting depredations on the part of the old Russian regime.

Such a general feeling of the different Asiatic peoples produced an atmosphere very favorable for the strategy of the Soviet General Staff in Asia in general and in Central Asia in particular. The nations, even those which are very remote from socialism, like Bokhara and others, exploited by the foreigners rallied around Soviet Russia and now are not only supporting the Red Army in every way, but are in their turn hastening the revolution in Asia.

This brought it about that, in spite of the solemn promise of the Ameer of Bokhara to support the English, the Reds forced him to renounce his promise, and Bokhara is on the eve of becoming a State of the Russian Soviet Republic. The Afghan mission, in the middle of August, headed by Professor Barakatulla, a Hindoo and a member of the Mohammedan League in Delhi, and of the National Hindoo Congress, a Professor of Philosophy and Literature was received by Lenin in Moscow. Consequently direct relations between Kabul and Soviet Government have been established.—*Christian Science Monitor*, August 19.

Meanwhile, early last May, hostilities broke out between the Afghans and the English. Both countries were in a state of war and the English have suffered considerably. This continued until August, and, according to a cable from London, of August 8, peace has been concluded between Great Britain and Afghanistan. We were very poorly informed about that war, but, as far as we have succeeded in understanding it, the Afghans have barred the way to the British movement into Russian Turkestan. The "buffer state" has accomplished its real role!

This war has supported the Russian Soviet's strategy in Turkestan tremendously. Instead of meeting a considerable, strong British force, the Red Turkestan Army had to deal with the fragments of

beaten White Guards, which had retired to the Persian frontier, and certain Persian detachments, reinforced by the British expeditionary forces previously sent from India and the Caucasus. Naturally, the Reds overpowered their enemy and established friendly relations with Persia. The declaration of Chicherin, at the end of August, that Soviet Russia does not recognize the Anglo-Persian treaty and abandons all Russian claims in Persia dating from the Tzarist period, and recognizing the Caspian Sea as neutral, returning all ports, woods, railways and post-offices to Persia, produced such an effect amongst the Persian population that formerly hated the Russians, that now, in fact, after they have become citizens of Soviet Russia, they consider Soviet Russia as the deliverer of Persia from the foreign yoke. And yet, in spite of her traditional hostility to Persia, England is now showing a remarkable hospitality to the visiting Shah of Persia, the Persia so often humiliated by England.

In the presence of such an unfavorable political atmosphere, the British strategy in Persia and Caucasus became tied up and this alone was enough to cause the abandonment by the English of their aggressive plan toward Russia in Central Asia and Caucasus. Instead of harming Soviet Russia in Asia, the English have received a blow themselves. The peace with Afghanistan was not of long duration. The Ameer Amanullah-Khan, it seems to us, has lost his former despotic power over his awakened nation.

According to the cable from London of Nov. 4 (*Public Ledger*) "England is not yet free from war. The Afghan troops are still in occupation of the important position of Wana, which is in the Mahsud-Waziri country and is a considerable distance from the British side of the north-west frontier of India. One of the first conditions of the armistice that preceded the peace with Afghanistan thus has been violated."

The British were obliged to start a new war and an army of six infantry brigades was moved into Waziristan.

There was no news given out as to what happened afterwards, but in the *Evening Post* of November 19, we noticed a cable from London that 25 British airmen have bombarded three villages just beyond the northwestern frontier of India on November 13, and dropped 5 tons of explosives. "The airmen have continued the operation daily with good results, despite heavy anti-aircraft fire," was said in the dispatch. The "good results" certainly means the killing of women and children, because these villages are far behind the line of defense. On the other hand, the existence in Afghanistan of anti-aircraft guns inspires us with some doubt that they were received from the English . . . and they may have been sent from precisely the opposite direction. Let us hope that soon the Afghans will have in their possession aeroplanes as well.

Nine millions of war-like Afghans with an army of 100,000 perfectly armed men, and based on the

old tradition of independence, and supported by a strong ally of the same political faith, will brilliantly accomplish their destiny as a "buffer" and may also in their turn alter their strategy from defensive to offensive. . . .

The Russian Red Turkestan army was organized on the same principles as was organized the whole Soviet army. In the pre-war time there were two army corps in Turkestan and Trans-Caspia, with two divisions of infantry in each corps. Each division is made up of two brigades of two regiments of four battalions, and in connection with every division is a brigade of artillery equipped with six batteries, four howitzer batteries and special engineering and railway troops, and telegraph and other companies. There were also four Turkestan Rifle Brigades, each of four regiments, and four batteries of artillery.

During the Great War, the original Turkestan army was brought to the Western front and heroically fought the Germans during their first and most terrible attacks on Warsaw.

In Turkestan, for the formation of fresh regiments, reserve battalions were left, which successfully have recruited the native population; it was a first attempt in the use of the Sarts and Kirgizes in the Russian army. Before the war, the Russian Turkestan army was completed with the aid of recruits from Siberia, Poland and Caucasus principally. Since the Revolution broke out, and later, when the army was disbanded by the Bolsheviki, very few of the men of the Turkestan regiments have returned to the original headquarters of their garrisons. All the Turkestan towns, at the outbreak of the second revolution were garrisoned by the volunteer Red militia, which was transformed in time into the regular Soviet army, after a series of mutinies and heavy fighting with the White Guard. At the present moment the Turkestan army is much stronger than it was in the pre-war period, and its strength may be considered as not less than that of three Turkestan armies, with two army corps in each, a total of about 300,000 men, with its headquarters in Tashkent. The organization of the whole military machine in Turkestan is perfect, because the Russian General Staff always paid great attention to the troops in that part of Russia, being in full readiness to meet the hostile attempts of Great Britain.

The splendid native horsemen were never used by the old regime, which was afraid to arm the war-like tribes of Khiva, Turkomania, and Kirgizians. The Sarts and Bukharians, who were less suitable for military service, being purely of trading instinct, were left also untouched, in spite of the fact that by their physical efficiency they could be used as a very good material for an army.

Since the Bolsheviki have entered into power, an army in Turkestan has been formed, mostly from the native recruits, who, attracted by high pay and good treatment, joined the Red forces. On the other

hand, they now look on the Red Russians as on comrades together with whom they might fight for the independence of their own country, which since 1865 was under the yoke of the Imperialistic Russia. We must not forget that the conquest of Turkestan by the Russians, who were much superior in armament to the wild tribes of Central Asia, was a long and difficult task.

The whole army sent to Khiva by Peter the Great, under Prince Bekovitch-Tcherkassky, was annihilated. In 1873 Russia started a series of serious military expeditions into Central Asia. Turkomania was conquered, as well as the Khanate of Kokand. Khiva was turned into a trading center, and the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan were reached; all this was accomplished after a series of the most serious encounters, and in many cases the Russian troops suffered serious defeats. Especially the Turkomans and Kokand horsemen gave trouble to the Russians.

The failure of the first expedition against the Turkomans, when the detachment under Colonel Lomakin perished, being entirely annihilated by the Turkomans, and, in 1879, the heavy losses suffered at Geok-Tepe under General Skobelev, inspired the latter with the plan to use the Turkomans as cavalry in case of a war with Germany and England. The Russian Government did not accept the suggestion of General Skobelev, being afraid that the armed Turkomans and Kirgizes might turn their arms against it, and only during the Great War were special native divisions formed of these splendid horsemen. They were equipped, drilled and sent against the Germans. Now they are one of the best cavalry regiments with the Soviet army in Turkestan. The favorable strategical situation in Central Asia for the Soviets, wisely supported by a very well-adapted policy of Chicherin, allowed the Soviet Republic to accomplish a task which the diplomats of the Czars failed to realize in many years.

As it is now, so it was in 1878: England was at war with Afghanistan. Russia, in order to produce some embarrassment for Great Britain, which had supported the Turks against Russia, sent a military expedition to Djam (near Samarkand) and acknowledged the pretendants to the throne of Afghanistan, the Princes Abdu-Rahman and Ishak-Khan. The Russian General Stolietoff was sent as the head of a mission to Kabul, to the Ameer Shir-Ali, and the Afghans were assured of Russian assistance, which they never received. Shir-Ali-Khan died; Abdu-Rahman was refused the support of the Russians, when he reached Afghanistan, and with his sympathizers was busy establishing order in his country, which was in a state of anarchy.

Abandoned by the Russian Government; in despair, Abdu-Rahman was forced to address himself to the English, whom he hated. Certainly the British assisted him and recognized him as the Ameer of Afghanistan. During the whole of his reign, Abdu-Rahman was the enemy of Russia, and he often

repeated that he never would trust either the Czar or his government. He died, bequeathing the same principles to his successor. Now all has changed. There are no more Russian Czars in existence. The fragments of the beaten old regime are being crushed in the life and death struggle in several corners of the vast Russian Soviet Republic, powerless before the gigantic strength of the Workers' Russia.

The Russian workmen and peasants have overpowered the capitalistic armies of the whole world, and their Asiatic neighbors are watching their brilliant victory with astonishment and admiration.

They understand well that in Soviet Russia they cannot behold the same black menace as in imperialistic Russia. They look now on Soviet Russia as on a giant who may protect them from their European oppressors, and they hold out their hands towards this giant with the cry: We are with you!

The approachment of Soviet Russia and Afghanistan is a great event in the history of Asiatic nations. We are prepared to see in this approachment the first step toward a new Euro-Asiatic combination which may in the future decide the destinies of the old degenerated Europe.

Official Communications of the Soviet Government

LIFE AT ORENBURG

THE harvest is being prosecuted vigorously. Women also are taking part, in great numbers, in the work in the fields. Recently a combined concert and meeting took place to prepare a constitution for the League of Proletarian Women. The Communist propaganda is having the greatest possible success among the Kirghizes.

THE COMMUNIST YOUNG PEOPLE

Branches of the Young People's Communist League are multiplying in the provinces. At Buzuluk the young people of the city and of the railroad station have organized a Young People's Communist League, which has undertaken active propaganda work as well as that of training the masses in Communism. In the kindergartens, classes have been organized, as well as sections for sport, amateur theatricals, and music.

SOVIETISM TO BE FOUGHT TO THE DEATH

Denikin, on July 25th, published an order prescribing that all the soldiers of the Red Army, except those who should leave its ranks, should be shot.

COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY

In the government of Tambov, agrarian assistance to the families of those mobilized is carried out to the greatest extent. Everywhere, the lands of those mobilized are practically the best taken care of. In a single district more than 13,000 hectares have been cultivated, sown, and harvested by united effort. Agricultural machines have been put at the disposition of the harvesting detachments. The Congress of the Special Commission for Aid to the Mobilized has decided that the work of these detachments should be furnished free and should be considered as a revolutionary duty.

SIBERIAN INDUSTRY

Statistical data that have fallen into our hands bear witness to the degree of production of the Ural factories while they were under the domination of

the Whites. Most of the factories had completely stopped work. Out of seventy factories producing iron castings, only fifty are working. The mines and the works employed on copper were absolutely shut down. Gold, instead of flowing into the treasury, disappeared into foreign countries or in the hands of private persons. On the other hand, after the appearance of the Red troops, the Ural workers immediately increased the production to a remarkable degree, working with a zeal that has been unparalleled till now.

DENIKIN AND THE ALLIES

The troops mobilized by Denikin are on the verge of a general uprising because of news that had arrived concerning the sale of Russian grain to the English in exchange for shells and cartridges.

RACE DISCRIMINATION IN SIBERIA

The White journals of Siberia announce the arrest of Professor Chen, publisher of the Chinese *New Thought*, who was accused of having conducted Socialist propaganda.

FINANCE ADMINISTRATION

At present the People's Commissariat for Finance is undergoing a complete reorganization on absolutely new and rational foundations. The Commissariat will include two supervisions: that of the National Bank, the sole organ of the Treasury of the Republic, and that of Receipts and Taxes. The direction of the Bank will include the former Treasury Department, the Budget Section, the Section for Finance, and the Section for Financing Industry. Outside of these two sections, there is the General Secretariat of the Commissariat, including the Section for Economic Studies and the Section for New Issues.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE PROVINCES

The bulletin of the Moscow Provisions Section gives data on the economic work accomplished in the government of Smolensk. As a consequence of the general rise in prices, the Smolensk Food Com-

mission took into its hands the task of provisioning the population with vegetables, and concluded a treaty with the truck-farmers of the environment. Immediately the price of vegetables fell and the quantities obtained increased. At present the Smolensk government produces 60,000 poods of cheese per year. The quantity has been particularly increased as compared with the past year, and it would be greater still, were it not for the decision of the authorities to guarantee a sufficient quantity of milk to all children. Communal feeding has been organized in all the districts, and is now serving about 500,000 individuals, divided into three categories, including: (1) school establishments; (2) children's kindergartens; and (3) homes for old people (4) places of detention, and (5) public restaurants.

CONFERENCE OF ENGINEERS

The newspapers print an account of the All-Russian Conference of the Engineers' Section of the Metals' Syndicate. This conference is interesting in that it brings out the results of the collaboration of the engineers with the proletariat within the same trade. For the first time, not only in Russia but in all the world, the engineers and the workers are seated at the same table, not as enemies, but as members of the same organization, working in the service of the productivity of labor and the rule of the proletariat.

SIBERIAN FINANCES

The *Krasnaya Gazeta* of Petrograd, announces that in Siberia the Whites are at present employing about 100 different monetary systems. The Amour district possesses 3 millions and a half of special bonds. The Habarovsk notes make this sum 4 millions. The Maritime Province, and the Saghalien district have a different money still. The Transbaikalian districts have several other kinds. In addition, every possible kind of postage stamps, of personal receipts, and of credits and notes of all varieties are serving Kolchak as a sort of Ersatz money.

HOSPITALS FOR CHILDREN

The *Krasnaya Gazeta* announces the opening at Petrograd of an establishment to serve simultaneously the purposes of a nursery and hospital for children needing treatment by medical rays. The hospital contains 100 beds and is intended for proletarian children.

ORGANIZATION OF THE HARVEST

In *Izvestiya*, Arsky, returning to the subject of the organization measures undertaken by the Provisions Commissariat, declares that the system is based on the establishment of a close relation between the peasant population and the working masses of the hungry capitals. The sending of the

special delegates of the Central Executive Committee four months ago in order to mobilize the organization and the audit of the provincial administrations, has yielded the most positive results. It has united the provinces with the capital; it has formulated an authentic interpretation of decrees and has opened new perspectives to the workers of the provinces. Such a campaign of instruction for the provinces is indispensable in the harvest question, in which the interests of the producing peasants are proverbially in conflict with those of the consuming capitals. The sending of workers' detachments to aid in the harvest has also an enormous significance in increasing, in the first place, the amount of available labor and, in the second place, in securing a living contact between the cities and the country. All these measures are the basis of what progress has been accomplished and the pledge of future success.

INSTRUCTION FOR THE "SUBJECT" RACES

It is well known that the Soviet Republic, in giving to all the nationalities within it a real method of developing to the utmost their desire for individual existence, has created in the Commissariat for Public Instruction a special section for the Instruction of National Minorities. At present there is being held an All-Russian Congress of the Teaching Personnel of the included nations. This Congress includes 145 delegates, among whom there are more than 80 Communists. It was opened by People's Commissary Lunacharsky, who in his speech repeated that each nationality has obtained from the Soviet power the right to organize its school system in its own language. This must not, however, prevent the more developed persons of each nationality from being interested in the treasures that have been accumulated by the other nationalities. Lenin and Lunacharsky were elected honorary presidents.

THE WORKERS' PALACE

A letter published in the *Izvestiya* presents a picture of a former private mansion in Moscow that has been changed since November into a workers' palace, which is a veritable cradle of the sciences and the arts, in the service of the workers. Every corner of the palace is utilized in a rational manner. In one place a lecture is being delivered; in another there is a course in modeling; on a balcony youthful painters are trying their hand at landscapes; on the steps of a staircase young girls are standing, studying their scales. The work has been organized in sections: elementary school, drawing, painting, sculpture, musical section, dramatic art, vocational courses of all kinds, with a series of laboratories, library, and excellently installed instruments. The teachers are chosen from among well-known specialists. At present, in spite of the fact that it is summer, the total attendance of these courses is from 700 to 800. The courses are given

from 5 to 10 o'clock in the evening and are open to all without distinction of sex or age. Adult members must present a card from their vocational union. There is a restaurant available for the students.

THE SITUATION OF THE RAILROADS

Izvestia publishes an interview in which the engineer Krassin, People's Commissaire for Means of Communication, declares as follows: "Our successes in the Ural have the double advantage of securing to the whole Northern region the necessary grain, and particularly of putting at our disposal enormous reserves of metal which will permit us to repair the deteriorated railway tracks as well as the rolling stock. The latter element, the metals, of which we have taken considerable quantities, will assure a regular service on the railway system, as well as supply the metals to the capital. The Soviet power is firmly resolved to guarantee to the entire technical administrative personnel, which is still in its offices, the widest possible opportunities for making use of their special abilities. In general, over the entire Soviet Railway system, in spite of difficulties of all kinds, there has been going on a favorable psychological revolution in the working masses, inspiring them to put forth efforts for an increase of the productivity of labor. The result of this revolution is already being felt, for the percentage of "sick" cars and locomotives has displayed a tendency to decrease in the last few months.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The Central Commission for Wood has undertaken the construction in the Government of Vologda, of a series of saw-mills on the River Sukhona. In the first place there is undertaken the construction of a factory supplied with all machines and instruments for blabbing in which will be developed the construction of light transportable dwellings, of wire cores, of wooden soles, etc.

RED AVIATION

Izvestia publishes a note on the development in Soviet Russia of the scientific institutions devoted to the study of aviation models. A laboratory of this kind, founded by the old Russian avi-

ator Rossinski at Moscow, is devoted particularly to the study of war-planes and to the perfection of their construction. Well-known professors and engineers are at the head of the various services, and of the council of experimentation. At the present time, the laboratory is in full operation. It is preparing the publication of the second volume of its scientific contributions, and is assuring a regular functioning of the aviation section of the Red army.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Pravda, in its weekly supplements devoted to the woman worker, notes the constant progress of the Feminist movement. On August 7, for instance, there took place a gathering of working women of the Balashinskaya factory, at the end of which the following resolution was passed: "After hearing the report of the fall of the Soviet power in Hungary, the working women, far from permitting themselves to be dismayed by the shameful treason of the reactionaries and the social opportunists, look into the future with a perfect faith in the victory of the Soviet power and of the world revolution. The hour is close at hand when the women of all countries will write upon their red standard: *Long Live the Union of Organized Women!*" At Nolinsk in the Government of Viatka, there has just been held the first congress of peasant women and working women of the district. All the delegates, on questions of civil war, the land, of the situation of women, etc., came out clearly with the statement that the Soviet power alone can assure utter freedom to the workers. Only the Soviet power can raise women to the level of men, can liberate them from the yoke of domestic slavery, and permit them to participate in the general work of civilization. Only the Soviet power protects motherhood and infancy. The delegates passed a resolution to fight energetically against the mediaeval superstitions of the provinces.

IN THE KUBAN

The shifting of the general headquarters of Denikin from Yekaterinodar to Taganrog has been categorically demanded by the Kuban Rada. Opposition is also increasing among the Terek cossacks, who are revolting against the dictatorship of the voluntary army.

SOVIET WIRELESS ON ECONOMIC AND OTHER TOPICS

(Without date, probably about middle of August.)

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION.—*Krasnaya Gazeta* publishes a rapid but substantial review of the economic results obtained by the Soviet Government. More than ten thousand enterprises among the most important have been nationalized, amounting to eighty-six per cent. of industry. The greater part of these enterprises never ceased working, and are still working, with the exception that a great many factories, such as those of Petrograd, have

been evacuated and have again taken up their work at Penza, Simbirsk, etc. In most of the big enterprises the productive workers have increased. At present there has been begun the construction of fifteen large new factories. This year at Podolsk there was completed and handed over to operation a large locomotive works. Two big electric stations are under construction and will be finished before the winter. They will furnish the energy

necessary to electrify the entire Moscow region. At Saratov, the construction of a big concern for manufacturing agricultural machinery has been begun. As for fuel, in spite of the fact that we have been deprived of Baku and of the Donetz basin, we shall obtain about sixty million poods of peat, thirty-five million poods of coal, and six million sazhen of wood (one sazhen equals 2.68 cords), although the production of wood has been cut down for the current year. The harvest of raw materials this year is higher than the yield obtained last year. Five and a half million poods of flax, two million of which may be exported to foreign countries. Two million poods of wool have been harvested in the first six months, while the annual consumption of all the factories is three million. Five million poods of cotton are stored in Turkestan and will be shipped in as soon as the connections are re-established. There are considerable reserves of metal. To all this we must add a new organization of industry which puts large-scale production in the foreground. In all branches we have established government combines uniting all the workers in the same field under a unified administration, which serves to achieve economy of fuel, of labor, and of raw materials. With this state of affairs the author compares the complete destruction of industry which has already been noticed under Kolchak's regime.

THE CIVILIZING WORK OF THE WORKER'S CO-OPERATIVE OF MOSCOW.—*Pravda* has a summary of the labors of instruction carried out by the workers' co-operatives. These establishments of all kinds are attended each week by more than twenty thousand persons, not counting the central establishments, such as the Prechistenka courses, which have four hundred auditors. In each quarter, all the work is grouped around a club house, which is a veritable People's House, served by a numerous personnel and operated by an elected office staff. The Theatrical Section conducts fourteen dramatic circles, and each week gives eight performances. The instruction in dramatic art is conceived on the broadest possible plan, with lectures on literature and social sciences. The Music and Fine Arts Section possesses about fifteen musical circles and has given in six months eighty concerts attended by fifty thousand persons. The programs are composed in such a way as to make the national productions known, as well as the characteristics of the various composers. The Section for Popularization organizes courses and conferences with the object of developing the class-conscious workers and of increasing their taste and desire for knowledge. Special courses have been organized in ten quarters of the city for women who have sewing to do, conferences for mothers, with the general object of training women in the workers' movement. The Children's Section controls six clubs of adolescents, five homes and colonies for children in the Moscow and Tambov region. The Library Section has nineteen establishments, each of which hands out each

day an average of one hundred volumes. There are also children's libraries. In each library, there is a circle for readings and recitations aloud. In the summer there were organized several popular recreations in the Moscow parks. All these tasks have been accomplished by the workers' co-operative under the high auspices of the Commissariat of Public Instruction and of the Moscow Institute for Proletarian Culture.

MONARCHIST CADETS.—A conference of the cadets was held at Yekaterinodar, at which a resolution was passed calling for a personal dictatorship, not only as an instrument in the struggle against Bolshevism, but also as a method for the political organization of Russia.

FOREIGN COMMERCE.—In view of the possible reopening of commercial relations with foreign countries, the Commissariat for commerce is conducting preliminary studies in this direction on substances for exportation and on the apparatus destined to carry out the first relations of this kind. Articles have been published in *Economic Life*. At Petrograd, in the Spring, an institute was opened for the study of International Commerce, which attracted the attention of numerous workers.

FINE ARTS.—On August 15th the first museum for Western painting was opened at Moscow in the old Shchukin gallery. This gallery is now open without charge, under the Soviet power, to all visitors. All the canvasses, among which there are numerous specimens of Matisse, Monet, Van Gogh, Cézanne, Picasso, etc., have been systematically grouped by schools and epochs.

Socialists Rallying Around the Bolsheviks

MENSHEVIKS JOINING WITH THE BOLSHEVIKS

Zurich, November 3d.—The *Kölnische Zeitung* reports that the Socialists of the various Russian parties, including Mensheviks and Internationalists who had hitherto been fighting the Bolsheviks, have issued an appeal to the people in which they declare that: "It is much more desirable to rally to the Soviets and enlist in the Red Army than to support the White Army, which constitutes a real danger for Socialist Russia." (Radio.)

Communication Between Soviet Russia and Turkestan Restored

The *Nashe Dyelo* of Irkutsk, in its issue of September 20 quotes from the Czecho-Slovak *Diary* a Soviet wireless message dated September 13 to the effect that communication between Soviet Russia and Turkestan has been restored, 130 miles south of Aktubinsk, recently taken by the Soviet troops.

This fact is of great importance, as it has placed the cotton supply of Turkestan at the disposal of Russian cotton factories. See the article by Arsky in the Anniversary Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 22).

The staff of the Kolchak Commander in chief reports that the "Reds" have taken the city of Minusinsk. (From *Nashe Dleyo*, Irkutsk, Sept. 23.)

Minusinsk is an important city in the province of Yenisseisk, east of Omsk.

The Dorpat Conference

DORPAT, to which attention is now turning, is a rather distinguished little city of 50,000 people, the capital of a province of Livonia, the seat of a university of note, and an esteemed example of provincial culture. Lying west of Lake Peipus and midway of its length, it has been a little out of the track of armies, and has been spared the costly celebrity of figuring in the news of the great war which has raged on all sides of it; its turn comes with the making of peace, and it is not a little curious that just as the peace delegates are leaving Paris with their task unfinished the business of carrying on the task should devolve upon this staid little town in the Baltic provinces.

As yet the negotiations there have not passed beyond the tentative stage, the first subject taken up being the exchange of prisoners. Soviet Russia is represented by Litvinoff, formerly its ambassador to England, and best known through his repeated efforts to negotiate peace. Other states represented are Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland. All the Baltic states and the Soviet Republic are prepared to go on with further negotiations looking to peace; Poland's attitude is still to be made clear, and also whether Finland will later enter the conference.

Of the Entente powers only Great Britain is represented, and this only in the preliminary negotiations for the exchange of prisoners, but what happens is being watched with great interest. In addition to the official British representation, Mr. O'Grady, a labor M. P., Great Britain has on the spot Col. Tallant, British commissioner at Riga, who has had much to do with the execution of British policy in the Baltic. Asked if it were true that Great Britain is putting pressure on the conference, as has been alleged, he told a newspaper correspondent, "I do not think so," which so far as it goes is encouraging.

Hopeful, too, was the temper shown at the opening of the conference. The meeting was marked, we are told, by a readiness on both sides to work for a speedy understanding, and that an agreement was quickly reached in principle regarding the exchange of hostages. It was indeed not to the interest of the Soviets to make difficulties, because of their desire to have the conference pass with no breaks to the matter of arranging for the negotiation of peace.

The Baltic states have shown a similar desire, and their wish for peace is likely to be increased by the news from Helsingfors that 20,000 of Gen. Yudenich's soldiers have gone over to the Bolsheviks. Since his army probably at no time exceeded 30,000 men and lost heavily in the campaign, his

activities may be supposed at an end, and the Esthonians, who have never been impressed with the fighting quality of his army, may consider themselves excused from any obligation to continue the war. If the Allies are alert to seize the chance to redeem past diplomatic blunders, Dorpat may yet pass into history as the place where the great war in Europe ended.

—*The Springfield Republican*, Nov. 20, 1919.

The "Blockade" of Russia

IN THE House of Commons yesterday the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs admitted that our measures in the Baltic, although they exercise against the inhabitants of Russia, both Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik, all the rigors of a blockade are not in fact a legal blockade at all. We have never declared war on the Bolshevik Government; we have never declared a formal blockade; we have never notified neutrals that such a thing as a "blockade" exists; in the note to neutrals inviting their assistance in maintaining this embargo we do not mention the word blockade; in the similar note to Germany we speak only of "economic pressure." Yet we are stopping not only Bolshevik shipping in the Baltic, but the ships of neutrals also, if they are sailing to Bolshevik ports—an action for which, as is now admitted, we have no title whatever in international law, and which we can only inflict upon the neutrals by means of our superior force and in violation of law. Some weeks ago it was reported in Sweden that members of the Swedish Labor party were anxious to take into their homes throughout the winter a number of children from Russia, and that the project had broken down because of the determination of the Allies to permit no intercourse with Russia. At the same time the Swedish Foreign Minister was reported to have said that Swedish merchantmen could only trade with Russia if escorted by Swedish warships, which would mean, as it obviously would, the risk of war. To such ends does our Russian policy lead us, to such shame of inhumanity and lawlessness. The rights of neutrals are openly violated. We do not hear much of the views of the neutral countries, for they are small and weak, and we are all-powerful after the war. But none the less they are being forced to submit to a naval dominance which does not care even to justify itself under the forms of law. In the days of the war our enemies used to charge us with the offence of Navalism, or the exertion of maritime power unrestricted by law or consideration for the rights of the neutral and the weak. The charge was not true then. Are we anxious to justify it up to the hilt now?

—*Manchester Guardian*, October 29.

If you know that new subscriptions to **SOVIET RUSSIA** are received at the rate of one dollar for three months—and we assure you that is the case—why not become a new subscriber?

Documents on the Atrocities against Jews Committed by Denikin's Forces

(Translated from the *Jewish Daily Forward*, of New York, of November 11, 13, and 14.)

A DISPATCH from Constantinople, which appeared recently in the newspapers, reported that General Denikin had announced to the world that he was not an anti-Semite. This declaration was made after the soldiers and Cossacks of Denikin's "volunteer" army had killed thousands of Jews, outraged thousands of Jewish women, and looted dozens of Jewish cities and towns.

To show how true is Denikin's assertion that he is not an anti-Semite, we reprint three official documents about Denikin. We received these documents from Mr. Nathan Brenner, an American Jew, who a few months ago went to Europe and visited England, Caucasia, and Turkey, where he came into possession of these important documents.

I.

The first document is a petition which was submitted to Denikin by the representatives of the Jewish communities of Yekaterinoslav, Kharkov, Rostov, and Taganrog on July 26, 1919. The authors of the petition are anti-Bolsheviks.

The Petition

To His Excellency, the Supreme Ruler:

In their advance toward the southwestern region, the volunteer army occupies more and more cities and counties, which are inhabited by Jews. The worn-out and tortured Jewish populace is longing for peace and order.

The Jewish population, in its vast majority, belongs to the middle class. They were therefore looking forward with impatience to the coming of the volunteer army, which would liberate them from the proletarian dictatorship. The Jewish population welcomed the marching army with joy, and was ready to help with money and men.

But, to our great misfortune, the Jews were mistaken, and their hopes were shattered. Instead of peace and order, which you have promised, the soldiers of your volunteer army brought to the Jews pogroms and violence, and in some cases even the authorities themselves showed openly their hatred toward the Jews.

In taking the liberty to call your Excellency's attention to this, we are well aware of the heavy responsibility which we, the representatives of the Jews, are taking upon ourselves. But it is our duty to speak. We understand very well that when individual places are occupied, violence is sometimes unavoidable. But unfortunately we must tell you that these are not individual cases; that wherever the volunteer army came, the Jews were systematically looted. Particularly strong were the outbreaks in Yekaterinoslav. There all the Jewish

residences on four streets were looted, hundreds of Jewish women were outraged, and many Jews were murdered. The pogrom in Yekaterinoslav is still going on. Violence and looting, which are but pogroms on a small scale, are still a daily occurrence in Kharkov. Such occurrences take place in many smaller towns, such as Avdeyevka, Yenakyevo, Grinisheno, Sinelnikovo, Lozovaya, Volki, Bogodukhov, and in many other towns.

We also deem it necessary to remark that in some places the higher officials did indeed try to curb the savage mob, but they were not successful. The printed propaganda of the "Osvotch" (The Association for the Liberation of the Fatherland) and especially some of the regulations of the commanders in regard to the Jewish volunteers, officers and soldiers arouse still more the passions of the dark masses and paralyze the activity of some of the administrators, which might have some effect.

As soon as the volunteers enter a city they immediately begin to post leaflets inciting against the Jews. The leaflets appear simultaneously with the official orders of the commanders.

The attitude of many commanders toward the Jews and the Jewish volunteers is very harmful. Our youth is ready to sacrifice their lives for Russia, and nevertheless they are openly spat upon and insulted. (Following this the petition mentions a great many facts showing how Denikin's commanders threw out from the army Jewish officers and soldiers and how these were insulted.)

This attitude is a great menace to the Jews: the dark masses draw the conclusion that the Jews are outlawed and defenseless.

Your Excellency, we ask for justice, not for mercy. When the peace conference admits the Jewish people to the League of Nations, we cannot entertain the thought that our brothers should be looted, our women outraged, and our sons insulted because there are Bolsheviks among the Jews. No one should take revenge on the peaceful Jewish population, because the Jews are no more to blame for producing a Trotzky or a Sverdlov than the Russians are to blame for producing a Lenin or a Gorky.

In the name of the four largest Jewish communities in the region under your control we take the liberty to address to you a request that you raise your voice against this violence and injustice.

Your Excellency, do not refuse our request! Publish a declaration to the Russian people and to the army that the whole Jewish people must not be held responsible for the individual Jews who are Bolsheviks.

We entreat your Excellency to confirm officially that according to the laws of the Provisional Government the Jews are citizens with equal rights, and no one can deprive them of these rights.

Like all other citizens, we have also the right to give our lives for Russia by enlisting in the army. If you will issue an order to the army to this effect, you will thereby confirm the right which is so sacred to us.

The people will heed your voice. Your declaration will calm the popular masses. It will bring peace between the parts of the population and will create a stable situation, which is so necessary for you in the further struggle for a united great Russia.

II.

The second document is a report of the interview which the representatives of the Jewish communities had with General Denikin on July 26. The Yekaterinoslav Jewish community was represented by Mr. M. S. Brook, the Kharkov community, by Dr. Vilensky, the Rostov community by Dr. Z. D. Goldenberg, and the Taganrog community by Dr. E. Evinson.

The Report of the Interview

Dr. Vilensky introduced the members of the delegation to General Denikin, and then read to him the petition. Denikin listened attentively to the petition, from time to time making a remark during the reading.

When Dr. Vilensky got through reading, he told Denikin that the delegation had ample materials and documents substantiating their charges, and that they were ready to turn them over to the general. To this the general replied:

"As to the Jewish officers and soldiers of the volunteer army, there is no need for my telling you whether I personally love them or hate them. In general, it is ridiculous to consider this question from the standpoint of national expediency or humanitarianism. As to the question about the attitude of my commanders toward the Jews, I have always combatted and will continue to combat this unfortunate phenomenon; but the situation is such that it is simply very difficult to do anything against it.

"I have tried and will continue to try to weaken it, but I cannot remove it entirely. My commanders have on their own responsibility issued orders to send the Jewish officers into separate battalions. I even remonstrated with General Maimayevsky on this account. Formally he had no right to do this. But I knew that he could not act differently. I myself was finally forced to issue an order that the Jewish officers be transferred to the reserve. And I must tell you that from Armavir, whither they were sent, we have already received complaints that they are not wanted there. But this will be somehow settled. I see no other way. This must be done first of all to save from disagreeable experience the Jews themselves for whom life

among the officers has become unbearable. And now I ask you: can you suggest a better way to solve this question?"

The delegation replied that there was only one way to solve this question—that the staff commanders should accord to Jews the same treatment as to all others. "The possibility that the Jewish officers will at first suffer disagreeable experiences at the hand of their colleagues, the Christian officers, is not dangerous for us. But we cannot permit that the Jews should be slighted." The delegation expressed the hope that in time the passions would subside.

And though General Denikin repeated his assertion that it would be worse for the Jews should the Jewish officers and soldiers of the volunteer army be accorded the same treatment as others, the delegation nevertheless insisted that it would not be dangerous, even if the Jewish officers should sometimes be shot in the back by their own Christian comrades. "Such a situation cannot last," said the representatives of the Jewish communities. "We hold too dearly the principle of equality."

Denikin then pointed out another side of the question. "I am very much afraid," he said, "that there will be too much resentment among the officers, and I cannot therefore accept your standpoint." After this, Denikin tried to explain the hatred of his soldiers toward the Jews by the fact that they have to fight against the Jewish communist legions. To this the delegation replied that General Shkuro himself admitted that there was only one such legion, which contains only three hundred men. "To be sure, there are rumors that there is another such legion somewhere around Odessa, but this is no more than a rumor based on an assumption. And, besides, it is wrong that the army should get aroused against the Jews because of a legion of three hundred men."

General Denikin then remarked that 130 Jewish commissaires were found in Yekaterinaslav after that city had been evacuated by the Bolsheviks. The delegation replied: "This is not certain; it is too well known that Jewish commissaires are sometimes discovered where there were none. Very often Jews who knew nothing about Bolshevism and had no connection with Bolshevism are declared to have been commissaires in order to create the impression that every Jew is a commissaire. In Yuzovka, for instance, a very wealthy Jew was declared to have been a commissaire. This fact was quoted by General Shkuro."

General Denikin said that the Jews, because they live in compact masses, could influence the Bolsheviks. The delegation was amazed by this statement, and pointed out that the Jewish Bolsheviks had nothing to do with Judaism. "When the Moscow rabbi appealed to Trotzky and told him that his activity was harmful for the Jewish people, the latter replied that he had nothing in common with Judaism. The broad Jewish masses do not support

Bolshevism." Denikin replied: "I can understand this, but just try to explain it to the masses."

Delegation: "You have shown wonders in creating a strong and disciplined army, and we have not the slightest doubt that it would not be hard for you, by issuing an order, to compel your officers to heed your words."

Denikin: "Yes, we have accomplished a great deal indeed. But I thank the Lord that my military orders are not disobeyed. In view of the present composition and morale of my army, it is impossible to expect more than this."

Delegation: "We believe, however, that the Jewish soldiers of the reserves also have to suffer a great deal at the hands of the volunteer army, and not only the Jewish officers at the hands of the Christian officers—"

Denikin: "And I believe that it is easier for the Jewish soldiers to get along among the other plain soldiers, and I doubt if any serious clashes could be expected between them."

Delegation: "But you cannot ignore the Jews, who feel offended as Jews. Is it right to demand of them that they should enlist in the volunteer army and sacrifice their lives when their brothers, the Jewish officers, are being thrown out of this army?"

Denikin had no reply to this.

When his attention was called to the pogroms and looting which were carried on by the volunteer army, he said that as far as he knew they were already abating, and that in Kharkov calm had already been restored. But the delegation replied that this is not true, that Kharkov was not at all calm, and that small-scale pogroms still continued there; that even now not a day passed there without looting and rape. At this point the delegation handed to Denikin a copy of the petition which the Jews of Yuzovka sent to General Maimayevsky. Denikin read the petition, and it was apparent that it made a strong impression upon him. "As to Yekaterinoslav, one cannot speak of what occurred there without a shudder: whole streets were wrecked, almost all the Jewish houses demolished, hundreds of Jewish women raped, many Jews killed. At first we were disposed to believe that this occurrence was the result of the soldiers' intoxication with the victory. We were sure that this would soon abate, but it turned out that there was not even a thought of stopping these atrocities and horrors.

"All these atrocities," continued the delegation, "occur on the railroads, all over the line which is in the hands of the volunteer army. Jews found on a train are thrown out through the windows. No Jew can save himself, and if, in an exceptional case, one does save himself, he must pay for this a large sum of money."

Denikin: "Yes, it is hard to expect anything good of people who are absolutely depraved and mentally degenerated. Because they were mobilized into the army they have not become better

men. They are not the kind of volunteers who enlist in the army for the sake of an ideal and for whom I could stand sponsor. They are a conglomeration. Their state becomes clear if one takes into account the general decline of morals."

Denikin then tried to prove that the pogroms are not directed only against the Jews.

Delegation: "The pogroms start exclusively against the Jews; Christian houses and stores are skipped. Only rarely does it happen that Christians are also touched and that an attack is made on Christian houses and stores. This happens only when the pogrom wave becomes so violent that it can no more be controlled."

Denikin: "I am really better informed about these outbreaks than you are . . ."

At this point the delegation pointed out to Denikin that these outbreaks make it impossible to collect for the army necessary materials and money. "People can not collect money at a time when everything has to be hidden lest it be taken by the looters and women and children have to be hidden to save them from violence."

With regard to the charge that the commanders themselves are issuing anti-Semitic orders, Denikin said that it was hard to ascertain these facts. "It would be easier for you to ascertain these," he said. But the delegation objected that it seemed incomprehensible that the Jews should be in a better position than himself to ascertain such facts. "You can resort to a very simple means," the delegation suggested. "You could send a special messenger or your adjutant and he would obtain for you all the literature of the 'Osvotch' (Association for the Liberation of the Fatherland), among which you will also find the anti-Semitic leaflets. Besides, one of us has with him one such leaflet, which was printed in the 'Osvotch' printing office. The delegation also mentioned the Bulletins No. 7 and 12.

Denikin: "It's queer. While you complain that the 'Osvotch' is issuing pogrom proclamations, I am getting letters every day which claim that the 'Osvotch' has sold out to the Jews."

The delegation asked Denikin to issue a special declaration with regard to the Jews. But the General refused on the ground that, firstly, it was superfluous and, secondly, it would only make matters worse for the Jews, because the populace was greatly aroused against them.

The delegation then remarked that the General put too much weight on the assumption that the populace was aroused against the Jews. In reality the situation was not at all so bad: only a certain part of the population was aroused against the Jews, and it was precisely that part which does not comprehend the task of the present moment and is really not patriotic. "And if you will say"—continued the delegation—"that it is not because they are not patriots, we say to you that this attitude toward the Jews demoralizes all the army and makes it incapable of any accomplishment. We must also tell you that by ruining four millions of Jews the

economic life of the whole country will be ruined. It is therefore your duty to raise your voice, and Russian society will heed you. We also want to tell you that if you will order the "Osvotch" to stop spitting fire against the Jews they will obey you."

In this connection, the delegation mentioned the fact that in Rostov-on-the-Don the population had also been incited against the Jews. Nevertheless there were no outbreaks there, because the ruling circles had ordered that the Jews shall not be molested.

The delegation further insisted that General Denikin should issue a declaration against Jewish pogroms. "The declaration"—the Jewish representatives said—"is of very great importance at the present moment, because the volunteer army is penetrating into the provinces of Poltava, Kharkov and Kiev, which are inhabited by many Jews. These Jews have already suffered a great deal from Makhno's and Grigoryev's bands, and you must see to it that their outrages should not be repeated by your army. Even Admiral Kolchak issued a declaration, although he may have done it for political reasons."

Denikin: "Yes, there are Americans with Kolchak. . . . I need no such declaration. It is not necessary."

In conclusion, General Denikin said that as far as pogroms were concerned he would try his best that they should cease. "Believe me," he said, "that in this respect we have already accomplished a great deal. Were it not for this, the situation would be much worse. And as to your assertion that the commanders themselves are issuing pogrom leaflets, I will investigate the matter and take the necessary measures." But he absolutely refused to do anything with regard to the army. "It will abate in time," he said.

When he was asked at the end of the interview whether he intended to issue an order against Jewish pogroms he replied definitely:

"Not now. In time, if it should be necessary, I may do it."

III

The third document is an appeal of the Ukrainian Jews to the Jews of America, which reads in part as follows:

THE APPEAL

You cannot imagine with what impatience the Jews of south Russia awaited Denikin's volunteer army. Most eager were the well-to-do Jews; they looked upon the volunteers as upon "liberators." When the Kuban Cossacks were expected at Simferopol, many Jewish merchants felt such joy and enthusiasm that they danced and sang Cossack songs. But their joy was not justified. In the early morning of July 23, 1919, the Kuban Cossacks entered the city. It was still somewhat dark in the streets. The Cossacks' examination of the streets had a queer look, and the very first question which the commander himself asked of the first pedestrian he happened to meet was: "Are there many sheenies here?" The Jews of the city were terrified.

In the afternoon Jewish corpses could be seen hanging on the trees.

The volunteers continued to advance, and the further they advanced the further they carried the poison, the

hatred toward the Jews, and the Jewish pogroma. "Sheeny-commissaire"—this was applied to every Jew and to every commissaire. One's being a Jew proved him to have been a commissaire. It was impossible to deny this, in spite of the fact that the story that all commissaires were Jews was unfounded. . . . "Kill the Jews and save Russia" was the favorite phrase among the sober as well as the drunken "liberators. . . ."

In Jankoye they confined themselves to house searches. The searches were carried on by soldiers and Cossacks, and they took away anything they happened to put their hands on. The Cossacks and the volunteers boasted that they were given permission to do anything they please for three days, but they were nevertheless satisfied to confine themselves to searches and to appropriating everything which they considered worth while. In addition they outraged a Jewish woman who was in the eighth month of pregnancy and beat up several Jews.

Ensign Dakhov, of the third volunteer corps, which is stationed at Jankoye, was not embarrassed even by the presence of the English. We ourselves have seen him arrest several persons for no offense at all, whom he beat up so badly that it was impossible to recognize them. One of these he hung up to the ceiling head downward and with his heels he struck him in the face and neck, murmuring at the same time: "I will make my career at the expense of the sheenies."

In the unfortunate Kremenchug 700 Jewish women are now in the hospital, having been outraged by the volunteers.

In Yekaterinoslav . . . the Jews were massacred and murdered without an end, and the atrocities have not ceased yet.

When we left Russia, one month ago, the volunteers had already been in Yekaterinoslav for three weeks, and the pogrom was still going on there.

The position of the Jews under the Denikin regime is much worse than under Petlura's. Under Petlura's regime the Jews had to suffer from accidental bands and irresponsible murderers. But now, under the Denikin regime, they have to suffer from an organized state power which has the confidence and support of the Allies. Before the pogroms were looked upon as an accidental misfortune which will soon pass away and will give way to peace and order. But now it is clear that the state power itself has undertaken systematically to exterminate the whole Jewish people.

General Maynard Knighted

Major General C. C. M. Maynard, who commanded the Murmansk Force in North Russia, was yesterday received by the King, who invested him with the insignia of a K. C. B.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 4, 1919.

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At the end of December, after No. 30 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.

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THE march of British policy towards Russia is not entirely obscured in the "fog" of which Mr. Lloyd George complains. In spite of low visibility, a certain movement can be discerned behind the smoke screen which British politicians have deliberately raised, partly to mystify their own public, unprepared for an immediate reversal of policy, and partly to befuddle their American commercial competitors. There has been no audible reply to the Prime Minister's question in the House of Commons last week: "Will any wise man advise us to undertake the terrible responsibility of restoring order in a country as large as Russia, where no country ever intervened without landing itself into disaster?"

The voice of Churchill was silent, but Lord Robert Cecil joined in the debate to assert that Bolshevism could not be crushed by force, and that the Russian people only desired peace; he was convinced that foreign intervention was useless, and he even expressed the hope that Denikin would abandon his useless attempt to reach Moscow. Lloyd George repeats his cynical fiction that the blockade does not exist—"not in any strict sense of the word." In any event, he says, the British fleet will not undertake the task of controlling the Baltic in the spring, when the ice breaks up. Meanwhile Mr. O'Grady, M.P., confers with Litvinoff at Copenhagen—Mr. O'Grady, who, it should be noted, is not a representative of the War Office, proclaims that he is authorized only to discuss the question of prisoners. Nevertheless, he admits naively to the correspondents that if Litvinoff in-

sists upon talking about peace or what not, he will be compelled to listen. The Dorpat conference was likewise conveniently disguised. "Now that the official program is only the exchange of prisoners," reports the New York *Times* correspondent, "Poland, Ukraine, and Lithuania have also sent accredited representatives," in addition to Estonia and Latvia. Nevertheless, he says, "it seems clear that the intention is to discuss peace. . . . Then Litvinoff will proceed to Copenhagen to take up a similar discussion—with the similar nominal purpose of exchanging prisoners—with the British. . . . Unless all indications are fallacious, he is on his way to negotiate a peace that will recognize Soviet Russia's independence and the Bolshevik régime as the *de facto* government of the former empire." Even before Litvinoff reached Copenhagen, the pretence was dropped, and it was announced that Latvia and Lithuania had definitely decided to join Estonia in inviting the Soviet Government to send a delegation to Dorpat on December 1 to begin peace negotiations.

All of which we observe with a confidence born of long expectation. Only in one respect have our expectations been disappointed. We had thought that when the inevitable day came that the nations of the world proceeded to make their peace with Soviet Russia, the United States would be in the van.

We had expected the common sense of the American people and the initiative of American business men to bring them to a position of vantage and leadership in this moment. We underestimated the stifling powers of foreign censorship and the bewildering effects of a propaganda deliberately intended to confuse. If they could have had access to the facts and freedom of judgment, the American people would have won for themselves the prestige of initiating peace with the Russian people.

AS THE Allies prepare to forsake the defeated counter-revolutionaries, the censorship relaxes and the servile press, formerly given to praise of the "loyal elements" in Russia, now finds space for bitter denunciations of these erstwhile friends and associates. Even Kerensky, the discarded tool of Allied imperialism, is permitted to speak out against Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, his successors in Allied favor, now themselves about to be discarded. "Around these three," says Kerensky, according to the London *Daily News*, "are gathered all the scoundrels of the old régime. . . . There is no crime that has not been committed by agents of Kolchak against the population. Documents such as I have, illustrate the barbarous conditions in which the people are living under these savages. . . . The administration of the country is reduced to a shameless and unpunished system of pillage." An American official, quoted in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, adds this testimony after a two months' tour of inspection through

Siberia: "I talked with a great variety of people—the Czechs, our railway service men, refugees, and to people living in the villages, as well as to French and British representatives stationed in the towns between Omsk and Vladivostok. I did not find a single person who said that Kolchak had any popular support. . . . His name is being used by the most disreputable lot of scoundrels that has ever got any opportunity to exploit a poor, starving, defenseless people." Finally, the Czechoslovaks, who were made the pretext of intervention, have publicly implored the Allies to allow them to leave Siberia: "Our army has been forced against its convictions to support a state of absolute despotism and unlawfulness. . . . The military authorities of the Government of Omsk are permitting criminal actions that will stagger the entire world. The burning of villages, the murder of masses of peaceful inhabitants, and the shooting of hundreds of persons of democratic convictions, and also those only suspected of political disloyalty, occur daily."

Mr. Isaac Don Levine's recent dispatches have described the nature of Denikin's rule, whose pogroms were so horrible, says the London *Nation*, that the English soldiers "could hardly be restrained from firing on him."

Such are the men to whom the American and Allied Governments have been extending sympathetic support. That support is being withdrawn now, not from any humanitarian scruples, but because the Red Army has demonstrated the impossibility of all attempts to conquer the Revolution and because the economic and social forces of the world have overwhelmed the designs of the reactionary rulers.

THE process of moulding and altering the truth so that it may be presentable to readers is now advancing, in many newspapers, at a very rapid rate. The *Evening Sun*, of New York, had already arrived on November 18 at the point where it declared (p. 12) Moscow to be in Siberia. The further progress of this geographical transformation will presumably not be without interest.

ONE of the interesting bits of irony in the play of history is the manner in which the songs of one epoch are resung by the contemporaries of a later period. It is amusing, for instance, to find that the reactionary France of the present day, which will not desist from its process of fighting the Russian Revolution until compelled to do so, is still singing a song called "La Marseillaise," which was written when the French Revolution was being attacked by similarly reactionary forces. Can any member of the present French Government be supposed to mean what he says if he sings these words?

Contre nous, de la tyrannie,
L'étendard sanglant est levé.
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats?

Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens!
Formez vos bataillons!
Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons. . . .

The Sea War

ARE we carrying on a sea war against the Russian Government?" Colonel Wedgwood Benn asked in Parliament yesterday. Mr. Walter Long complained of the vagueness of the question. To the average man it seems plain and direct enough. A simple affirmative would have sufficed to answer it. But that is not the way of Ministers. Instead Mr. Long tells us that the "naval officer commanding in the Baltic" has orders "to employ his forces as he thinks necessary to assist the Baltic States and to prevent aggression by Bolshevik Russia." The terms of his commission are considerably vaguer than Colonel Wedgwood Benn's question, and might be interpreted to cover anything from a landing at Kronstadt to the holding up of American food ships en route for Russia. No such vagueness, however, clouds the facts as to what this war that is not a war has cost and is costing us. A return made yesterday shows that since the Armistice we have spent on invading Russia ourselves or in backing our protégés in her civil conflict over £95,000,000. True, an appreciable part of this sum is represented by the value of munitions and stores which, we are assured, no one would have bought from us, and which the Government therefore charitably devoted to assisting the slaughter of one lot of Russians by another. But, even so, the amount is considerably larger than the nation will appreciate seeing spent on an enterprise that has neither moral justification nor popular support. Public opinion has compelled the withdrawal of the Russian Expeditionary Force. The Government deceives itself if it thinks more tolerance will be shown for the continued use of the navy in what is in plain fact just a buccaneering expedition.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 4, 1919.

Telegram to Secretary of State Lansing from the Soviet Representative

Hon. Robert Lansing —November 18, 1919.

Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Saturday, November 15th, and Monday, November 17th, I was, by threats of imprisonment, compelled to appear before some local investigating body of the State of New York, inquiring into my relations with the Government I have the honor to represent. While such treatment is flagrantly at variance with the treatment accorded in my country representatives of the United States who were treated according to all rules of international courtesy, although no official relations existed between my Government and the United States. I principally object to and protest against the fact that such investigations by those conducting them are being exploited in a manner not consistent with truth or

decency. Newspapers today carried glaring headlines stating that I admitted to the investigators that I am engaged in efforts to overthrow the United States Government, and I am informed that the committee in charge of the investigation has notified the State Department to this effect. I have made no such admission and I could not have made such admission in view of the simple fact that I am not

and my Government is not in any manner whatever interfering with the affairs of the United States Government and I protest against the indecent attempts by perversion of the truth to create false impressions in this respect.

L. MARTENS,

Representative in the U. S. of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

"J'Accuse"

By HENRI BARBUSSE

IN THE Anniversary Issue of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 22), we printed the text of Barbusse's "J'Accuse" as we had found it translated in a recent number of the New York *American*. We have since obtained a copy of the issue of *L'Humanité*, of Paris, in which it had originally appeared, and since we have found the Barbusse article to be much longer than the version copied by us from the *American*, we are printing below a translation of the complete article in *L'Humanité*.

WE ACCUSE! . . .

I ACCUSE! . . . With this cry an honest man attacked the formidable social forces which in 1898 tried to dishonor an innocent man in order to assassinate him.

With this cry, emanating from the depths of their conscience, honest people now come out against the international reaction which, for monstrous reasons of class interest, in order to save its old barbarous privileges, has undertaken to dishonor and crush, by hunger or by force of arms, the great Russian republic whose only guilt is that she dares to materialize her dream of emancipation.

* * *

WE ARE ACCUSING the rulers of France, England, and America who, in order to achieve with impunity,—at the expense of the blood and money of their people that are still being kept in a state of subjection—their supreme anti-Socialist and inhumane effort—have initiated an abominable campaign of vilification against Bolshevism, have used the basest and most arbitrary means to prevent the truth from spreading, have perverted and falsified the facts (as was done in the case of Dreyfus or Caillaux), have poisoned public opinion, in order to force the masses of the people to arraign themselves against their own cause, and have deceived the people in order to be able to betray them.

* * *

WE ARE ACCUSING the clique of international imperialists, militarists, and merchants of having ignominiously, by means of the mercenary press, represented a thoroughly Socialist regime as a state of disorder. The fundamental law of the Russian Soviet Republic exists, in spite of everything, and any one so desiring may now read it. It is based

on the principle of equality and the law of labor; it institutes the commune of the workers of Russia and assures them direct control. It proclaims the international character of the proletariat. No matter what our personal preferences may be, we must all admit that not only are these fundamental principles not contrary to reason and justice, but in the eyes of the most sensible and loyal people, these principles appear to be the only thing capable of eradicating completely the two scourges which the theories of folly have been inflicting up till now upon mankind: exploitation of the multitudes by the few, and war.

And it is just because of this, because of the glory of idealistic and practical truth, because of the halo of Bolshevism, and not on account of the few dictatorial measures taken by the people's commissaries—transitory and fully justified consequences of every successful revolution—and not due to the disorders, for which, as the Allies well know, the Bolsheviki are not responsible,—that our masters—our enemies—have undertaken the torture and annihilation of Russia.

WE ACCUSE the Allies of having distorted the truth as regards the attitude of the Russians at the moment of the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Russians have proposed a thoroughly democratic peace, without any mental reservations. The Allies have refused to adhere to this proposal; for this they would have had to admit their war aims, which were annexationist and therefore could not stand the light of open admission. It is therefore not the Russians, but the dictators of France and England who have in this case, as well as in many others, betrayed the cause of the people and of peace, have prolonged the war and decimated the national armies; in the same way that they have inundated with blood the Russian revolution through their ferocious opposition, prompted by self-interest and through the hypocritical aid which they have incessantly given to the counter-revolutionists; and in the same measure as they have, through systematic organization of massacres, devastation and famine, caused catastrophies which they have afterwards denounced as the consequence of the Soviet regime.

WE ACCUSE the bourgeois governments of the Entente of having thrown into this effort their last

resources and the last forces of their people, whom they are openly dragging into a cynically reactionary cause, which one cannot honestly call otherwise than the cause of Kolchak and Denikin, those butchers, bandits and Czarists.

* * *

WE ARE ACCUSING them of having left armies, innumerable regiments, in Germany, and of having become accomplices in that military reorganization fraught with the menace of revenge, in order to better crush the popular aspirations in Russia, Germany, and elsewhere, and thus of having once more sacrificed the country's safety and the peace of the future to class hatred.

At a moment when the economic situation of our country has been damaged almost beyond repair, when the debt of France reaches and is going to surpass the amount of all of her resources, when the high cost of living and the taxes are becoming unbearable, when no prophecy is dark enough to picture the abyss into which we are falling, we accuse these unworthy representatives, not of nations but of castes, of having launched a campaign of war and blockade, which costs millions of dollars, impedes international commerce, causes millions of sacrifices, and will bring in its train new wars,—and of doing all this merely to save their infamous social order, and to extinguish an example too bright and luminous. We accuse them of precipitating the ruin of France, while disgracing her at the same time.

* * *

We are placing our faith and hope in the ultimate triumph of truth, determined no longer to aid in this greatest crime in the history of mankind without doing everything in our power to unmask it. We do not for a moment think that a single conscience can remain indifferent to so much cynicism and duplicity. We assume all civic responsibility. We shall proclaim the truth, that the people may know at least against whom they are going, and that they finally may come to grasp the fact that they are fighting against themselves. In order to remain the masters of things and men, the age-long exploiters make use in their struggle against those who are now in the position of the Frenchmen of 1793 and who are carrying out their mission in a fuller measure,—the only force capable of defeating the rebellious slaves who have become judges, i. e., the multitude of all of their brothers.

Comrades, men, young people, women, mothers of future martyrs, former soldiers who are heartily cursing the war, manual and brain workers, all you have a common interest, and you Frenchmen to whom the noble traditions of French liberty—the traditions which they are attempting to trample on and soil—are still dear, do you not see that in Russia the soldiers of all countries, women, and children are dying in large numbers! Do not remain then any longer in face of these events, in gross ignorance, frightfully blinded by egotism, inert and disgraced. Refuse to align yourself with des-

potism and savagery.

Save the cause of human truth by saving it in Russia. Rest assured that the future generations will judge the honest men of our generation by the degree to which they will now have voiced their emphatic protest.

HENRI BARBUSSE.

The Cost of the Russian Adventure

THE total expenditure on naval and military operations in Russia from the date of the Armistice to October 3, 1919, is given in a White Paper issued last night. In brief the figures are:

British naval and military operations	£27,125,000
Non-marketable munitions and stores for Russians in connection therewith	5,770,000
Assistance to Russian armies	17,385,000
Non-marketable munitions and stores for Russians	29,550,000
Final contribution of stores and assistance to be made to Denikin (including £12,000,000 worth non-marketable)	15,000,000

£94,830,000

It includes under the head of British operations the expense of the naval and military operations connected with the occupation of and withdrawal from North Russia (Murmanak and Archangel), the expense of maintaining an army in the Caucasus, and the cost of naval operations in the Baltic and Black Seas.

The expenses of British naval, army, and Air Force contingents (including Indian troops) was £17,000,000, sea transport amounted to £3,570,000, while the sum of £1,350,000 was supplied in money to the Provisional Government. Food and supplies to the Russian troops cost £2,400,000, and the amount expended on munitions and stores for Russians was £2,805,000, making a gross total of cash and marketable stores of £27,125,000. In addition, the value of munitions and stores for Russians (non-marketable) is given at £5,770,000.

Under another heading details are given of assistance to the Russian armies (the Baltic States, including the Northwest Russian Corps, Admiral Kolchak, and General Denikin). Cash and marketable stores amounted to a total of £17,385,000. In addition, munitions and stores for the Russians (returned as non-marketable) amounted to £29,550,000. Of these last-mentioned sums assistance to Kolchak totaled 14½ million pounds, and to Denikin 27¼ millions.

A note is appended stating that it has been decided to make a final contribution of stores and assistance to General Denikin of a total value of, approximately, £15,000,000, of which about £12,000,000 worth of stores are surplus and non-marketable, and in consequence involve no additional charge to the Exchequer.

Sensational Revelations at Stockholm

SOVERET RUSSIA two weeks ago published a sensational account of the well-known Hadjetlaché murders at Stockholm, which are filling pages of the Scandinavian press every day, although surprisingly little has reached American readers through newspapers in this country. *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, one of the most widely read dailies in Sweden, some time ago had an interesting article, which we reprint below, in which two letters addressed to a New York bank are brought into connection with the League which, under Hadjetlaché's charge, perpetrated the murders that have been the horror of Stockholm for the last three months.

Here is the text of the astonishing statement of *Politiken*:

The first letter, which is written by the head of the Petrograd branch of the National City Bank, George B. Link, who settled in this city (Stockholm), after October 1918, and is addressed to his central office in New York, serves simply as an introduction to the second letter. But it is interesting even when considered alone. The very address of the letter has an interest of its own. The National City Bank is an American banking corporation of great importance, which formerly had extensive business with Russia, which was terminated by the nationalization of the banks in that country. This bank had extensive relations not only with private enterprises but also with the Russian state. It negotiated, in 1917, a loan of \$75,000,000 which was used by the Russians for purchasing Finnish securities. The National City Bank, which, like a number of other capitalistic enterprises, finds itself deprived, by the continued existence of the Bolshevik authority, not only of its former business, but also of the possibility of continuing any exploitation in Russia, naturally is asked to support, even with financial aid, an attempt to introduce "orderly" capitalistic conditions in Russia, or to encourage such aims on the part of other persons. For instance, it receives correspondence from adventurers of the type of Kolchak, Mannerheim and Mohammed Bek Hadjetlaché. The letter published herewith shows the connection between these gentlemen. For the rest, the letter has merely a humorous interest. Fredrik Ström is represented in an unusually important role. He travels about with half a milliard in various foreign securities on his person. In return for this he has merely to carry on propaganda all over the world, or, after carefully considering the interests of the individuals concerned, to hand out sums varying between twenty and fifty crowns to anyone who will hoot at Mannerheim or act similarly on other occasions. A remarkable piece of horse-play! But is it possible that the honorable gentlemen of the National City Bank's Board of Directors believe this sort of thing? The effect on any sober and sensible human being is that the thing is ridiculous, and we need hardly mention to our readers that the

whole business is a fabrication and an outrageous falsehood from start to finish.

The second letter is a memorandum to a Col. Eber at Stockholm, presumably attached to some one of the rather extensive espionage bureaus of the Allies in this city. We have not been able to learn who the senders are.

The central figures are Mohammed Bek Hadjetlaché, the "famous" Cossack colonel, of "Dagens Nyheter" fame—burglar, murderer, etc. He here proposes an "interesting, serious, political, patriotic plan" of forcible entry and theft in the houses of as many people as possible and for as much as possible. For this purpose, he offers, together with his courageous and resolute companions, to enter private dwellings and offices in which he thinks there is anything to get. And the gentlemen in question like to sip in the saloons, even though this may involve final hindrances that may annihilate the realization of their entire plan.

The Colonel's rich oriental imagination, which is now attracting the admiration of the entire bourgeois press, plays an active part in these lines. He revels in the approaching booty of gold, platinum, crown jewels, and hundreds of millions of bank notes. He already beholds himself in spirit as the proprietor of all these things and gives unsolicited promises to take to himself all the risks, even as he says, the scandal of a public trial.

Furthermore, the letter provides a number of interesting glimpses into the interior of this counter-revolutionary espionage center, which, operating with thousands of persons, and with enormous capital, has during the last few years been using Stockholm as its European metropolis. Its last sentence, however, is of particular interest. Mohammed Bek assures us that the Swedish authorities have promised him complete freedom of action.

This is by no means surprising to us. The Swedish police have so many political sins upon their conscience that this promise to Mohammed simply appears as a natural link in the chain!

A LETTER TO THE NATIONAL CITY BANK, New York,
from the PETROGRAD BRANCH.

Confidential.

Stockholm, Sweden,

May 10th, 1919.

Gentlemen:

I herewith append a memorandum addressed to one of the Allied Missions in Stockholm, dated December 27th, 1918, which intends to indicate the amount of money the Bolsheviks brought to Stockholm for propaganda purpose. It is stated that the greater part of this sum was handed to Mr. Ström, a Swedish subject, the editor of *Social-Demokraten*, Stockholm, and the official representative of the Russian Bolsheviks for Sweden and for the rest of the world. While therefore, the Bolsheviks may be assumed to be isolated, the corruption of uninformed and easily misled people of all nations

goes merrily on. Mr. Ström is the gentleman who visés passports for Russia, and it is he who got up two demonstrations in Sweden against Mannerheim, and for a certain price per demonstrator. He also got up a demonstration outside of the Estonian Recruiting Office at Stockholm. Mr. Ström pays from 20 to 50 crowns per person, depending on the loudness of the hoot and the whistle which the demonstrator can produce. I am sending you this information simply so that you may know the methods of the Bolsheviks and their representatives.

Very respectfully,

GEORGE B. LINK.

A LETTER WRITTEN IN STOCKHOLM ON DECEMBER 27, 1918, TO LT. EBER, AT STOCKHOLM.

HH by reason of the fact that AMA Lt. NCS has gone to France, we desire through the present letter to renounce for ourselves and for our friends any responsibility of moral or physical nature with regard to members of RL and RC in Stockholm. Since we well understand that we cannot depend on any help or support from them.

On December 17, 1918, Aviator Lt. PRM, called on me, after a conversation with Col. MBH, the editor of the Russian newspaper EOR, and proposed to me an extremely interesting, serious, political-patriotic plan, which has the following principal points:

The present situation in Russia demands immediate military aid on the part of the Allies against the Bolsheviks, and now that the newspapers in France, England, and America have begun a campaign against intervention, it is absolutely necessary to cast a documentary light over the political character of the Bolsheviks and their shady actions. Only when public opinion within the Allied nations has actual proof of the Bolshevik policy in Russia can one hope for real military aid in the battle against these political adventurers. It is of decisive importance that we should be in a position, before the approaching conference, to seize as many documents from these false Socialists as possible, as a proof of their savage intentions.

During the last few months, Stockholm has become the center to which almost all Bolshevik documents of importance have been brought, as well as considerable sums of money, in banknotes, gold, platinum, stolen crown jewels, and other articles of value, belonging to the state and to private persons. All these properties are being kept by the Bolsheviks in three flats in Stockholm, the locations of which we have been able to determine. Col. MBH has offered to obtain these documents, etc. He is also ready to assume responsibility including that of a public trial. He has an organization of his own, of courageous, absolutely reliable men, together with whom he intends to investigate the flats in question and to take charge of the money and the documents. It must be clearly and distinctly emphasized that we wish that the documents should fall into the hands of the American Govern-

ment or of their representatives, and that they should figure at the approaching peace conference and obtain the widest possible publicity. We should like to see the money used for the formation of Russian White Guards for immediate action against the Bolsheviks. We have been able to ascertain that the Bolsheviks have obtained the following sums in Stockholm:

In treasury notes of various denominations, consignments of 65,000,000 rubles, 22 million rubles, 40 million rubles, and 2 million French francs, 4 million American dollars, 200,000 lbs. sterling.

This does not include crown jewels and other articles of value. When the above plan was entrusted to me, I considered it wise and most advantageous to communicate all the details to Lt. NCS, who, as a true friend of Russia, would be in a position to carry it out successfully. I was convinced that Lt. S. would be able to place this plan in the necessary light for the AP, and also considered it to be of great importance to apply to our American friends. Lt. S. was presented by me both to Col. WBH and to Lt. P. and decided, after he heard the details and the manner in which they intended to carry them out, to support the plan. Lt. S, however, expressed his doubts of aid from the American Government in this affair.

We made it perfectly clear that what was taken from the Bolsheviks should be placed in the charge of the American Government or its representatives, so that there might be no suspicion that any of the money was going to those concerned in the operation. It was determined also to keep this affair absolutely secret and not to communicate it to anyone beyond those directly interested.

The sudden departure of Lt. S. for the Paris Conference brought the whole matter to naught, and Mr. L., who is a person who seeks always to be in the public eye, began looking about for moral support from RL, in other words from the very source in which we had no confidence. On December 21st Colonel MBH sent an ultimatum to those interested, to carry out his plan immediately. He regretted to say that he was not in a position to furnish RL this protection.

We have reason to believe that this refusal has a double meaning and that certain circles have been set in motion to frustrate the plan, since, if it should succeed, certain things now concealed would be matters of general knowledge.

We are likewise on the trail of the Bolshevik movements and meeting places, and are willing to carry out this plan, provided we receive the moral support which we think cannot be refused, especially since the Bolsheviks are at war with the Allies, and have been declared blockaded not only by the American but also by the Swedish Government. The Bolshevik propaganda has undermined the social structure of the world and great sums in their hands are being used to corrupt the misguided and uninformed among all peoples. The loss of half a millard in cash and the publication of all their

documents would be a severer blow to Bolshevism than even a military expedition and would aid other countries in avoiding future discomforts. We may also add that Col. MBH has made representations to the Swedish authorities concerning this business, and has been assured that he need fear

nothing from this quarter since they would arrange to close their eyes to this operation, but could not, being a neutral country in the (a word illegible) meaning of the word, take part in the execution of the plan.

(There are three signatures, which are illegible.)

The Black Struggle Against Soviet Russia

(*Politiken*, Oct. 4, 1919)

POLITIKEN has an opportunity to publish here with some documents which give a clear and interesting description of the work of the dark powers which, with the help of the Entente, are endeavoring to overthrow the Soviet Russia established by the workers of Russia and to rehabilitate the old Tsar-tyranny within the boundaries of the country. These documents consist of agreements and letters exchanged between Kolchak and Denikin and their nearest assistants; of documents and descriptions of the Black-Russians' underground political organization "Asbuka," which constitutes the direct communication among the Black elements, and at the same time ostensibly works as a detachment of political espionage, after the pattern of the old Tsar-autocracy. The information has come into the hands of the Bolsheviks, partly through the capture of the courier mail and partly through the retaking of territory formerly occupied by Kolchak and Denikin. *Politiken* possesses photographic copies of many of these documents, which copies are duly witnessed by responsible individuals.

We begin by making public a survey composed by the Asbuka for Kolchak, covering conditions in South Russia, and the French intrigue for the restoration of Tsardom and the organizing of the struggle against Soviet Russia. The survey also gives a very interesting picture of the Tsarists who have grouped themselves around Denikin, also the opposition of the Ukrainians, which has reached its final culmination.

The agreement which was made between the French Command and the Directorate of Ukraine—which agreement was characterized by the representatives of the French Command as a "capitulation" of the Directorate—was, according to the plans of the French, to result in the formation of a mixed Russian-Ukrainian State Government. Negotiations concerning this matter were conducted for a time with great energy. As a center for the negotiations stood Ukraine's "Gromada" (Council, or local parliament), which was mentioned several times in "Asbuka's" summary. From the pro-German character of this latter organization it can be considered as confirmed that the main personnel of Ukraine's "Gromada" consisted of representatives of the Right groups, which have always been distinguished by their friendliness to the Germans. Undoubtedly the members are the same persons who, during the German occupation, were the real

creators of the intense sympathy for the Germans which was evidenced by Skoropadsky. The incidents of the last few months have not, apparently, been able to shake in the least the extremely pro-German ideology of the Extreme Right groups. They still seem to consider that their original theory was entirely well founded, and that Russia's only hope of rescue consisted in the formation of a close union with Germany.

In discussions with the representatives of the Russian (Schulgin) party the representatives of this extreme Right vented their feelings by saying: "There is your Entente! Have they helped you any? It would have been different if you had listened to us last summer and had made an agreement with the Germans. Then everything would have been all right. You see yourself now that we were in the right at that time, and that Russia's only friends were—the Germans."

The representatives for the "Gromada" enunciate their program thus: "We stand for a United Russia; for a united Russian church, in which the Russian language would be the state language; but we do not withhold tribute from the little-Russian romanticism, and we will, with all love, protect the local affairs and developments." On the other hand, the German scheme was that Ukraine was to be separated from Russia and forced within the boundaries of the German dominion. In spite of the internal revolution and the change of the system of government which happened in Germany; in spite of the complete change in the members of the German Government, this scheme is still being vigorously conducted in this same direction in that country. Facts are given which indicate that the heart of the Ukrainian "Gromada" is in close connection and constant touch with the agents of the German Government. "Gromada," which disposes of great assets, and which has, apparently, entire freedom to handle these assets, has received this freedom from the Germans. On the other hand, it has been substantiated that the functionaries of the German contra-espionages at Odessa serve also Ukraine's "Gromada." On the whole, these two institutions,—the German contra-espionage and the Ukrainian Gromada,—stand in close and inexplicable connection with each other. Attached to the Gromada are several groups of agricultural workers who had left the district union of agricultural workers, conducted by Count D. F. Heiden, and the direction of which had been under

the charge of B. F. Grigorenko. These groups of workers had been formed by agents with plenty of money which they received from the government of Ukraine. Those directed by Grigorenko formed a bond of union between the Ukrainian Gromada and the Directorate, and especially between the chief representative of the Directorate, General Grekov, while Grigorenko himself has been one of the principal leaders of the faction that has stood side by side with Kotov-Konoschenko. Working along the same lines as the Gromada are also a big group of military men, or rather several groups, formerly belonging to the army of Ukraine, all of them men who have lost all sense of honor, duty, and patriotism. For a time they believed that Germany had won, played their cards upon the victory of Germany, entered the Ukrainian army and swore allegiance to Ukraine. When it was discovered by them that the game was lost, all the Biskupskis, Prisovskis, Rogorses, Dashkevitch-Gorbatovskis, Pulevitches, and others did not want to admit their fault and do penance, but instead they demanded to be reinstated in the same position as those who had been loyal and had refused to betray Russia, and who had fought gallantly in the voluntary army for more than a year.

The action taken by the command of Denikin's army upon these demands seems to prove that all these Biskupskis and Prisovskis are running up and down obeying the orders of the French command, offering their services, etc. The plans of the French who went out with the decision to form mixed French-Russian military troops has offered an alternative for these soldiers' covetous intrigues. Especially has General Biskupski, the author of the proposition to form an army of the agricultural workers, been working to that end. He has again produced his proposal from the archives and has offered his services to the French and to General Grekov. At the same time he called together the generals and officers and began an agitation to induce them to enter into service with the mixed French-Russian divisions and also in the divisions which the peasants intend to form. Working in this same direction are Generals Prisovski and Schwarz, also. The first of these two stands very close to General Grekov, and the second is occupied with a detailed revision of the French proposal as to the forming of mixed divisions.

In spite of the fact that Ukraine's Gromada and General Grekov have succeeded in forming a large group which, in the ideas of the French, will serve as a base for the forming of a new state government (*kraevo pravitelstvo*), they still deem it insufficient and are striving to extend it by including groups of pure Russian interests and with records of having fought for Russia, in the forming of this new local government. To bring this about, discussions and conferences were held in the different groups and organizations. To the request of the French that they participate in the forming of this new

government, the following answered with full concurrence and expressions of sympathy: "Protofis," All Russian Landowners Organization (L. N. Kapatinski and V. A. Storosyenko), and the representatives of the clergy. The French have also endeavored to enter upon negotiations with the Soviet National Union Council, but the general consensus of opinion in this last organization is strongly against any forming of such a coalition, as was proven at the meeting held February 25th, when the whole professional group, A. Bilimovitch, Kimenskoi and others, also Prince E. I. Troubetzkoy, M. V. Tschelnokov, expressed themselves as against the participation of the National Union Council in the new local government. The matter was left unsettled because any demand for a definite decision would have led to a schism. This action on the part of the National Union Council has given the French command a great deal of disappointment. On February 26th a banquet had been arranged by the Council, but as General d'Anselme and Colonel Freidenburg refused to be present, the banquet was canceled.

The French command endeavored also to obtain support for its plans from the South Russian "Russian party." Most energetic efforts were made to induce V. V. Schulgin to approve. On the 24th of February, Schulgin met the chief of the French command, Colonel Freidenburg, who had been anxiously looking forward to this meeting. The earnestness of his efforts to bring it about had convinced V. V. Schulgin that Freidenburg was the principal person in the French command, and that General d'Anselme and Bertheleau were entirely under his influence and merely acting as a voice for the expression of his opinions. Considering the position and importance of Colonel Freidenburg, we shall quote here rather fully the very interesting conversation which took place between him and Schulgin. After the usual greetings, courtesies and compliments, Freidenburg proposed the straight question: "Whether agreement would be satisfactory to you or your group?" To this question Schulgin replied that such an agreement must fulfil two claims: First, that it should not carry the stamp of Ukrainianism, and, second, that it should carry the stamp of General Denikin.

In answer to the first proposition, Freidenburg said that "France is true to the principle of the United Russia. We," he said, "will not follow England's example in acknowledging the independence of the Georgians,—we will never acknowledge Ukraine's independence,—but at present," he continued, "the important thing is not the decision of political questions of any sort, but only the utilization of all the anti-Bolshevik forces, including the Ukrainian army, for the struggle against the Bolsheviks, and the Russian party by protesting against all agreements with the Ukrainians has placed too great emphasis upon the words."

In his reply Schulgin pointed out that there are words for which people are willing to die; that

the word "Ukrainian" comprises in itself a great and definite purport; and that just as in France a Frenchman who had deserted and gone over to the Germans would have been eternally disgraced if not shot, so the Russians could not co-operate with other Russians who had, like this particular group of Russians, called themselves "Ukrainians" during the war with Germany, and had helped the Germans to defeat Russia. With such persons Russian patriots could not enter into any agreements. To this Freidenburg answered that the Ukrainians certainly had been deserters and were good-for-nothing fellows, but that the main point at issue just then was the utilization of their forces in the struggle against Bolshevism. In regard to the other claim by Schulgin, Freidenburg said: "I understand you thoroughly, when you want to make a standard bearer out of Denikin, around whom the Russians could rally and unite themselves,—the Russians who have such an irresistible gift of quarreling among themselves are in need of just such a center around which to gather. We Frenchmen highly appreciate Denikin's merits and have a high esteem for him, but it often happens that many inferior advisers gather themselves around a good center,—is that not true?"

Schulgin replied that in theory this might easily be true, but in case Colonel Freidenburg believed it to be true in this particular case he should please mention the names of some of the "inferior advisers." Freidenburg seemed embarrassed, hesitated, mentioned no names, and went hastily on to another question. "But see," he said, "how both friends and enemies placed themselves against us. Our friends, as for instance General Denikin, have positively refused to participate in the forming of mixed French-Russian army divisions, and see what our enemies write us." And Freidenburg displayed to Schulgin a paper from Ukraine's Directorate, in which was written that the Directorate admitted their error, asked the French command for help against the Bolsheviks, were willing to submit themselves to French protection, and requested that France take care of Ukraine's management within the military, diplomatic, political, financial, economic, and legal spheres, during the continuation of the war against the Bolsheviks, and that the Directorate hoped that finally when the struggle is over that France and the other nations would show their generosity when the question of territories and nations should be brought up.

This document was signed by Petlura, Schvets, Makarenko, and the head of the cabinet, Ostapenko. "What do you say to that?" Freidenburg asked, in a triumphant manner. Schulgin replied: "Rogues like Petlura can sign anything. Last year Petlura sent his friends to me to announce that he is a true friend of Russia, that Russia and Ukraine have a mutual enemy, Germany—and three weeks later he marched into Kiev at the head of German troops! Therefore a paper signed by Petlura makes no impression whatever upon me, since he is able

to give his signature to anyone or anything. As far as General Denikin's reply is concerned, I consider it quite correct. If you do not allow the voluntary army (Denikin's) to mobilize and form Russian forces in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, and insist on forming a separate army, General Denikin cannot then take the responsibility for such a risky and hopeless enterprise."

Freidenburg replied eagerly. He said that the French command highly esteem the voluntary army, acknowledge all its merits, and consider it the only force that has been faithful to its duty. "But we have been convinced," he continued, "that the voluntary army does not enjoy any popularity anywhere, and that it is unable to accomplish a mobilization. Every attempt it has made to do so thus far has failed, according to the statements of my agents, like the attempt to carry out the mobilization at Crimea. When we learned this, we decided to take the measures which have been so successfully accomplished in Rumania, Serbia, Greece, and even in England and America; the raising of an army of a special type from among the population, under the command of French officers. These troops are entirely out of politics, belong to no parties, and are used only for maintaining order throughout the country."

In his reply Schulgin pointed out that Freidenburg had been in error in stating that the voluntary army could not accomplish mobilization.

"It is true," he said, "that ever since you arrived at Odessa everything you have said or done has been a continual discredit to the voluntary army. And yet, in spite of all this, it can be mobilized. Besides, there is a General Grischin Almasov here who has had great experience in the forming of an army, and it is he that Russia must thank for the successful mobilization that was carried out in Siberia."

About his criticism of the plans of the French command, whose purpose was to form mixed troop divisions, Schulgin said: "In these troops the soul and the branch would be French. Suppose then that some day your parliament says 'that is sufficient,' and gives orders to the French troops to return from Russia; then we would once more be subject to slaughter from the revolting mob." Freidenburg said that these apprehensions were very well founded, "but," he said, "we Frenchmen are a very tough people, and if we have come here we will not go away so soon; besides, we will, in proportion to the expansion of the troop divisions, lessen the number of French officers in them."

During the continuance of the conversation Freidenburg took from the table a resolution made by the South Russian National Center the 11th of February, which Schulgin had given to General d'Anselme some time before, and said that he had carefully studied this resolution and could not conceal his surprise over the opinions of its author about the possibility of the Russian population deserting to the Bolsheviks.

Schulgin replied that neither could the author of the resolution conceal his fear that in case of a choice between the Russian Bolsheviki and the Ukrainian Petlura, the Bolsheviki would be given the preference by the people.

"But the Bolsheviki have been created by the Germans," Freidenburg said.

"But the Ukrainians are also the work of the Germans," said Schulgin, "and they who support Ukraine are serving the interests of the German policy."

Freidenburg, like d'Anselme expressed his desire that Schulgin and his group would support the French command's efforts in their action to obtain order in the country. On the whole, Freidenburg's plans are intended to make a team of three horses. The French is to be next the shaft and the Russians and Ukrainians are to be side horses. He considers this plan very practical. Moreover, he said, he would obtain a closer harmony between the Russians and the Ukrainians on account of their joint war activity against the Bolsheviki, and thus bind them together with ties as strong as those of blood. Schulgin energetically denied that this would be possible, and stated that no co-operation could be established between the Russians and that Denikin was the only right and proper one, and that finally every support extended by the Russians to the policy of the French command which is founded on agreement with the Ukrainians, and that every sympathy for this policy would harm the relations between the French and the Ukrainians, as the latter trust the French command only to the extent that it opposes the wishes and efforts of the representatives of the Russian population.

The whole conversation was conducted in a friendly fashion and in an amicable tone. At his departure, Freidenburg said that he very well knew what the Ukrainians were, and that the French command might coquet before them if necessary, but that this action should not worry the Russians, because the final aim of the French is the re-establishment of the united strong Russia.

On the 25th of February Schulgin presented a careful report of his conversation with Colonel Freidenburg to the Council of the South Russian National Center. The council of said center approved unanimously of what Schulgin had said to the representative of the French command. The activity of Colonel Freidenburg and General Grekov was in full swing. It seemed as though the forming of a new state government had been taken for granted. (The Directorate of the Ukraine consisted of seven members.) It should consist of General Grekov, Kotov-Konoschenko, E. E. Grigorenko, P. A. Matzko, Matzievicz, and Kolo-sevski, and the candidate for the seventh member had not yet been announced, when suddenly the information of General Denikin's firm and precise decision of refusal to enter upon any agreements whatsoever with Ukrainian deserters, and likewise to consent to the formation of mixed French-Rus-

sian divisions was received. A. F. Andreau (?), who had been to Ekaterinodar at the request of General Bertheleau, had returned to Odessa the (??) of February, quite downhearted. On the 24th of February he asked Schulgin how it could be managed,—what one should do to bring it about,—what would be the best thing to suggest to the French command. On this same occasion he said, "The situation is very serious, as we find ourselves confronting the suspension of relations between the French army and the voluntary army."

Schulgin expressed the same thoughts and opinions which he had set forth the same day in his conversation with Colonel Freidenburg. In spite of the categorical refusal of General Denikin, which had been brought back by Andreau, Freidenburg was in a most hostile mood of temper and was ready to enter into action. He was encouraged in this by several people. But shortly thereafter there came the information about the evacuation of Kazatin without battle; the flight of the Directorate from Vinnitza, and so on. Almost at the same moment came a communication that Denikin,—considering the seriousness of the situation at the Don front, where the voluntary and the conscripted Don troops, without receiving any help from the Entente, are collapsing before the huge forces of the Bolsheviki,—could not leave the front to meet General Berthelot at Konstanz.

This whole affair brought the French command into a state of extreme apprehension and alarm, but forced them to delay their final decisions. On the 28th of February, however, they had about decided to act, and the seventh place in the new Directorate had been given to the representative of the agriculturists, peasant Siderenko. But, on that same day, a huge meeting of the *real* agricultural workers took place.

This meeting, which was attended by representatives of the peasants from all districts in South Russia, firmly expressed itself as against all agreements with the Ukrainians, and decided to notify the French command that the South Russian agriculturists will only give their support to a local power that receives its mandates from General Denikin.

The more and more growing advance by the Bolsheviki, especially on the line Krementschug—Nikolayev, and Tcherkassi—Odessa, caused great uneasiness among the French command. This situation was accentuated by the unrest which prevailed in Odessa itself, where the people had to suffer from hunger and cold. (One pood of wood cost 26 rubles, one pound of bread 8 rubles.) This great scarcity of food and warmth took on the character of extreme distress, and in these circumstances it is scarcely surprising that the Bolsheviki agitation was successful. This agitation was very extensive, and entirely carried on in the open before the public. During the past week big meetings were held by the Social Revolutionist party

and others, at which meetings resolutions were adopted to endeavor to obtain the support of the world generally in establishing Soviet power in Odessa as soon as possible. The French were very much afraid of a Bolshevik revolt in Odessa, and influenced by this fear, they crowded around General Grischin Almasov, counting upon him alone to be able to check the spread of this revolt. Consciousness of the danger compelled the French command to recognize General Grischin Almasov's splendid talents and qualities and his great determination, and during the last week he was called upon by the highest representatives of the French command. But in his conversation on the 28th of February with the representative for the paper *Yuzhnaya Rossiya*, the representative of the French command, Mr. Vilyem, said excitedly: "We have done everything we could to persuade Grischin—Almasov, the only talented general here in the voluntary army, to join us, but he stands irrevocably on the same ground with General Denikin. . . . At any rate, we have decided to remove from our way all obstacles, and we do not go back upon this decision."

The unrest at Odessa continues to grow, thanks to the more and more increasing anti-Jewish sentiment. The city is boiling with rage against the Jews. On the evening of February 25th the situation became worse, when one of the principal leaders of the extreme right, N. N. Rodzevich, was murdered on Novoselski Street. In the previous report of "Asbuka," it was informed that on the 7th of February a well-attended meeting of a monarchical-Absolutist organization was held in the home of the now deceased Rodzevich. The head of this new organization intended to present propaganda for the maintenance of an unlimited monarchy as the only means of Russia's rescue. The murder of Rodzevich increased the apprehensions of a Jewish pogrom, and extraordinary measures were taken for its prevention. The protection of the city in case of a Bolshevik revolt or of a Jewish pogrom, was entrusted to the voluntary detachment under the command of General Grischin-Almasov. The troop detachments of the Entente, great numbers of whom had recently arrived at Odessa, are being transferred from the harbor to trains and sent immediately to the Bolshevik front. During the last four days altogether two divisions of Entente troops with a great number of artillery have arrived at Odessa, and almost all of them have been sent in the direction of Voznesensk. The French staff has at the same time been considerably extended. Attacks are being prepared for in the vicinity of Yelisavetgrad-Kremenschug. No courier from "Asbuka" has arrived from Kiev for a whole month. Private individuals who have succeeded in reaching here from that place state that the regime of the Bolsheviks at that place is comparatively mild, their persecutions being mainly directed against the Ukrainians. The Russian officers were properly treated. The departure from

Kiev is by special permission only. There is some reliable information about the hostile sentiments of the population of Little Russia against the fighters of Galicia and Ukraine. These latter rob and carry away everything to Galicia. The population, railway workers and soldiers of Petlura, who are not Galicians, resist with all their energies, the robberies which are practiced by the Galicians, in whom they see only detested foreigners, and whom they call "Austrians."

In Russian political circles at Odessa a great sensation has been caused by the news that a former correspondent of *Novoye Vremya*, A. A. Pilenkos, has been appointed to a responsible position with the Propaganda Department. In Kiev, Pilenko was with the German Center and had entire charge of the "Protosis," which was the principal organ of German friendliness.

At the present time there are several Ukrainian "higher officials" at Odessa, among them the head of the Ukrainian government, Ostapenko, and the Ukrainian commander-in-chief, General Grekov, the latter having arrived with his entire staff. All these "government officers," whose number increases daily, are enjoying the hospitality of Odessa, which is the voluntary army's seat and stronghold, and yet carrying on a public and persistent agitation against the voluntary army, and generally intriguing against it. At the same time there are languishing in Ukrainian prisons Metropolitan A. A. Rittich, D. V. Skryptschenko, N. V. Storosyenko, and others, whose "crime" has been that they were faithful to a united Russia and to the United Russian Church.

The Beauties of the French Occupation of Odessa

Two interesting facts are given below:

1. A physician in the service of the Danish Red Cross, carrying half a million rubles belonging to the latter, was arrested by the French naval authorities as a Bolshevik agent. Thrown into the hold, under guard of Moroccans, without any nourishment for several days, he was finally brought in an exhausted condition before the recorder of the court-martial and found him seated at table before an excellent repast. Calling attention to his own physical exhaustion, he demanded to be given something to eat before his interrogation. The French officer refused. Threatened several times daily with the death penalty (a threat which assumed an all the more grave character in view of the fact that the court-martials were having "Bolsheviks" shot daily, or other unfortunates suspected of Bolshevism), he was finally, because of the absolute lack of foundation in the accusation and the absence of the slightest proof, released after several weeks of detention. He was in a pitiable state at that time.

2. A Bolshevik named Lastoshkin shared his quarters in the hold. Every day he was taken

(Continued on page 29)

Further Details of the Finnish-English Capture of Eskilstuna III

(Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, October 3, 1919.

PETITION OF THE CREW AND THE OWNER TO THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT

Satisfaction and Indemnity Demanded

COMMUNICATIONS were presented to the Foreign Department last Thursday from the crew of *Eskilstuna III*, and from the owner of the steamer. The communication of the crew contains an explicit report of the fate of the steamer after its seizure. They confirm the information about the outrages committed by the Finns previously given to the press, and which appear in even a more horrible light. The communications are given below, in detail.

Comments are almost superfluous. If there was anything to add, it would concern the *Aftonbladet*, which gave a distorted story of the investigation made by our Helsingfors legation. The *Aftonbladet* asserts that the investigation made by the legation has refuted the stories of the crew. In reality, the Swedish legation at Helsingfors confirms in every respect what was reported by the captain, the crew and the owner.

The Owner Asks for Protection and Indemnity Through the Foreign Department

The communication of the owner reads as follows:

TO THE ROYAL FOREIGN DEPARTMENT:

Since the crew of *Eskilstuna III* has now returned home to Sweden, and detailed reports have been received by me through them as to the procedure of the capture of the steamer, I respectfully submit the following:

It has been fully substantiated that the capture took place in international waters, Saturday, September 20th, and the running aground which followed occurred when the steamer was under command of the English prize crew, whose intention it undoubtedly was to run the steamer aground. It will be hard to explain why the course planned by the mate to sail into Björkö was not followed, but a course which led the steamer on the inside of the beacon towards the shoal side was chosen instead, thereby making the running aground of the *Eskilstuna III* inevitable. Immediately after the steamer had run aground, its captain asked the English destroyer for help, which was refused with the very peculiar explanation that "the *Eskilstuna* is all right where she is lying." If the help asked for had been given immediately, the steamer could have been taken off the ground without any damage whatever.

That a boat belonging to a nation with such proud marine traditions as England refuses to assist a boat in distress, bearing lives in danger through no fault of their own, is to say the least almost incredible.

Regarding the manner of the Finnish officials towards the steamer and its crew, they were more brutal and unscrupulous than at previous captures.

As an example hereof, I only mention the fact that when the crew did not want to leave the steamer because of her dangerous position, the Finnish commander ordered his men to load their guns and attach bayonets in order to remove the crew by force. It is impossible not to be aroused by such treatment of Swedish citizens on a Swedish steamer. Their actions could not have been more barbarous if war had existed between the two nations.

But the brutality did not cease when the crew had been forced to go ashore. The Finnish authorities treated the Swedes as if they had been the worst sort of criminals, robbed them of their personal effects, and covered them with vulgar and insulting remarks. For instance, one of the Finns even spat in the face of Captain Ericson when he made a simple request, proving clearly the aspirations toward great achievements of our Finnish brothers.

The real culmination of their reckless disregard of human rights reached its highest point, however, in the plundering of the steamer which followed. In real piratical manner everything of value was taken away and no measures spared in the search for concealed treasures. This explains the denial of the request that the commanders of the steamer be allowed to go on board. For three days this request was refused. It is clear, thus, that the Finnish, as well as the English, have violated both human and international rights, by this illegal and inhumane act.

A merchant ship sailing under the Swedish flag was captured, is compelled to run aground, thereby risking the life and property of Swedish citizens; free Swedish citizens are put into prison-like confinement, and the steamer is plundered.

Therefore I appeal to the Foreign Department to take all measures to protect my own and the crew's property; and to present claims to the English and Finnish officials for compensation for all damages that may accrue to me and to the command and crew of the steamer. In corroboration of my statements I present also a report of the capture, made by the crew.

VIK F. ENGSTRANDH,

Owner of SS. *Eskilstuna III*.

Stockholm, September 30, 1919.

(Continued on next page)

We are enabled to print a 32-page issue this week because we have a rather large amount of interesting material to publish. While we cannot undertake to furnish such comprehensive matter every week, we shall try to print a 32-page issue as often as possible.

The Crew Describes the Rudeness of the Finns

The crew's communication reads as follows:

TO THE ROYAL FOREIGN DEPARTMENT:

In completion and verification of the information given in the press and elsewhere regarding the capture and the treatment accorded the steamer *Eskilstuna* and her crew, we, the undersigned, being the crew of the steamer, wish to submit the following to the Foreign Department, to the correctness of which statement made by us we are duly prepared to uphold.

The capture took place Saturday, September 20th, at an hour and place before given through the press. The prize crew came on board immediately, and the command was taken over by two English officers. It should be stated that prior to the capture the steamer *Eskilstuna III* had passed successfully through a mine field of about 4,500 mines which had recently been planted by the English, and during its progress it had been closely observed by several English man-of-wars, not one of which gave us the slightest warning or information as to the mines. After the command had been taken over by the English officers, the steamer was run aground in fifteen minutes, being at full speed when this was done. The conditions of the running aground of the steamer are of such a character that we cannot help giving a complete account of them.

The *Eskilstuna III* followed immediately in the wake of one of the destroyers that had accomplished its capture. The course was taken in the immediate vicinity of the outlying beacon at Nätgrundet, and the destroyer went directly inside the beacon towards the shoal side. When the destroyer was immediately opposite the beacon, it slowed down, and, in order to avoid a collision, the *Eskilstuna III* was forced to steer to the side. The English officer in command then ordered the steamer to go to the starboard, that is, towards the shoal side, with the inevitable consequence that it ran aground. But the officer gave no command to slacken speed, but on the contrary kept the power at full speed until the steamer was so securely wedged that it could go neither forwards nor backwards, after which, of course, she stopped. We must state here that Mate Modin, of the *Eskilstuna III*, had planned the course to sail into Björkö, which course would have led us at least a couple of miles away from the ground; but this course was not taken by the English command.

Immediately after the steamer had run aground, its own crew took a sounding, on the order of Captain Ericson, to ascertain its position, after which he asked for help from a near-by English destroyer, to pull the steamer off the ground.

The Help Requested Was Denied

with the explanation that "*Eskilstuna* is all right where she is lying." Thereafter two life boats arrived from the English destroyer and informed the crew that they who wanted to could leave the

steamer. The superintendent and the cook and two men from the crew were thus taken over to the English destroyer in one of the life boats. With this life boat went also a Finnish citizen who had traveled as a passenger from Petrograd, and an unknown person who had not been seen on board before. According to his own statement, this man had been hiding in one of the coal boxes. None of those who went on the lifeboats was permitted to take any belongings with him.

Immediately after the steamer had run aground, a bearing of the hold was taken, upon order of Captain Ericson. The hold was found to be dry at that time. About twenty minutes later a new bearing was taken, and it was then found that the steamer had sprung a leak, and that the water was four inches deep. The pumps were at once put to work, but in spite of this the water rose to a depth of forty inches in three hours. At this time we began to remove our belongings from cabins and forecastle to the deck, so that we could make a sudden debarkation if necessary. We were forbidden this action by the English officers, and a guard was placed to prevent our moving our belongings.

About half-past eleven that night a motorboat arrived with Finnish soldiers on board, who boarded the *Eskilstuna III*, and then the English informed us that they were leaving the command of the steamer to the Finns.

We were then asked if we wished to leave the steamer and go with the motor boat to the shore, but all of us who had remained answered with a positive no, and stated that if the position of the steamer compelled us to leave it, we would do so in our own lifeboats. Then the Finnish commander ordered his men to load their guns with bullets and to attach the bayonets, after which he informed us that in case we did not leave the steamer at once, we would be removed by force.

We naturally had to yield to this, and then we asked to bring our personal effects with us. This was refused, and only after the intervention of the English did we get permission to bring the few things that we had before this brought up on deck. We were thus carried away from the steamer under considerable brutal treatment from the Finns.

Blows from the butts of their guns and prods with their bayonets were their only argument against us, when we tried to bring some of our personal property from the steamer, and we are firmly convinced that it was only the presence of the English that prevented them from being even more brutal.

Another example of their methods is given here: Captain Ericson had put some documents and ship's papers into a handbag to protect them during the transportation ashore. This bag, however, disappeared, and when Captain Ericson asked for it, he was met with abuse. Later on the papers were returned to him, but the bag was not, and has not

been since. The engineer and his crew asked to make an inspection of the engine before their departure—the engine still running at full speed. This also was denied. After that we were taken into Björkö, where we were compelled to stand in rain and wind for an hour and a half before we finally were given quarters in a brewery for the night, without food, water, or beds, or even light. The next day we were given food, but only after Captain Ericson had assured them that he could pay for it. When it came time to pay, our liberal hosts had counted the Finnish marks at the rate of exchange of 50, instead of the normal 19 or 20, which made it a very profitable transaction for them. We wish to state, here, that we had plenty of food of our own on board the steamer, which they had refused us permission to bring with us.

On Sunday afternoon we were taken to the English Admiralty ship, where Captain Ericson was examined, after which we were all led to the commander at Björkö, where we were subjected to an examination which consisted mostly of insults and sneering remarks and comments. We were then taken to a barrack, where we were given lodgings and where we stayed to Thursday, September 25th, under continual military guard. On this occasion (Thursday, September 25), we were given another examination, after which we were directed to leave the country immediately. Only Captain Ericson, Mate Modin, and Engineer Samuelson received permission to remain. We then departed via Terijoki-Helsingfors, to Stockholm.

To the above narration of our personal experiences we consider it advisable to add also the report of the captain, the mate, and the engineer in regard to the robbing of the steamer. These three were not allowed to visit the steamer before Tuesday, three days after she had run aground. On their return to Björkö they were much wrought up over the plundering of the steamer. Not only the food supply and the silver and service set were gone, but also the personal property of the crew. Things which were not taken away were cut and destroyed—pillows, mattresses, etc., cut in pieces, emptied on the decks, etc. We have every reason to believe that their statements in this matter are true, and we make mention of these things because we shall present claims for compensation against the Finnish Government for this stolen and destroyed property. We also refer to the communication from the owner.

J. G. GUSTAFSEN, 2nd Engineer; G. LARSON, Boatswain; HARVED WELLIN, Fireman; GUSTAV HAGGLUND, Fireman; N. O. HILDING JANSSON, Sailor.

Stockholm, September 30, 1919.

A few hundred copies are still obtainable of our Special Anniversary Number of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 22). Readers may obtain copies at ten cents each, or seven cents each in bundles of ten or more.

How People Are Living in White Riga

FOOD CONDITIONS INTOLERABLE

Communication from Reval to Rosta

The paper of the Lettish social patriots, *Social-demokrati*, states that living and working conditions at Riga are especially terrible. Pay for the workers is very low, three to eight rubles per day being the average, which is entirely too little during the present enormously high prices of products. And only a few fortunate people are at work, at even these small wages. The great majority are without work, and many families are living upon grass, the bark of trees, and such food unfit for humans.

The newspaper states that on August 18th Russian and German officers met in a house on Svato-duhovska Street, where they joined in singing "Die Wacht am Rhein" and the Russian Tsarist hymn, "God Bless the Tsar," and together cheered both the Tsar and the German Kaiser. The German governor was present at this meeting.

Such are the conditions of life in Riga, under the White regime.

Women Workers Demand Lifting of Blockade

The following resolution on lifting the Russian blockade, presented by Margaret Bondfield, of England, was adopted by the International Congress of Working Women at Washington, November 7th:

"Whereas, Neither the United States nor any of the Allied or Associated Powers is officially at war with Russia, and

"Whereas, The blockade causes hardships to numberless women and children,

"Be it Resolved, That we, the delegates of the First International Congress of Working Women, in Washington, D. C., in conference assembled, hereby protest at the continuance of said blockade and advocate the immediate removal of all restrictions of shipment of food to the peoples of Russia."

The Beauty of the Occupation of Odessa

(Continued from page 26)

before the shooting squad and, after having passed through a semblance of execution, was led to the interrogation. Several times when he returned from this torture, he showed his fingers to his comrade in captivity, who you will recall was a physician. The physician recalled—I hesitate even to repeat such barbarities—that Lastoshkin's finger nails bore the bloody lines made by toothpicks which had been driven in under the nail. Whether this was according to superior orders, or due to the voluntary initiative of the Moroccans, is a minor matter! The unhappy Lastoshkin, after having suffered from these mediaeval tortures, the work of a sadistic counter-revolutionist, was finally delivered from his sufferings by being shot for good.

ANTONIO COEN.

—*Le Populaire*, October 19th.

The Policy of the Bolshevik Government Toward Japan

ON the 28th of September, 1919, the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi* (daily) published the following news as sent by its special correspondent, Mr. Fuse, from Helsingfors, Finland:

I am very sorry that I could not carry out my special mission as ordered by the Tokyo *Nichi-Nichi*, to go into Russia, since my application for a passport was rejected by the Soviet Government, so that I sent a wireless to the Moscow Government, asking it to tell me the policy of the Soviet Government toward Japan. On the 12th of September, in the name of Mr. Chicherin, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Government, my request was answered from the Isarskoe Selo Wireless station, with over 300 words:

For your newspaper I will answer your questions. The policy of the Soviet Government toward Japan was publicly announced in the record of the Fifth All-Russian Soviet Congress, held in July 1918, and in the official paper, *Izvestia* on the 5th of May, 1918. It will be clear to you from those records that from November 1917, to May 1918, our government earnestly endeavored to establish a firm economic understanding between the Russian Soviet Government and Japan. It was first proposed to Ambassador Uchida, then at Petrograd. Next, through Mr. Sentaro Uyeda, the Consul of Japan at Moscow, our Government asked the opinion of Japan and then proposed to Mr. Marumo, the acting Ambassador at Vologda, by our specially sent ----- (not clear—must be a name), but the Japanese Government has not answered. Not only that it has not even permitted our proposals to be published by your newspapers. In this manner, although we earnestly desired to establish cordial relations between the two countries as good neighbors, that desire and endeavor of ours was concealed from the Japanese people. Although our Soviet Government, moreover, on the fourth of February of the present year, proposed in a public document to the Allied powers a general or separate peace, our acceptance of the Allied proposals to send our delegates to Prinkipo Island was not answered. Concerning this a detailed public statement was published in the issue of *Izvestia* of February 5th, 1919, but the Allied powers and Japan kept it secret. It should be added here that although the Allied powers do not cease to attack the Soviet Government, the Soviet Government is ever ready to negotiate a general or separate peace with the Powers. The facts clearly tell this and the Japanese people, regardless of the opinion of the Japanese Government, should not misunderstand the true facts!

"Revival of Religious Sentiment"

The *Dalneyevostochnoye Obozrenie* of Vladivostok, in its issue of September 17th, reproduces, under the above heading, an excerpt from Order No. 80, Section 8, issued for the first region of the Transbaikalian Province on September 5th:

"I have observed that during the services the

churches are almost empty, while many soldiers are aimlessly roaming about the streets and parks of the city. On holidays at the time when church services are being held, the soldiers are crowding the market-places, gathering in groups among the traders and their customers.

"In order to revive among the army men their religion sentiments which are now slumbering, and in order to brace up their moral principles which have been shaken by the anti-religious Bolshevik-Socialist propaganda, it would be desirable to have the army men attend the church services more frequently than they now do, on Sundays and holidays and on the eve of holidays, wherefore the commanders of army units and office chiefs are directed

TWENTY-NINE SOVIET RUSSIA

to call together on those days all soldiers desiring to attend the divine services and to send them to church in companies led by their officers, who are to be specially detailed to maintain order.

"It is desirable that the officers themselves set an example of a greater zeal in doing their religious duty. The commanders of the military units and office chiefs are directed personally to see to it that this order is strictly obeyed.

"Signed: MAJOR-GENERAL SKIPETROV."

French Labor Unions Will Take Action Against the Blockade of Russia

The Executive Committee of the French Labor Federation (Confédération Générale du Travail) received at its meeting of November 4 a delegation of the Paris union locals (syndicates) which came to discuss the question as to how the military intervention of the Entente and the blockade, undertaken in accord with Germany, will react upon the Russian Revolution.

A short exchange of views has shown that upon this subject there is a full unanimity of opinion in the ranks of the French working class.

In pursuance of its action for the benefit of the Russian people, the Executive Committee has decided to undertake a wide propaganda tour over the country in order to create a current of opinion that would compel the French Government to make peace with Russia.

At the end of this propaganda tour, and after the labor unions have been consulted as to the results which the campaign to be undertaken has produced, the National Executive Committee shall meet again and finally decide upon the attitude which the French working class is to take with regard to the coalition that is menacing the Russian revolution. . . .

The situation of Russians in France, civil and military, has been the subject of a prolonged debate, in consequence of which the Executive Committee, after taking cognizance of the action already conducted, has charged the Bureau with the work of continuing its efforts in order to secure liberty for the Russians in France. . . .

American Professor on Intervention in Siberia

ON November 1, 1919, Professor Lawrence Packard delivered an address before a prominent club in Rochester, N. Y., in which he expressed strong disapproval of intervention in Siberia. Commenting editorially on his speech, the *Rochester Times-Union* of Nov. 3 has the following to say:

In his address before the City Club Saturday afternoon Professor Lawrence Packard of the University of Rochester, gave first hand information regarding our expeditionary force to Siberia.

He discounted both the protection of supplies at Vladivostok and the need of assisting the Czecho-Slovaks, set forth as ostensible reasons for this step, and showed that the true cause went deeper, being connected with the entire problem of the Far East, of which the Shantung issue has been one angle.

In plain English, the Allied and associated powers desired that the operations in Eastern Siberia should not be under exclusively Japanese auspices.

Japan was ready to send troops to that district, sufficient in numbers to protect any stores at Vladivostok, to keep open the eastern end of the trans-Siberian railway, and to prevent any operations in this region by released Austro-German war prisoners.

These last, he said, did not prove the menace that had at one time been feared. When released from prison camps their one object was to get away from the country as fast as they could.

Professor Packard carefully confined his remarks to Siberia. He stated that bolshevism did not assume the character in that region that it has been reported as developing in Russia proper. He expressed no opinion regarding European Russia, but simply stated that information regarding Siberia issued from the Kolchak headquarters and other anti-bolshevist sources proved uniformly unreliable.

The inference is that anti-bolshevist statements regarding other portions of the former Russian empire are equally untrustworthy, as has indeed recently proved the case with reference to operations around Petrograd.

This observer's conclusions agree with those which other students of the Russian situation have been forced to adopt. Even a complete victory by Kolchak and Denikin will not end Russia's troubles. That unfortunate country seems destined to a long period of civil turmoil before it can emerge from the darkness of centuries of ignorance and misrule and reach the firm ground of modern democratic government.

Professor Packard showed how nobly our troops and commanders in Eastern Siberia, entrusted with a difficult and delicate mission, have upheld the traditions of the American army.

Wherever stationed they restrained brutality and gave everyone a fair show. They gained the complete confidence of the inhabitants, especially the poor and oppressed, who continually looked to the Americans above everyone else for aid and protection.

An English View of the Blockade

(From the *Nation*, London, October 25.)

If any sort of truce were concluded tomorrow with Soviet Russia on the Bullitt-Lenin terms, the economic outlook of the whole of Central and Eastern Europe would be instantly transformed. It is clear from the careful reports of Professor Goode that Soviet Russia is far from being without resources. The grain harvest has been exceptionally good, and would be available for the

starving Borderland peoples, if only the now well-organized railway system of Russia could obtain fuel, lubricants, and spare parts for the locomotives and river steamers, which should transport it. There is timber enough awaiting export to solve our housing problem, and flax enough accumulated to clothe us in fine linen. The universal need is so immense, and the possibilities of exchange so various and unlimited, that the mere lifting of the Russian blockade would probably in itself suffice within a few months to ease the intolerable tension from Siberia to the Rhine. The peasant would bring out his hoarded grain: the eggs and butter of Siberia would find their way to towns which have not seen such luxuries for years, if only the insensate barriers of exchange were lifted. Even hopeless Vienna, which makes excellent locomotives, would begin to live again, if it could exchange spare parts against Russian wheat.

"But would you," it may be said, "allow the Germans to snatch from us the fruits of victory, by permitting them to 'dump' their tools and machines upon Russia?" Assuredly we would, even if it were certain that German competition could frustrate our own efforts to capture the Russian market. For even in that event the general prosperity will be served. Russia, thanks to the use of Germany machinery, will be the better able to send us cheap grain and flax and timber, and if she herself did not take our exports in exchange, they would go by some of the triangular processes of trade to some other market. If Germany made her profits in Russia, she would spend some part of them in purchasing British goods.

The military events of the next two or three weeks will settle in all probability the question whether the Soviet Republic can be overthrown by arms before the winter sets in. If Kolchak and his generals fail to achieve a decision now, it must be postponed until next summer at the earliest. The question of the blockade will then present itself anew in an acuter form than ever. Shall we continue it, with the certainty that its continuance means not merely the death of millions of human beings, for want primarily of fuel, in Russia itself, but also the postponement for another winter of the economic recovery of Central and Eastern Allied Europe? The chain of interdependence between these countries links their fate inescapably. The textile mills of Poland, the locomotive works of Riga and Vienna, the electrical factories of Berlin, are all normally dependent on the closed Russian market. If they are workless, then either they cannot take our exports, or, what is rather worse, they take them on credit, which will mean, as things are going today, that we incur bad debts.

Blockades are always two-edged weapons. One cannot doom another nation to starvation without in the end suffering oneself.

The Next Number (No. 27) of
“SOVIET RUSSIA”
will be out
December 6th

and will contain in addition to articles announced in our last issue, which were omitted for lack of space, the following new features of interest.

1. *Farewell Speech of Krestinskiy, Commissaire of Finance on Budget Problems of Soviet Russia.*
2. *The Making of a Bolshevik, by MAX M. ZIPPIN.*
3. *The Civil War in Siberia, by SEMPER FREY.*
4. *A number of Items Illustrating English Policy in Russia.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE MAKING OF A BOLSHIEV, <i>By Max M. Zippin</i>	2	EDITORIALS	12, 13
MICHAEL OF THE VOLGA, <i>By Marcel Caby</i>	4	STATEMENTS OF THE BUREAU	14
PHARMACY IN RUSSIA, <i>By S. A.</i>	6	THE ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF FINANCE	15
THE SUPERHUMAN ENERGY OF THE WORKERS	8	THE SOUTH AND THE EAST	16
RED RUSSIA. VERSE. <i>By F. W. Stella Brown</i>	8	THE STRUGGLE FOR THE RUSSIAN BOOTY	20
FROM THE TURKESTAN FRONT, <i>By G. Niccolini</i>	9	AMERICAN LABOR ON INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA	22
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES FROM SOVIET RUSSIA	11	A FEUD AMONG COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES	23

The War in Russia

(STRATEGY, DIPLOMACY AND PEACE)

SINCE the beginning of the armed intervention in Russia, the diplomacy of the Soviet Republic has done everything in order to support the strategy of its army. Now the moment has come when strategy must back the diplomacy of the Soviets, thus helping Maxim Litvinoff to accomplish his difficult task. In spite of the winter, the Reds have become very active on all the engaged fronts and have started their attack on the original Estonian positions between Narva and Lake Peipus. The whole eastern bank of Lakes Peipus and Pskovskoie, with the towns of Gdov and Pskoff, are in the possession of the Reds. The objective of the Soviet army in Esthonia is the Town of Narva, the fall of which will be immediately followed by the occupation of the whole country.

Thanks to the weakness of the Polish army, the Lettish-Lithuanian front can be broken through also; the "Letts" (English) are engaged with the Russo-Germans, and the Lithuanians are powerless to offer any resistance. According to the *Globe* of November 25, and the *Sun* of November 29, the military situation of the Baltic States is hopeless. The town of Narva is filled with disarmed, exhausted remainders of the Yudenich army, who, together with numerous refugees, are complicating the defense of the town. The siege-artillery of the Soviets is very effective, and the Esthonian fortifications cannot withstand it. The Reds outnumber the Esthonians twelve to one and will easily enter Narva.

While this happens the beaten Yudenich officers are reorganizing their armies (?), and General Rodzianko and others have to retire. General Glazenapp is to be appointed as a chief and will be subordinated to the Esthonian General Tennisen. Yudenich, as originally appointed by Kolchak, re-

mains and he will have the "control of the purse."

The N. Y. *Times*, of November 30, tells that Maklakoff the Chief of the Anti-Soviet Russian faction, has just returned from General Denikin to Paris and states that the "Denikin forces can reach Moscow" if the Allies will continue to support him; without that aid "the story may be different," declares Maklakoff. He points out that Denikin's army with generals only 30 years old, looks like the French army during the Revolution.

We quite agree with Mr. Maklakoff—but he has forgotten to mention that it looks like the French army of La Vendée! . . . The situation of Denikin is critical. . . .

The fate of the head of the "All-Russian Government" seems to be somewhat mysterious. "Kolchak remains at the front" says the N. Y. *Times* of November 30, while the new Premier is organizing in Irkutsk a Cabinet which has to create a "lawful administration." . . .

Taking into consideration the silence of Kolchak since the débacle at Omsk, we presume that he is unable to reach his new capital, being cut off east of Novo-Nikolaievsk, and is looking for a safe way to avoid the unpleasant meeting with the Reds.

Summing up the military situation on all the battle-fronts, and considering it as most favorable for the Red armies, we come to the conclusion that the solidarity of strategy and of diplomacy in Soviet Russia has brought it to a victory, which may soon put an end to the terrible slaughter in Russia by means of a peace—a peace which the Red army and the workmen of Soviet Russia have won in a heroic struggle against the imperialism of the whole world.

The Making of a Bolshevik

(A modest, perhaps clumsy, little bouquet of flowers for the Great Leader, on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the Russian Proletarian Revolution.)

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

I HAD the good fortune to watch him at very close range from the very first day of my landing in the beloved land to the very last day of my leaving. It was he who greeted us when we stepped down the ladder at the Vladivostok bay, and it was his genial smile that wished me speedy return when I quit the Far East.

He was a Ukrainian by birth and we called him "smiertnik." Six years before he came to America he was condemned to be hanged by three of Nikolas' judges for attempting to kill some general, albeit one of the very generals who are saving democracy in Russia for the Allies just now. And we heartily laughed when we called him by that name. It was so utterly inconceivable even to imagine so powerful and giant a body dangling from a scaffold. He escaped, God knows how, and when he came to America the newspapers were eager to print anything sensational connected with his experiences. But he hated to pose as a hero, and, above all, abhorred the giving of the "real stuff" to the press. A mutual friend made good arrangements for him with a New York newspaper for a series of stories of his adventures. He was to receive a fairly good sum for the stories, and all he was to do was to sit and tell while the reporter would make notes and do the rest. But he didn't like the first installment. There were entirely too many headlines and underheadlines to it, that obscured the story proper. And he didn't like the reporter, either. He was so utterly dull. Burning with impatience he was anxious to tell the reporter of the Russian revolution, its aims, its hopes, its possibilities, and there was a man sitting in front of him, insisting on sensational points only, ignorant of the fact so clear to himself that all of his prowesses, the running through lines of watching soldiers on a gray, biting, cold morning, the crossing of the border masqueraded as a woman, and the like, were only mere little incidents of the great movement, that will culminate in the overthrow of Czarism. So he gave up the "seances," as he called his talks with the reporter, to the great disappointment of his friends, who honestly wished him to make a few perfectly honest dollars, and retired to some little town near New York, where he soon got some odd jobs, doing all kinds of work that he had never done before, never giving up hopes of returning to his native land, to his freed native land. And when the great moment came, when the dispatches brought the great news from home, he was the very first to return. Friends asked him to wait a few weeks so they could travel together, but he was too restive.

He was a Socialist-Revolutionist of the very right wing, and, above all, ardently pro-war. To him

it was a war for the liberation of mankind, and the fact that the war had shortened the life of Czarism was the best proof. And the very moment he met us, when we came down the boat he raised his powerful voice threateningly, and said, half smilingly: "Now boys, any one of you that dares speak against this war will have to swim the ocean!" He was over six feet, with a pair of rough and powerful hands, and his voice was deep and heavy, and he looked as though he was really ready to throw any opponent of the war into the water. But there was that genial smile on his lips, and the child-like laughter in his big grey eyes, and we all laughed in answer. But no one cared to dispute and argue nevertheless.

Kerensky came to power just then and to our friend this was the happiest occurrence. The revolution was going decidedly the way he wanted it to go. He knew Kerensky well and he believed in him. And as he loved Kerensky, he hated Lenin. Not that he believed all the foolish stories told about Lenin by the latter's enemies. He once nearly knocked down a Menshevik for a casual disrespectful remark about Lenin. But he honestly believed Lenin to be utterly impractical, and the revolution, he would constantly repeat, needs practical men. "Our masses are much behind those of the other European countries," he would say, "and our industry amounts to almost nothing, compared with that of the other countries, and we must not hurry with the revolution. It must take its course gradually, or we shall lose all." And he particularly liked Kerensky's ways of coalescing with the bourgeois elements and making them work for the same cause. I remember how happy he was when the news came that the millionaire sugar manufacturer, Tereschchenko, had joined Kerensky's ministerial staff. "This is the precise way to lead the revolution," he cried out in joy. "Have them work and then kick them out gradually." He really believed that the Russian masses would kick out the capitalists eventually.

While in Petrograd he immediately entered the labor movement and soon became a figure to be reckoned with there. He had the practice of the American labor movement and a love and an understanding for the Russian worker, and he was soon appointed instructor in one of the great shops. How the workers loved him and minded him! Prices were climbing sky-high, every raise in the wages of the workers would find them less able to buy food for their families, and new grumbling, and new strikes would take the place of the old ones. But he always managed to pacify the workers. It was for the revolution. Production must not cease, and in the factories he visited as in-

structor production never did cease. And it was for the success of the war. The war must be won at any cost, and the workers must make sacrifices. That the capitalists must make at least some sacrifices he would concede, but then why should one lose his precious time in trying to change the unchangeable? "Let them profit," he used to say to the workers, and laugh heartily, "let them treasure up. We shall get it for ourselves in time." And the workers would laugh with him, and agree, and trust in it as he did. It often meant hunger for the workers and their families, it nearly always meant privation, at best pitiful pinching. But he always had the power to hold out for them the great hope for the future and they lived in that hope and were happy in it just as he was. He worked hard, never resting; but he always managed to find time for the proletarian children, to teach them and feed them. And how they loved him, the little ones!

It was at the Moscow Conference that I noticed a change coming over him. The Russian money bags, the "Kupiechestvo," combined with the bureaucracy, showed their true colors then. Kornilov, until then an obscure militarist, with a few victories in the offensive that Kerensky was made to undertake, but with many more defeats, constantly retreating on all fronts, was acclaimed the hero of the day; acclaimed so because he promised to "revive" the Russian army by iron discipline and by death sentences. Even Tseretelli, the one lone voter in the Soviet for the return of the death sentence could not withstand the affront of the money elements at the conference, and delivered the most revolutionary speech he ever enunciated. The break between democracy and plutocracy was clearly defined. But he sat there among the representatives of the workers, reticent, pale in his face, his lips tightened, his big grey eyes wandering as though they had seen a sudden unfamiliar light, but he never uttered a sound.

Then came the Kornilov counter-revolution. He was among those selected as parliamentaries to meet the Kornilov forces and prevent them from entering the bloody encounter, and I was told that his were the best arguments given to the poor oncoming soldiers, who were made to believe that only Kornilov could save the revolution. The peril was quickly prevented by the revolutionary forces, and the Bolsheviks, those of them that were not yet thrown into prisons by an order from somewhere, presented the most active front in saving their bitterest enemy, the one whom they had always fought most acrimoniously, Kerensky, from oblivion. It was the first time he worked so intensely and so intimately with the Bolsheviks and the change in him grew greater. He was never too much posted in sophistical theories, although he had read and learned much. His nature abhorred somehow the hair-splitting differentiations of party programs, and there he saw Bolsheviks, whom he honestly considered his enemies, in an altogether different light, in the light of the highest self-

sacrifice. And he could not fail to see that this enthusiastic and young proletarian lot was animated to heroic action by its zealous and religious belief in the all-dominating teachings of the Great Leader, who had been driven into hiding by the same forces that clamored for Kornilov. Besides, he was, as he proudly called himself, a *realpolitiker*, and there was enough of the "real" politics to ponder on. There was the heavy artillery of the English in the army of Kornilov. Insistent rumors had it that there were to be even American armored cars there, but that one liberal American had prevented it. And the French were unmistakably on the side of Kornilov, and the thought made him sick in spirit. "So this is how it is," he told me one evening, with a grim smile. "I suppose we will have to be on the lookout from now on."

He couldn't stay in Petrograd after that. There was too much talk and too little action for him on the part of the leaders of his party. And he could not bear the further stubbornness of Kerensky, his Kerensky. "How can he still insist on coalition with those unspeakable bourgeois after that," he wondered. "Can't he see that no matter how much you feed a wolf, he will always look to the woods."

Was he disappointed? Oh, no! He could never be disappointed in the revolution. And he was not even disappointed in the leaders. Something must have happened to Kerensky, and to the other leaders. The strain was probably too hard, otherwise they, wise and earnest as they were, would see the danger-point towards which they were drifting, dragging the masses along. What they need most in their irresolute waverings at the front, is a powerful and healthy rear, and he will organize that rear for them. He will go into the villages. He will convince them that they do not speak the minds of the masses; that they have alienated themselves from the masses. Even then he found many hard words for the Bolsheviks and their leaders. What do they want? Of course, the revolution is in danger and must be quickly saved, but why not pull together? As to the war it was one for democracy, even if there were in the Kornilov forces English and French artillery, and must be continued even more vigorously. The English and French masses must not be blamed for the actions of their representatives in Russia. Democracy is not always happy in its selection—especially in such troublesome times as these.

I met him in Ukraine after that, and then in Siberia. He did not keep his promise and stayed in the village only a short while. "The worker is the only power that will protect the revolution, and that knows how," he told me quite apologetically, feeling that he was merely repeating the words of the Bolsheviks. "You know, the young energetic element has left the village and—well, I am afraid we will have to bear the brunt of the battle for a long time yet, I mean the workers will. If we only had a few more leaders as faithful and as true as Lenin," he pronounced suddenly. And detecting

surprise in my face, he added in a matter of fact tone, "well, you have known me for quite a while. I have always maintained that our revolution needs practical men as leaders."

The Semionov affair, then the "landing" in Vladivostok, and then the intervention . . . and he quickly and unhesitatingly found his proper place. The issue was clear. You cannot work for revolutionary ends in collaboration with reactionaries, and the intervention of outside forces must tend to reaction. He was opposed to Bolshevism as much as before. But . . . "You see it isn't Bolshevism that I am joining, it's Lenin that I join." He told me naively. "And it is the masses that I go with. And it's the revolution that I am defending. Besides, the problem now is not whether the Bolsheviks or the Socialist-Revolutionists will be in power, it is Semionov or Lenin, Allied occupation and reaction, or the masses, and I know where my place is."

He did know his place. He became a leader of

the Red forces; always with his men at the very firing lines, never tired, never letting up. They told many weird tales about him. He became a sort of blood-thirsty animal, they have told me. I shall never believe it, I knew him to be the most humanly human being in creation, and all the children of the workers' settlements knew him for that. But if he did become as bad as that, it was not his fault. They have made him so. And I know that no matter what he does, and no matter how he does it, he does it because he believes it to be right, always with the good of the masses in view; always for a great, heavenly principle.

And I shall never forget his last words. "Remember, we have no more political parties now. I am as opposed to the Bolshevik philosophy as I was before. 'But, this is not the time for politics,' Lenin has said, and whatever Lenin says is darn right. As long as the revolution is in danger, we must all choose our proper side. It's one side of the trenches or the other."

Michael of the Volga

BY MARCEL CAPPY

(*La Vague*, Paris)

The following account will be fully understood by all who read the material we printed last week under the general heading: "For the Russian Martyrs." Marcel Cappy is the author of "La Voix d'une Femme Pendant la Guerre," a book which attracted a great deal of attention in Paris and which was heavily censored by the authorities.

MICHAEL was born near the Volga. He tilled the soil. He loved his home, his brothers and his mother. He was twenty years old and sang as he walked behind his horses, his hands on the plow.

Michael was tall, good and simple as a little child.

And then the war took away Michael.

He fought. Great gods why? He was well off, near the Volga. He did not ask for anything else save to spend his days under the country sky, sowing wheat, gathering up the heavy ears, hoping for the fresh and sweet love of some young girl with tender eyes.

But there was a Czar, and grand dukes, and generals. . . .

There were also, very far away, financiers, generals, diplomats, who had made an alliance. . . . And there was a Kaiser, and his generals, his diplomats, and exploiting manufacturers. . . . And all these people wished to divide up the world, take the markets, mines, and mills. . . . Michael did not know them.

But Michael fought for them.

Taken prisoner, he had to give his work to the German master. And he suffered alone, upon foreign soil, while his mother wept, alone, on the shores of the Volga.

As a golden sun in winter, news came one day which warmed the heart of Michael:

"Down with the Czar, down with his whole clique. . . . No more grand dukes, no more lying popes." . . .

The revolution broke the chains of the Russian people. Overwhelmed with misfortunes, bled white by its executioners, toiling Russia raised the hands of the good giant and cried to his tormentors:

"Enough!"

And Michael, joyous, on that day removed from his cap the cockade with the colors of the Czar and threw it away and spat upon the emblem.

"Russia is free! Russia is free!"

But he did not know that there still remained to her kings, other tyrants, and other masters.

He did not know that there was still more gall in the cup of bitterness, and that it was necessary to drink the wine of misfortune to the last dregs.

Michael, the peasant of the Volga with its wheat of gold remained a prisoner of the knaves, of the great rapacious brigands who have power to decree when it shall rain and when the sun shall shine, and who from their offices send to the ends of the world their orders of murder and famine.

He did not know, this poor Michael, that if the Czar was down, the czars of other lands remained standing.

He learned, on another day two years ago, that the sons of the Russian soil had replaced the rule of the nobles, of the do-nothings and of the good-

for-nothings, by the rule of labor. And he sang of joy, for he was brave of heart.

"War's over, Michael, come back to the country. . . ."

He said that to himself, in this lost corner of Germany where fate had exiled him and where he had never felt himself at ease.

The slave traders woke up. How was that! they said, that a free people should organize themselves in their own manner, should impose work upon all the parasites, take away the land from the nobles and give it to the peasants, and, despite the misery of war, should wish to live again free, without diplomats, without bankers, without kings, without do-nothings, without masters. . . . Oh! what a frightful example for the other countries. . . .

"Down with the Bolsheviks! Death to the liberators! Death to the women and children of Russia!"

Attila of old said "the grass will never grow where the hoofs of my horse have trod."

The brigands of the International of Profit, united as thieves at a fair, the brigands of Germany and the brigands of the Entente and the traitors exiled from the lands of Russia said:

"Let Russia perish rather than be free."

And they called that "the right of the peoples to dispose of themselves"—the "Society of Nations."

This was the blockade: War upon the Russian people, which had committed the great crime of being socialist.

War without pity. War without mercy. War by steel. War by hunger. In the name of the Right, oh, hypocrites!

And Michael was a prisoner, in France proud of its old '89. . . .

They liked Michael, in the family where fate had led him, as a domestic prisoner of war.

They liked him, for he was all the goodness of his race. And as for him, he liked very much the people of the house. He ate at the table with them, and he said when he saw someone tired and fatigued:

"You are not sick; are you?"

He was very big, heavy and blond. He did not resemble at all the men of the country. But he had deep sunken eyes, like a gentle lamp which burns fraternally, happy with the joy of others, sad with their sadness. Ah! how he was good, Michael, the Russian of the Volga.

He said to the youngest girl of the house:

"You young girl, always laugh, you not understand, you happy. . . ."

He laughed also to amuse her, for nothing was of greater sorrow than to cause pain to anyone.

At times in the evening, under the lamp, he would say:

"Me, all dead at my place."

And he had great tears in his eyes. Then the family would say:

"Don't weep Michael, you will see your folks again."

The mother of the family wept. She understood, this simple Frenchwoman, how terrible it is to steal a son from his mother. The father felt a lump in his throat. He understood how terrible it is to tear a man from his home and from his land. They of the country of the oppressors, they felt themselves so near to this oppressed one, that they loved him a little like a son. . . . But anyway, they said nothing. They allowed the great crime to be done. The cowardice of these good people has permitted this atrocious business: the assassination of an entire people.

"You Bolshevik, Michael?" they said to him.

"Me no war, no gun, no officers. . . . Me no kill. . . . Me live in peace. Why me work as a horse and them go promenade? . . . All work. All peaceful. That not bad? . . ."

And each one said:

"Michael is right."

For they were good laboring people who had admitted Michael to their table.

But they took away Michael. Why? To send him over there, with a gun, cartridges, to fire upon his brothers of the Volga and of the plain and of the hillsides; to fire upon his brothers who were guilty of having broken the chains of ancient servitudes. Has one ever beheld such a spectacle, to arm the son to kill the mother? Has one ever seen such a thing, to make of a pacific, of a gentle and tender soul, an assassin? In the name of what? In the name of money, in the name of international of those who feast upon human flesh.

He has gone, Michael, enrolled into a regiment by force in an army of traitors. He has left his photo, his vest and his sabots. How he wept the whole night when he crossed the river to join at the station the miserable convoy of the most unhappy prisoners. . . . He sobbed as a child.

And the whole family wept, as if they had snatched away their own son. They say now:

"They have taken Michael. . . . Poor, poor Michael. . . ."

You who permit them to die of hunger . . . the little children of Russia assassinated by the blockade;

You who allow them to arm good and peaceful beings against their fathers and their brothers;

You who suffer that a people that does not wish to surrender shall be bled to death as a wayfarer murdered by an apache at some obscure crossroads;

You who tolerate that they strangle all the Michaels of Russia because they have placed labor upon the throne instead of the cursed Czar;

You who know the pain of the laborer, of the sower, of the forger, the pain of descending into the mine, of stoking engines and boats, and yet permit them to strangle the first socialist country of the world, weep, weep, for your cowardice. And may the innocent blood not fall back upon your heads. . . .

Pharmacy in Russia

By S. A.

PHARMACY in Russia has always been considered as a very important branch of public health, and has, therefore, been adequately safeguarded and controlled by the state.

The state, under the Tsar's Government, limited the number of apothecaries in proportion to the number of inhabitants or to a certain territory; it prescribed the space of the apothecary and laboratory, also proper ventilation and other sanitary requirements; it limited even excess profits by fixing uniform prices on drugs and chemicals all over the empire.

The conditions which this state control created secured for the pharmacist a good income and made pharmacy in general a profitable business.

In Russia the apothecary must not be identified with the drug store.

The drug store was a purely commercial establishment, uncontrolled, whose number was not limited and which did business like any other store. The drug store dealt with crude drugs and chemicals, and handled also hospital supplies, rubber goods, as well as soaps and perfumes.

The apothecary, on the other hand, was the controlled national laboratory in which pure chemicals and drugs, official preparations and prescriptions were the only specialty. The arrangement of the store, the neatness and cleanliness, the earnest aspect of the shining bottles along the walls, lent to the apothecary special dignity and inspired confidence. The Russian people as a whole almost revered the apothecary, and they entered it as they would enter a sanctum.

The state, through its regulations, had not only the object to control the apothecaries, but recognizing the professional value of pharmacy tried through those regulations to protect it from any improper encroachments from the outside. We find that very few patent medicines were kept and sold in the apothecaries. The Medical Council has limited the licensing of patents to only ten per cent, and those must have had absolute proof of purity and therapeutic value.

Each apothecary had its own well-equipped laboratory and manufactured its own fluid-extracts, extracts, ointments, etc. We cannot find in Russia a large pharmaceutical concern manufacturing standard articles or preparations of private formulae for sale. Anything the physician prescribed, and as a rule he did not prescribe patent medicines, was done in the apothecary proper.

It is obvious that pharmacy in Russia was considered by the state and general public as a highly esteemed profession, and was practiced as such.

The Soviet Government, through its decrees and regulations, did not change the character of pharmacy maintained through all the years of the

Tsar's rule. Moreover, through the two years of its existence it proved that it had the interest of pharmacy well at heart, and was trying to overcome many difficulties and inconveniences which the Tsar's Government overlooked or neglected. One of the chief defaults of pharmacy in Russia was the complete dependence on Germany for chemicals and chiefly for synthetic drugs and medicaments.

The Tsar's Government never enhanced any synthetic production at home. Through commercial treaties and special privileges given to German merchants and manufacturers, the government made the slightest initiative in the chemical industry impossible. Russia by this arrangement was brought to a situation where simple salts and medicaments were imported from Germany.

The pharmacists felt this pinch right at the beginning of the war, and as months and then years of war passed by, this pinch became keener. There were several attempts to open and to run factories manufacturing medicaments, but these were only attempts. If not for several shipments of chemicals from the allied countries, Russia would be absolutely bare of these medical supplies.

The Soviet Government and its advisers have an exact and detailed knowledge of the conditions in pharmacy through the Supreme Council of National Economy, as the organ which administers all economic affairs of the Republic and in which all trades and professions are represented.

In January of 1918, at the call of this body, the superintendents of pharmaceutical establishments, representatives of pharmaceutical organizations and representatives of the all-Russian Central Council of workers in drug stores met and deliberated on all phases of pharmacy.

Two outstanding features of the situation were brought to light and had to be settled, and these were the management of apothecaries and the supply of chemicals and drugs. This conference urged the necessity of having a firm centre from which all activities in the domain of pharmacy shall be directed leaving, however, enough independence to the individual pharmacist in order not to impair his creative initiative.

The presentations of the conference to the Soviet legislative bodies resulted in the issue of several decrees regulating the manufacture and supply of pharmaceutical products and leaving apothecaries under the control of the Medical Council.

A central body, under the name "Pharmacentre," was established, representing pharmaceutical organizations, the scientific section, the administrative and technical personnel in the chemico-pharmaceutical industry, the Commissariat of Public Health, and the Supreme Council of National Economy, as adjunct to the chemical section of the latter.

The "Pharmacentre," whose members were elected for a period of six months by the above-mentioned groups, has its duty to manage the chemico-pharmaceutical industry of the Republic to take proper measures that the number of manufactured pharmaceutical products be increased; to enlarge the existing establishments and to open new ones; to establish scientific institutions which shall help and foster the work of those establishments; to work out plans for the buying of raw materials and intermediates on foreign markets.

The Soviet Government endowed the "Pharmacentre" with rights of a wide scope: the right to issue binding regulations; the right to make investigations of correct accounts of the chemico-pharmaceutical undertakings; the right to close individual establishments and to requisition in case of necessity raw materials and intermediates; the right to fix prices on all products of the chemico-pharmaceutical industry; the right to propose and finally pass on all law projects in connection with this industry.

In fact, this decree did not change the order of things trying to direct the chemico-pharmaceutical industry into new channels. It was rather a legal sanction of the existing conditions in the Republic. The nationalization of this industry was in full accord with the policy of the Soviet Government to socialize the chief and most vital industries. Moreover, no industry was in such dire need of the government's help or co-operation as the chemico-pharmaceutical. Almost untouched before the revolution, the impossibility to get these products from foreign countries, the great demand and the very magnitude of the undertaking from a technical and scientific viewpoint—all these factors made the nationalization of this industry imperative. The result soon obtained proved this reform to be a great success. The "Pharmacentre" having the duty and the means to furnish raw materials, fuel, building materials, and machinery, and to subdivide systematically all these materials among the individual establishments, put immediately all factories of chemico-pharmaceutical production into operation.

The factories at Tula, Saratov the laboratories of the Nizhni-Novgorod Zemstvo, which were at a standstill before, were brought to life again. The scientific and technical personnel of these factories, as well as of the munition factories in different parts of the country was largely increased in order not to waste the by-products which are the base for manufacturing intermediates and synthetic products. These factories turn out now salicylic acid and salicylates which were never before manufactured in Russia; acetanilid, naphthalene, naphthols, formalin, also such important anaesthetics as chloroform and ether. Almost all inorganic chemicals are being now manufactured in Russia; sulphur deposits are being exploited, and new ones were discovered; pyrites, which are in abundance in Russia, are being made good use of.

The following striking fact, reported in the "Problems of Economic Life" of July 9, 1918, will illustrate the transitory period. The directors of the Moscow People's Bank, being used to import chemicals for the fertilization and disinfection of the rural districts under their discretion, requested the chemical section of the Supreme Council of National Economy to import also this time such chemicals as blue and green vitriol, Paris green, flowers of sulphur, sodium arsenate, white arsenic, barium chloride, and others. The chemical section refused the request, pointing out that all these chemicals are being manufactured in Russia, and asking the directors to submit details of the amounts required and the places of their destination.

Of course, the chemico-pharmaceutical industry in Russia is hampered and cannot attain its highest possible degree of development at the present conditions, which the unwarranted and unlawful blockade created. The lack of machinery and all kinds of scientific implements, the unsatisfactory transportation, the limited number of technical experts affect especially this young and undeveloped industry.

But the foundation is laid. The Soviet Government, unlike the previous governments, gives this problem its very earnest consideration, and the production is being by all means stimulated and increased.

The apothecaries obtain all their supplies through the "Pharmacentre"; the latter in turn being guided by the reports of the local pharmaceutical councils.

The Medical Council prints the official price list of medicaments, but the local pharmaceutical councils fix an additional tax, covering expenses for delivery, for the management of the apothecaries, wages, etc., with the sanction of the local Workmen's and Peasants' Councils. All minor matters as regards the hours of work, night and holiday work and others are left to the local pharmaceutical councils.

It was recognized that the Medical Council is best adapted to control as before the sanitary conditions of the apothecaries and laboratories. This body looks after the exact and conscientious discharge by pharmacists of their professional duties.

With this end in view, and in order to broaden the pharmacist's field of professional activities, the Medical Council is especially interested in promoting and making higher the standard of pharmaceutical education. A special committee was appointed to work out the standard, while in the meantime all examinations for pharmaceutical degrees were suspended for the school year 1918-1919. Although the detailed plan did not reach us as yet, we conjecture, however, that the pharmacist's education will be of a very high degree in Russia, for the Medical Council recommended to the appointed committee that the pharmacist shall get a broad knowledge of chemistry, and especially of analytical chemistry, also of bacteriology and

pathology, as well as of botany and pharmacognosy. The pharmacist shall also have to spend some time in different chemical factories, bacteriological laboratories, and also botanical gardens, thus acquiring a practical knowledge of the latest developments in the theory and practice of pharmacy, and also training his mind to further study and research work.

As we pointed out before, the Russian people at present have to struggle with tremendous odds, and pharmacy has its share in proportion to the general

suffering. However, the Russian people and the government set its mind to make pharmacy a profession worthy of its name and most useful for public health. We may expect, therefore, that with the chemico-pharmaceutical industry so organized under the direction of the "Pharmacentre," and with the new educational law going into effect, the pharmacist in Russia will in the near future, in spite of all obstacles, be the forerunner in attainment of the highest degree of education, efficiency and usefulness for the community.

The Superhuman Energy of the Workers

(Izvestiya, Petrograd, August 1)

IN the Russian press, published abroad by our counter-revolutionary emigrants, are often found complaints about the inertia of the bourgeoisie that has been deprived of the power as contrasted with the enormous work performed by the proletariat.

A Cadet newspaper, *Rodina*, published in Kharkov, says: "One must have the courage to confess that we ought to learn much from the Bolsheviks—we can but profit from that. One must marvel first of all at their superhuman energy.

"Every one who desires and can help the holy cause of resurrecting the country, must take an example from them and *work without sparing his forces*. Not in vain is it said of some of the commissars that one does not know when they sleep."

Not long ago an aristocratic woman fugitive from Petrograd, contrasted the invincible energy of the Bolsheviks, their incredible ability to work, with the flabbiness and looseness of the bourgeois class that is capable only of whining on account of its own poor success.

The admissions of our enemies have a deep political significance. The Communist party is the advance ranks of the proletariat, its most conscious and energetic part; it is the vanguard of the working class. The working class is full of exhaustless force; in its midst are resting immense resources of potential energy which now, when the power is passing into its own hands, are transferred into kinetic energy, are transformed into action. "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, but they have a world to gain," are the words of the *Communist Manifesto*; the workmen are setting to work to solve this great task, having untouched resources of energy.

"A host is rising that has no bounds,
It will have a force that is beyond measure."
(Nyekrassov)

But the bourgeoisie—our adversary—is a feeble, dying-out class, without faith in the future, without faith in its work, without an ideal, without zeal; it has not the enthusiasm without which

—to speak with Saint-Simon—one cannot accomplish great works.

There was a time when the bourgeoisie, too, manifested energy, destroying absolutism and feudalism, when it was a revolutionary, a rising class—that was at the end of the Eighteenth Century, at the time of the Great French Revolution.

But already in the year 1848, Marx, in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, characterized the German bourgeoisie thus: "Devoid of faith in its own slogans, with phrases instead of ideas, scared by the world tempest, exploiting the world tempest never with energy always with plagiary, insipid in its lack of originality, original in its insipidity, without initiative, without faith in itself, without faith in the people, without a world mission, without eyes, without ears, without teeth, without anything."

At present the bourgeoisie is definitely and irretrievably doomed by history to perish, and, being in the depth of its soul conscious of its doom, it cannot find the necessary strength for the fight against the proletariat.

But the strength of the proletariat is inexhaustible; it only begins to develop its strength, ever new layers are set in motion, as they undertake the great task of rebuilding the old world.

Red Russia

By F. W. STELLA BROWN, in the *London Call*
7th November, 1917—7th November, 1919

Not with the radiant laughter of the rose,
And sunlight spraying on the dappled earth:
—But in the wind that wails across the snows
Two years ago, the world's hope came to birth;
Not by the help of hands outstretched to save!—
But in a ring of foes that starved and slew,
Building the future by the instant grave
Against the world, the world's hope lived and
grew.
They say that when the Scorpion rules the skies
Heroes and portents visit earth and lo!
The proof and promise to our aching eyes
Of that proud banner, red against the snow.

From the Turkestan Front

FOR A NEW CIVILIZATION

By C. NICCOLINI

FIGHTING has been going on in a part of Orenburg for a long time. The famous Cossack chief Dutov has been one of the first to declare war on the Soviet Republic. This part of Russia is very important, for it constitutes the route to Turkestan, the only cotton market for the textile industry of Russia. In aiding the Orenburg Cossacks, the Entente tried to isolate Turkestan and to compel Russia to close all textile factories for want of cotton.

It is in this region that the Russian army (Red army) has achieved a great victory.

The left wing of the Kolchak army was made up of Orenburg Cossacks and one may say at present that it exists no more. Thus the task which it had set for itself—to unite with the Denikin forces that had taken Tsaritsin—has come to naught.

Five divisions of the Orenburg Cossacks went over to the side of the Soviet army. In the region of Akhtiubinsk, on the Orenburg-Tashkent railroad line, the Soviet army has taken over 12,000 prisoners. In Akhtiubinsk a delegation of the southern army of Kolchak arrived in order to make arrangements for the surrender of twenty thousand soldiers.

This success has a great importance not only from a military standpoint but from an economic standpoint as well. The railroad line from Orenburg to Tashkent has been freed thus and an enormous supply of cotton (400,000 tons) harvested in Turkestan, despite all the efforts of British imperialism, will be capable of being transported to the factories of Soviet Russia.

The union of the Soviet Republic with Turkestan will yield enormous advantages to Bolshevism, and it is therefore that England is so much pre-occupied with it. As long as the Churchills and the Lloyd-Georges will continue the war against the Soviet Republic, the latter will not cease perfectly its own propaganda and agitation in Asia.

The Mussulmans of Turkestan, upon receiving all they need from Russia, will be able to help their nationals in Afghanistan and India, and England will begin to feel what it means to insist on a continuation of war and on famishing communist Russia.

India is the backbone of British imperialism. Its breaking up would mean the tottering of the British imperialist colossus.

Turkestan is an autonomous Soviet republic, and this is why it constitutes part of the Russian Soviet Federation: it has its own government, which is composed of the Russian and the Mussulman workers and peasants. In spite of the extended interruption of communication with Rus-

sia, in spite of the isolation in which it has been held for over a year, the Russian army of Turkestan has fought heroically the White Guards of Kolchak and of England. The English held already a part of the railroad line from Krasnowodsk to Merv. With the opening of communications, Soviet Russia will obtain an enormous supply of products. It will be able to renew the work upon the magnificent project for the irrigation of Turkestan, which, once it is finished, will make of Turkestan a country that will be able to supply with cotton the whole world, thus overcoming the English supremacy in this commodity.

The Mussulman peasants who suffered so much from czarism and who were so maltreated by their compatriots, the landowners, have already been supporting the Soviet regime with arms in their hands for two years.

It is the Mussulman Socialist and Communist youth which has perfected and is perfecting this enormous work of propaganda and education. They meet of course with a strong opposition on the part of the Mussulman priests and elders. England is trying, as usual, to organize a reactionary movement as in Bokhara and Khiva. Their own Curzon declared some time ago in London the firm determination of England to save Persia from the Bolshevik peril.

The Soviet Republic has the greatest moral influence in the Mussulman world all over Asia. Any one who is acquainted even superficially with Oriental affairs knows that they are of a nature which cannot be disregarded. There is in the Orient a marvelous supply of raw materials indispensable for industrial production.

It is on account of these future centres of raw material supply that the dissension started and became acute between the two capitalist states: Germany and England; a dissension which flared up in an international conflagration. But the German propaganda in those countries did not hit the mark, because the working population felt as if instinctively that it was a matter of one imperialism against the other, and it did not want to play the game of the possible new masters against the old ones. But the Bolshevik propaganda has taken an entirely different course.

All the appeals, manifestos, the constitution of the Russian Republic, are known everywhere in Asia; the name of Lenin is very popular as well as, in a very high degree, his manifesto to the peoples of Asia.

European public opinion knows but little about the movement in Asia, because the censorship has not permitted correct information to

pass. But the governments ought to know if their counsels and informants apprise them truthfully of the occurrences.

It is a very interesting fact that the popular movement in Mongolia and Tibet against the ruling castes and the European domination is under the influence of the Russian socialist revolution and has in its program many of the demands which make up the program of the Bolsheviks. It is truly astonishing to see the sacrifices and hardships with which many tribes from the remotest countries of Asia send their representatives to Russia in order to get in contact, receive information, books, etc., regarding the new communist republic.

From India, from China, from Corea, from every country there comes streaming this host that has heard that Russia, once the domain of the white czar, has been the first to bring down the fire of Prometheus. And as for Asia, there is no necessity for printed matter. He who has lived in the Orient knows how oral propaganda spreads there.

I remember that when the soldiers of the Republic were still fighting against Germany, before the peace of Brest Litovsk, one writer, a Japanese professor, seriously proposed in a Tokio publication an agreement with the Bolsheviks of the following nature: "Since the Bolsheviks—he stated—are good agitators and propagandists, and have already caused the disintegration of the German army, in recompense for the recognition of their government, they must be kept steadily at the front and put under *obligation* to make propaganda among the German soldiers in order to aid the Entente."

What will the good professor say now, knowing that also the Japanese soldiers in Siberia and in Corea, and, principally, the sailors of Vladivostok, are beginning to succumb to the subversive propaganda of the Bolsheviks.

The latest news says that England has begun the evacuation of the Caucasus. If it is true that she is withdrawing her troops from Tiflis (the capital of the paradise of the Menshevik Republic of Georgia), it would mean that affairs in Asia are going wrong. Otherwise, England surely would not have left the poor Tseretelli without assistance. It has been stated in the Georgian papers that Italy has supported the English. At any rate, there is little probability that England will withdraw her troops from Baku and the Caucasus, because hardly would the foreign troops have departed, than serious calamities would overcome the secessionist socialist governments of the infinite number of republics in the Caucasus.

Woe to the Japanese, English and French imperialism, should the Asiatic powder-magazine blow up. If we concede that the European proletariat is not capable, because of the baseness of its leaders, to compel its bourgeoisie to cease warring against Russia, the Soviet Republic would

be foolish if it did not try to destroy the enemy forces wherever possible, and the resulting damage would be irreparable. The moment of the fall of European domination in Asia will be perhaps the day of liberation for all the peoples in Asia as well as in the rest of the world.

—*Avanti*, September 24, 1919.

Persia and the Bolsheviks

Paris, 8th.—It is reported from Copenhagen: Information comes from Helsingfors that the Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has forwarded a note to Teheran in which he declares that the Soviet Government refuses to recognize the recent Anglo-Persian treaty. The note adds that Russia has already renounced all her traditional rights and claims in Persia and declares moreover that Russia has neutralized the Caspian Sea and has accorded to the Persian people the right to use the ports, the roads, the railroads and the post offices belonging to Russia. These decisions were confirmed in an appeal sent in a wireless telegram from Moscow to the oppressed masses of the Persian people, in which it is promised that as soon as the Caspian Sea should be freed of the pirates of British imperialism, it would be declared free and the ships would be able to navigate while flying the Persian flag.

—*Avanti*, September 10, 1919.

Bolsheviks and the Foreign Legations

OUR papers continue to make a lot of noise about the searches made by the Bolsheviks in the premises of the Swedish embassy. They consider it a new opportunity for proving that the Bolsheviks are men who respect nothing, not even the most sacred usages. But they are very careful not to say that the foreign ministers take advantage of their immunity in order to organize a counter-revolutionary propaganda. The proof of it had again been established recently in Kiev with regard to the minister of Brazil. As to the earlier facts the *Feuille* of Geneva brings interesting particulars:

—That is what M. Calonder has not told us on Thursday during his reply to the interpellation of Schmidt. There exists however, it is said, somewhere in Berne an official report that relates about this much:

In consequence of an interview given to the *Echo de Paris* by M. Odier, former minister to Petrograd, which created a noise compelling the author to deny it somewhat later, the Extraordinary Commission of the Soviets has issued an order to intercept and to open the next Swiss diplomatic pouch which had been done in Petrograd at the office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Official folders were left untouched, but private mail was opened. There was found in it, among others, a letter of a high personage living in Finland to the lawyer of the Swiss legation, in which mention was made of organizing a plot in order to make an attempt at one of the people's commissaires.

The lawyer succeeded in clearing himself, in proving that he had nothing to do with the affair. But while he was questioned a police search was made in the houses of all the Swiss. All those who were found to be implicated in the counter-revolutionary movement had been arrested but, nevertheless, a good number of them were soon after released, because the Swiss, in spite of all, are protecting the Soviet Government.

—*La Vie Ouvrière*, October 15, 1919.

Miscellaneous Notes from Soviet Russia

Cultural Items from Soviet Russia

Expenses for Public Education.—In the year of 1917 the expenses of the Ministry of Education amounted to 300 million rubles. In 1918 the expenses for public education were three billions. For the first half of 1919 the People's Commissariat devoted four billion rubles for educational purposes. In the course of the year 1918 the publication division of the Petrograd Soviet published 11½ million books and pamphlets.

Traveling shops.—In the Government of Podolsk traveling shoe repair shops on trucks have been organized which serve the poorest inhabitants of the villages gratis. Each of these trucks is accompanied by a lecturer, who gives talks on educational and socialistic subjects.

Workers' welfare for minors.—The Labor Commissariat has provided for all minors working in any industrial establishment a month's vacation on full pay. The state has made provision for the transportation of these minors to districts well supplied with food and climatically favorably situated. The minors are united into groups, where they form colonies and camps, and quartered on former estates, where they are maintained at the expense of the state.

Child-Welfare in Soviet Russia

Free feeding of children.—The "Economic Commission" has worked out a plan for all Russia for free feeding of children of the workers and officials who are the lowest paid. The state accepts the full expense for providing the children with food. The free boarding of children ordered by a proper decree was introduced up to June 5 in the following sixteen governments: Archangelsk, Vladimir, Vologda, Ivanovo-Vosnesensk, Kaluga, Kostroma, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Olonez, Petrograd, Pskov, North Dvinsk, Tver, Cherepovez, and Jaroslav.

The work colonies for workers' children in Saratov.—In Saratov a work colony has been opened for workers' children. The main purpose of the colony is to educate the children for work. Special attention will be directed to the organization of garden and vegetable growing. About a million rubles have been devoted to maintain the colony.

Feeding of children in the Government of Moscow.—The Moscow Government Council has gathered statistics on child-feeding in the Government. The Government manages 224 eating places for 134,260 children, 106 children's houses, and nurseries with 28,895 children. This means that in the various children's institutions of the Moscow Government 268,405 children receive free nutrition, which covers the actual need of the Government fully.

The organization of homes for mothers and children.—The Department for Mother and Child Wel-

fare of the Moscow Soviet has opened a number of homes for mothers and children. The chief aim of these houses is propaganda for the proper nutrition and care of children. In every "home" there is a lecture room, a permanent exhibition of objects intended for the care of children up to the second year, a child hospital, a kindergarten, and a nursery, in which working women may leave their children during the working hours. Here also medical advice is given and milk distributed.

All Socialist Parties United

The following wireless from Moscow of October 20 has been received after being delayed: Foreign dispatches report that Petrograd and Kronstadt have presumably been taken. In reality, Petrograd and Kronstadt are firmly held by the Soviet defenders, and the Red troops, far from even thinking of a possible surrender, have already undertaken a successful counter-offensive.

The serious situation of the Republic has united all parties. Following the example of the Mensheviks and the International Social-Democrats, the Social-Revolutionaries of the Right have now requested their members to at once join the Red Army in order to help the Communists all along the line to defend the land.

The Federation of the former Workers' Unions decided in an extraordinary session in Moscow to co-operate with the Committee of Defense. The Chief Committee of the Young People's League sent its best agitators from Petrograd. The Soviet of Petrograd went to the front.

Trotsky's plan includes not only immediate and extensive strengthening of the front, but also the defense of Petrograd from street to street and from house to house. Workers experienced in handling weapons will be stationed at windows and on the roofs. All the technical means which Petrograd possesses in great quantities will be used to transform Petrograd into an enormous labyrinth, which the enemy will find invulnerable.

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THE American newspapers which so eagerly exploited the monarchist propaganda of the Metropolitan Platon in his attempts to entice American Christians and American officials into further support of Russian reaction, have curiously overlooked the recent pronouncement of the Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow, the head of the Russian Church, in which he protested strongly against foreign intervention. This churchman, who previously pronounced anathema against the Bolsheviks, has issued a pastoral letter to the Russian clergy recognizing the Soviet authority and condemning all foreign intervention. Reactionary imperialist statesmen who protest their devotion to the "loyal elements" of Russia find it increasingly embarrassing to specify the objects of their affection. The Russian people fight as one man against their unwelcome invasion, and every responsible Russian element and faction has repudiated their murderous interference. Prince Kropotkin, Kerensky, Patriarch Tikhon, the Czecho-Slovaks, all the diverse elements upon whom the powers from time to time have based their hypocritical pretensions of friendship, have united in one voice to disavow that friendship and to protest against the attempt to crush the Russian people in its iron embrace. Intervention and blockade remain today the deluded hope of a miserable handful of cowardly emigrés, feasting and plotting in safe removal from Russia in company with reactionary foreign politicians and bankers.

THE policy of the Allies towards the defeated counter-revolutionists is clearly indicated in

the present trend of the official and inspired news agencies. The same correspondents and the same anonymous "high officials" who only a short time ago were predicting victory to the arms of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, and heralding the fall of Moscow, Petrograd and Kronstadt, are now busily engaged in "preparing" the public for the news that all these plans and hopes have miscarried. We believe that the public will stand the shock of this announcement with more equanimity than the guardians of the press anticipate. With characteristic distrust of the people and with a conscious sense of the miserable part which they have played in the unscrupulous anti-Soviet propaganda, those who control the communication and publication of news are carefully setting the stage for the desertion of the discredited reactionary generals and emigrés. From Esthonia comes the delayed announcement that "the Russian Northwestern army, which attempted recently to capture Petrograd under General Yudenich, has virtually gone out of existence." It is explained that the present debacle is due to the "incompetence of the Russian chief command." Through London comes the news of the smashing defeats administered by the Red Army to the one-time darling of the British press bureaus, the English knight, Denikin. The Associated Press reports from Siberia that the retreat of Kolchak's army has become a "stampede." In this case the explanation in "well-informed circles" is that the White Army was "demoralized under Bolshevik propaganda," that the men did not desire to fight, and "their officers did not dare to risk battle under the circumstances." Finally, according to the *Times*, "fear as to the future of the Kolchak Government in Siberia is entertained in official and diplomatic circles in Washington," where "the best canvass of the situation that can be made indicates that the situation of Kolchak is worse than at any time since he assumed the supreme command." These are the preliminaries to an open repudiation of hopeless counter-revolution.

SUPPORTING Lloyd George in his move towards peace with Soviet Russia, the London *Nation*, which speaks for English commercial liberalism, advances an argument deserving the attention of American business interests. So many American bankers and traders and officials have returned from Europe with gloomy pictures of the state of Continental finance and economy, that any program of relief, however shadowed by the omnipresent bugaboo of Bolshevism, should be worthy of consideration. The *Nation* points the direction of English policy. Conceding that England is sick of the Russian adventure, this journal believes that even the ruling party has come to realize that further military or financial aid to the counter-revolutionists is impossible. The Prime Minister has "bowed to the inevitable." The Baltic states and Poland will make peace.

The monarchist generals have collapsed. Intervention is at an end. The blockade will break down. There are, therefore, only two courses open to England, says the *Nation*: "To promote peace, to hasten it, and to influence it, or else to cling to a discredited policy, irritating our friends in Poland and the Baltic States in the process, and ultimately attaining nothing but a futile waste of life through our lingering but ineffective blockade, and our moral support to Kolchak and Denikin in their retreats." The decisive reason for a prompt peace is that "*Peace is an imperative economic necessity for the whole of Central and Eastern Europe.*"

"It is a literal fact," continues the *Nation*, "that vast stretches of the Continent are returning to barbarism, much as an untilled farm returns to nature. Poland is only a little less miserable than Austria and Hungary, and the whole of Central Europe is facing a shortage of fuel, food, and work, which will mean the death of millions this winter. Apart from the provision of credits and the rehabilitation of the currency, the easiest and surest means of restoring this great area would be to open up trade with Russia. The mutual need of East and Centre is obvious. The Centre has the industries and the forges. The East has the raw materials and the food. Russia, even now, has vast stores of flax, timber, and hides, for export, and might even from some regions spare food, if only her transport system could be restored. That requires rolling stock and spare parts, which Berlin and Vienna could supply. The exchange is an almost fatal obstacle to any trade between the Centre and the West of Europe. But the ruble and the mark are equally depreciated. Russia could buy Polish textiles or Germany machinery with ease. The lifting of the blockade of Russia would begin at once to make work in Europe."

Turning from the humanitarian argument, the *Nation* states the case for British business interests. "The necessity of restoring the broken circle of European trade, by repairing the great gap in Russian exports, is readily grasped by commercial men. The rapid decline of the European exchange ought to convince them of the urgency of the step. Is the British sovereign safe? We know it is not, and no man can predict how swift may be the fall when once it thoroughly sets in. The Prime Minister is the guardian of British interests, not the interpreter of the Franco-Anglican Imperialism which is Lord Northcliffe's guide to foreign affairs. Let him realize this, and he will combine irresistible forces in support of his Russian policy."

These "British interests" sent Mr. O'Grady to talk with Litvinoff at Copenhagen. The results of their conversation will be known at the convenience of the British censor. Meanwhile, similar "American interests," equally interested in the Russian trade, and deeply involved in the fate

of European finance, are kept in ignorance of the trend of events and restrained from any action on their own initiative.

Kolchak's Terrorism in Siberia

The London *International Review*, of November, 1919, prints four interesting documents, together with newspaper quotations, to indicate the barbarous and tyrannical methods pursued by Kolchak's Government in order to hold down the indignant and rebellious Siberian population. We should like to reprint these documents and quotations, but find that it is impossible to do so for lack of space. Our readers may be interested enough, however, to refer to the *International Review*. It must also be admitted that the inventions, by counter-revolutionary sources, of countless and incredible atrocities on the part of the Soviet Government, has somewhat dulled the senses and hardened the skin of the newspaper-reading public, for which reason we shall print accounts of Kolchak's atrocities, or those of other counter-revolutionary officers, only when they are particularly revolting or of a political nature.

Neutrals and the Blockaded of Soviet Russia

Manchester, November 5th.—The *Manchester Guardian* reports that the Soviet Russian People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has addressed a radio-telegram to the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Spain, in which he points out that if they take part actively in the blockade of Soviet Russia that is proposed to them by the Entente Powers, such steps will be considered by the Soviet Government as a hostile act. He further expresses the hope that they will desist from taking such a step, which is not compatible with their neutrality, and that the Soviet Government must resort to reprisals if they take part in the blockade.

Against Intervention in Russia

Marseilles, November 2d.—At the end of a lecture on Russia arranged by the Metals Syndicate and the Young People's Socialist League of Marseilles, in the course of which M. Vigne d'Octon, formerly a deputy from Lodève, rose to speak, the audience passed a resolution protesting against intervention in Russia. (*Havas.*)

No Arms Against Russia

By order of the War Department of Italy, at Spezia, the steamer *Persia* was quietly loaded with arms and munitions. The Italian Seamen's Union feared that this war material was intended for the troops which are fighting against the Bolsheviks in Russia. The representatives of the union refused to have anything to do with the crew of the steamer. The union has requested the trades unions to demand of the government permission to investigate the steamer, and in case this should be refused, to declare a general strike.

Statements of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

I.

November 24th, 1919.

COUNSEL for L. C. K. Martens, representative in the United States of the Russian Soviet Republic, today served papers in libel suits against the New York Tribune, Inc., and the Press Publishing Company, publisher of the New York *World*, seeking to recover one million dollars damages from these two papers.

Both suits are based upon statements recently printed in those papers asserting that Mr. Martens had "admitted" before a local investigating committee that he was engaged in propaganda for the overthrow of the United States Government.

The purpose of this action is to check the unscrupulous campaign of misrepresentation which certain papers have directed against Mr. Martens and the Russian Soviet Government Bureau. Mr. Martens' actions have at all times been open to the most rigid inspection by competent authorities. No evidence has been produced to show that Mr. Martens or the Russian Soviet Government Bureau has been engaged in any illegal or improper conduct. In spite of this, however, the public has been constantly deceived by a flood of false statements and unfounded charges against Mr. Martens. This campaign of deception and misrepresentation culminated in the recently published statements asserting that Mr. Martens had "admitted" before a local investigating committee that he had been sent to this country to conduct revolutionary propaganda against the United States. Mr. Martens never made any such admission. Mr. Martens is not engaged in political propaganda in the United States. His purpose here, as might be clearly proved by any fair investigation of his actions, is directed solely to the opening of economic relations between the United States and the Russian Soviet Republic.

Beyond the immediate purpose of putting a stop to further malicious misrepresentation of this nature, it is Mr. Martens' hope that this action may result in bringing the whole subject of his activities before a competent court of law, thereby affording those who have brought those charges against him to prove them, if they can.

The suit against the New York *Tribune* cites the following headline statement from the *Tribune* of November 16th as the basis for complaint: "Martens Admits Lenine Sent Him to Overthrow U. S."

The suit against the *World* cites the following sentence printed in the *World*, November 19th: "The Russian Soviet Bureau, which, according to the admission of 'Ambassador' L. C. A. K. Martens, is disseminating propaganda for the overthrow of Governments, including the United States, assumed a defiant attitude yesterday."

The language of the papers served on the *Tribune* and the *World* alleges that by publishing these statements they were "wickedly conspiring, contriving and maliciously intending to injure the plaintiff in his good name, character, credit, health and occupation, and to bring him into public scandal, infamy, disgrace, obloquy and hatred among the people of the United States, and to cause it to be suspected and believed by said people that the said plaintiff had been, was, and is guilty of committing and attempting to commit crimes against the United States of America, etc."

Mr. Martens claims one million dollars damages for the injury caused him by this libel.

II.

November 25, 1919.

In order to establish clearly the fact that he was born and educated in Russia, and that his Russian citizenship was granted by the Provisional Government, which was recognized by the United States, Mr. Martens today presented to the Joint Legislative Committee a statement which he asked to have read into the record in correction of certain omissions and stenographic inaccuracies in the record of his previous testimony.

Mr. Martens was born and educated in Russia. 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 law of the Czar's Government, Mr. Martens was technically considered a German subject. At the age of seventeen, Mr. Martens applied for Russian citizenship, but this was denied by the Russian military authority, who insisted that he should first serve in the German army. After the Revolution, Mr. Martens again applied for Russian citizenship, and this application was granted by the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov, which was officially recognized by the Government of the United States.

The statement which Mr. Martens presented to the committee today said in part:

"My testimony shows that I was born and educated in Russia; that in 1899, by reason of my affiliation with the revolutionary movement, I was deported by the Czar's Government to Germany; that 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. This Provisional Government was officially recognized by the Government of the United States, and its acts are therefore deemed valid by the Government of the United States and of the State of New York."

The Provisional Government proclaimed amnesty

for all political offenders on March 19, 1917, and invited all Russian political refugees to return to Russia. Although born and bred in Russia, however, Mr. Martens could not avail himself of this amnesty, because of his technical German citizenship.

"I therefore," his statement continues, "immediately applied for admission to Russian citizenship, and my application was granted by the Provisional Government of Prince Lvov in May or June, 1917. By this act of the Provisional Government, I thus became a Russian citizen. I desire to emphasize the fact that my naturalization as a Russian citizen was granted by an act of the

Government, which was recognized by the Government of the United States.

"The General Rules and Regulations prescribed by the Attorney-General of the United States, for the registration of German alien enemies, were issued December 31, 1917, pursuant to the proclamation of the President of the United States, dated November 16, 1917. At that time I was already a Russian citizen and was therefore not subject to registration under those rules and regulations."

The statement went on to correct certain other obvious inaccuracies in the record of the previous testimony.

The All Russian Congress of Finance

KRESTINSKIY'S CLOSING SPEECH

(Rosta)

(Translated from *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, September 27, 1919.)

Combination of Local Budgets with the General State Budget

TO THE most important questions which were discussed by the All-Russian Congress of Finance, to which we have devoted a series of articles, belongs also the question of a combination of the local budgets with the general state budget. The Constitution of the Soviets provided for the existence of local budgets, dealing with local resources, over which the local Soviets had control, in addition to the All-Russian state budget. A year and a half of experience has proven, however, that some kind of centralization of the financial situation of the Soviet Republic, that is, a fusion of the local resources with the general state resources, is necessary.

Potyaeff's Speech

The member of the Council of the Finance Department, A. Potyaeff, was the principal defender of this measure at the Congress. He began from the standpoint that since the local Soviets are acknowledged as an organ of the state power, and since the whole state power is united in the same hands, there is no reason for a combination of resources in local and state budgets. Among other things the speaker pointed out that the whole economical life ought to be decentralized after the accomplishment of Socialism, but that this stage had to be preceded by a period of excessive centralization; just as the destruction of the state power in general political life requires a transition period of proletarian dictatorship. However, the problem is not the destruction of resources, but the consolidation of local and state resources. The distribution of the budget between the general state and the local unit is of only a theoretical character and belongs to certain forms of capitalistic administration, and since the object of finance is to facilitate the activity of all the other organs

of state power, one cannot deny that a combination of budgets is necessary for proper economic constructive work in Soviet Russia.

The Decision of the Congress

The action taken by the Congress was along the lines given in the above speech. In its resolution the Congress declared that in the near future the combination of local and state resources should take place. Inasmuch as the Congress considered that the decree regarding the means and expenses of the local Soviets should be rescinded, it recommended that at the next All-Russian congress the question of the revision of the corresponding paragraphs of the constitution should be raised through the Commissar of Finance, and that the Finance Commission should prepare a plan covering all the details of local life and conditions.

According to a proposal of the budget section a resolution was adopted in which it was emphasized that there should be a united state budget in the Russian Soviet Republic, which should be divided into a direct and a renewal budget, so that all incomes of a general state as well as of a local character should be put into the united State Treasury, and that all expenses of both local and state incurring should be defrayed from the same united State Treasury. On account of general budget rules, all financial estimates are drawn up for a fiscal year—all budgets in Soviet Russia have hitherto been made for a half year—in accordance with a general order in the resolution. Resources which are required to satisfy the demands of localities must be paid out in general amounts in accordance with the general state budget; distribution to different points must be made by local organizations of the Soviets; the final decision as to categories of expenses will rest with the central government, but the balance which remains after the local expense estimates have been covered shall be converted to the government's funds.

According to a proposal of the same section, the Congress has expressed itself as deeming it necessary from July 1st, 1919, to distribute the budget in two categories: (1) the direct one, which provides the government operations with money values, and (2) the renewal category, which provides the government's operations with material values.

The decision reported above gives evidence, also emphasized in Potyaeff's speech, of definite efforts toward a strong centralization of the finance policy of Soviet Russia. The decree issued by the Congress regarding the budget for the first half of 1919 shows the same tendencies. Among other things in this decree, it is decided that all collections of taxes and incomes derived from state institutions (nationalized industries, nationalized transportation systems, all the institutions of the People's Commissariat for food products included), shall be immediately transferred to the funds of the Finance Commissariat, and added to the general resources.

Such a centralization of state resources is deemed necessary in Soviet Russia only as a transition stage, as in the regulated communistic society the whole economic life will be decentralized.

The End of the Finance Congress

At the last meeting of the Congress it was pointed out by Novitskiy that the activities of the Congress had shown that the desiderata which were expressed in the provinces coincide with the aims of the policy of the Finance Commissariat. This proves that the Finance Commissariat has rightly estimated the general world situation, politically, on the one hand, and on the other, that it has a comprehension of local needs. Upon the suggestion of Novitskiy, the Congress expressed a greeting to the Finance Commissariat, and especially its leader, Krestinskiy, and considered it as

only due that emphasis should be placed and attention called to the intense self-sacrificing work done by the members of the Finance Commissariat in preparing and accomplishing the work of the Congress.

Krestinskiy's Closing Speech

The Congress ended with a speech by the Finance Commissary, Krestinskiy, who further emphasized the necessity of the centralization of the finances of the Republic, to which conclusion the local work in the provinces as well as the work of the central organization has led. "We must not only work," he said, "in the interests of our own provinces, but for the interest of the whole Soviet Republic, and in the interest of the progress of the workers not only in Russia, but all over the world."

"Comrades," he concluded, "quite a few of us will, after we have returned from this Congress, take guns in our hands and engage in the last and decisive battle now going on on all fronts, and only after the complete victory of the revolution will it be possible for us to meet again in another Congress. We will, however, express the certainty that those of us who are alive at that time will meet with the same friendliness, happiness, and optimism." His speech was met with enthusiastic applause, after which the members stood and sang the International.

"Eternal memory to the comrades who have fallen in the struggle for Liberty!" Krestinskiy shouted. The entire Congress stood again and sang the revolutionary funeral march.

The Congress had sent telegrams to "the heroic Red Army" and to the "Red Navy," which had defended with the blood of the best sons of Communistic Russia the gains of the Social Revolution in its struggle against the last convulsive efforts of world imperialism.

The South and the East

(ACCORDING TO THE AVOWALS OF THE DENIKINIANS)

A Soviet Radiogram

THE Soviet Government is in possession of documents of considerable importance and interest. Grishin-Almazoff, the well-known general, carrying these documents, was crossing the Caspian Sea on his way from the kingdom of Denikin to that of Kolchak. On being captured by one of our torpedo boats, the general blew out his brains, but the documents have fallen into our hands.

Let us explain briefly who Grishin-Almazoff is: Ex-military governor of Odessa and commandant of the volunteer army of the Odessa district, he played, before occupying the post, a considerable role in the war against the Soviet power in Siberia.

Among the documents in question there is a letter addressed "to his Excellency M. V. Rodzianko"

by the latter's nephew, and Paul Sonboff, a brilliant reactionary intriguer who was at Ekaterinburg before our evacuation of that city. Sonboff writes in enthusiastic praise of Grishin, calling him a noteworthy counter-revolutionary.

Among the most interesting of the documents are the following: (1) A personal letter from General Denikin to Kolchak; (2) A report of A. Gontchoff to General Denikin "on the struggle against the Bolsheviki in Russia and its prospects," dated January, 1919; (3) A letter from one of the intimate friends of Denikin to the chief of staff of Kolchak's army (signed Prnine or Proigne—illegible); (4) A letter from another collaborator of Denikin to the above chief of staff. These two letters are dated April 9th.

Let us consider first the ideas of Gontchoff.

In his memoir is a review and critique of all the fronts. Of the Eastern front he says: "Attention is now concentrated on the Eastern front identified with Admiral Kolchak. If this energetic and talented man succeeds in maintaining his position and creating a stable political power and a well-equipped and well-disciplined army, the eastern front, in realizing all the problems of a vigorous defensive, can free the eastern provinces little by little from the power of the Bolsheviks, incorporate in itself a large part of the Soviet military forces, and thus acquire an importance of the first order. The state of mind now prevalent in Siberia and in the eastern provinces of European Russia is favorable to the recruiting of a national army. As for munitions of war, in the absence of resources and because of the insufficiency of local industries, they must be supplied by booty taken from the enemy or by the aid of the allies who, unfortunately, will undoubtedly meet with obstacles due to the great distances and to the insufficient means of communication.

"Whatever be the importance of the eastern front in the general plan of the war against the Bolsheviks, it is not there, even under the most favorable conditions, that the fatal blow to the Soviet power can be dealt.

"Now, there is no guarantee that the favorable conditions that the last coup d'état has brought about in Siberia will long continue. The system of government that has been created in Siberia, even after the extirpation of pernicious elements of the Bolshevik type, seems complex enough, artificial, and even fragile.

"Besides, it depends entirely upon the person of Admiral Kolchak, whose disappearance would bring in the collapse of the entire system."

That is what Gontchoff thinks of the role and of the stability of Kolchak's eastern front. Even so, he exaggerates when he speaks of the "state of mind" of Siberia and Eastern Russia as favorable to Kolchak. We have all seen what actually is the state of mind of Siberia and the Ural country; it is eloquently pointed out by the wholesale insurrections, by the increasing number of desertions from Kolchak's army, and by the desertion into our ranks of entire regiments. The recruiting of the "national army" in Siberia has been a *complete failure*. Kolchak dare not risk the mobilization of the Siberian peasants. He has enrolled only the youngest classes. His army is dependent solely upon *Cossacks and officers*.

Kolchak has had no better luck with his "system" of government, to wit: the arrest of members of the Constituent Assembly and of the Directorate, and the proclaiming of Kolchak as "supreme chief." Since this coup d'état, the dissolution of the Kolchak regime has been considerably hastened. The fanatic reaction, throwing off the mask of "democracy," has contributed powerfully to the development of the revolutionary spirit in Siberia. Gontchoff is right in con-

sidering the system too artificial and tottering. Indeed, with the disappearance of Kolchak, the entire combination would collapse. Now, in the interior as well as the exterior, Kolchak is advancing with precipitate steps toward the catastrophe.

The reactionaries in Siberia are now putting all their hopes on Denikin, who is attempting to join his front with the eastern front. The Denikinians, on the other hand, are placing all their hopes on Kolchak. Let us now, parenthetically, consider briefly the existing relations between Kolchak and Denikin. Both are aspiring to the role of "supreme chief" of all the Russians.

The intimate friends of Denikin express the hope that Denikin will recognize Kolchak. Now, in a letter to Kolchak, Denikin takes care not to commit himself formally in that respect:

"In my last letter, which you have certainly received, I expressed the conviction that it would be necessary when our junction has been accomplished, to establish a single power, to fuse the East and the South. I expressed this idea in about the same terms that you have used in your last letter; and that pleased me. God grant that we meet one another at Saratoff; then we shall arrange the question for the greatest good of the fatherland."

Denikin, it can be seen, does not answer the direct question of Kolchak, and promises in vague terms to settle the question "for the greatest good of the fatherland." Of course, Kolchak also hopes to ascend the throne of Russia "for the greatest good of the fatherland."

Further on Denikin writes: "The circumstances that General Grishin Almazoff will make plain to you oblige us to count only upon our Russian forces.

"The Allies are about to give to the world a new edition of the marvels of Russian life that we are only too well acquainted with."

These well-known "marvels of Russian life" evidently refer to the revolution. The pen of the general refuses to write the detested and terrible word. At any rate, Grishin-Almazoff was taking to Kolchak in particular haste the convincing evidence concerning the breaking up of the French army in Southern Russia, on the refusal of the French soldiers to fight against the Soviet Republic, in order to show him that the "marvels of Russian life" would undoubtedly be repeated in Europe.

Further on, Denikin speaks of the little diplomatic game of the Russian reactionaries at Paris:

"The political role of the 'political conference' of Paris is not very clear to me. Here are perhaps the reasons for this conference.

"The official conversations take place only through the — of Sazonoff, who is looked upon as the representative of the commander-in-chief of the military forces of Southern Russia. With Sazonoff works Maklakoff. The participation of

last end of Tolstoyism can also be admitted. The French representatives of Bourgeois Russia have just been told that they are a party to the oppression of the Russian Government at Paris. I do not agree with this way of looking at the matter, and I see it as a most unfortunate sign. I suppose that the French have not understood the role of the Bolsheviks.

"But now we are provoked largely by the French, and strongly provoked by the French. But all this is of less importance than our position, which I am aware with the liveliest importance."

The "lively importance" felt by Denikin, to meet Kuznetsov and to have his aid will be better understood when we read the letters of his collaborators, who describe frankly the situation in the South.

Two letters, one signed Chelkeroff (or Chkalov) and the other Pronin, both begin by emphasizing the fact that the author writes under the seal of the most absolute secrecy, and with complete candor.

"In the interests of our common cause, I consider it my civic duty to inform you of the observations that I have made and the conclusions to which I have come. I beg you to ascribe the shortcomings of my observations and the disappointment that the present situation causes me, to a certain personal pessimism."

The author of the second letter writes, "Dear Dimitri (?) Anonovitch, I write you under the seal of secrecy. Let all this be entre nous. I write you as a friend and hide from you nothing that brings me joy or great affliction."

What is it then that afflicts all the Denikinians? "What grieves me is that we are waging war against the Bolsheviks, against the Reds, but not against Bolshevism; That is to say, not only are we waging war against the revolt that characterizes that idea; for this revolt is making itself felt equally clearly in our ranks, and with results almost as disastrous. It is disheartening. The man who formerly swore by the volunteer army now expects reforms and a form of government only from bolshevism, and he is beginning to go over into the other camp; in any case he can no longer be counted among our sympathizers.

It is a serious thing for us that we did not take advantage of the weapon we had in our hands: public opinion. That opinion has turned against us the Rada (representative assembly) of Kuban. Whatever be our sentiments with regard to it, we must, while fighting, observe this principle: multiply your forces for the combat.

Now, in our government the principle of division and not the principle of union has been observed. It seems to me that all these separations, all these federations and autonomies which exist here are manifestations of the same malady as Bolshevism; they are inevitable, but they will devour the microbe of Bolshevism. In the course

of time, thanks to economic factors, when a stronger idea will have replaced them, these maladies will pass away. It is a dangerous but, nevertheless, not the sort of policy must pay with it because of the various weakness of the cause in charge. There is now but one thing to do: that is to find an able general whose will be able in time to organize the kind of army to be for help. We must choose a wise policy, not a policy of expediency since the latter is lacking fundamentally in serious strength. Our prestige is falling lower and lower. Meanwhile we must be accumulating until we have gained sufficient strength. When we have that we will be able to make any demands. The different classes of society are not united, even those that could easily agree in the face of Bolshevism.

For foreigners this is not life; it is hell.

Social life goes on in silence, but that does not mean that the people whom the revolution has awakened have ceased to think. They hold their tongues and yawn in silence.

No one is contented, save the operators whose numbers are legion. People wonder greatly why there were none under the Bolshetiki and why they are so many now. And they draw the conclusion that the volunteer army is impatient, therefore—at this point the deductions depend entirely upon the temperament in question.

Behind the lines, as there is no active fighting against the Bolsheviks there, they multiply. It is a repetition of what happened at Rostoff. So much the worse for us. We have power, but do not know how to use it. Despite the existence of a Propaganda Service, propaganda has been reduced to almost nothing.

There is no form of government to be seen. If there were, it might serve as a flag for which it would be worth while to fight. There is too much, too much red tape, and it does not improve matters.

There is not even yet a suspicion of a state. Everything goes on as in the past. And all our dead, all the blood we have shed, all our efforts, all that has remained but a matter of hollow words that have availed nothing.

The mobilization is not a success. There are no voluntary enlistments. Things are going badly. Insubordination goes unpunished, and yet one cannot walk down Red Street without jostling against officers. Places of amusement remind one of "Fertin during the plague." If it is not the plague, it is typhoid fever that is raging. It cannot be checked, although long ago a "chief of service provided with special powers for the struggle against typhoid fever" has been appointed. The sanitary administration leaves much to be desired, despite the heroic efforts of certain individuals. It is death.

Discipline among the men is dead; morality likewise. Panics may arise very easily from con-

ditions like these. There are no principles and no constraints.

In brief. All is in a state of dissolution behind the line. We hold on only by virtue of courage at the front in spite of all its failures, thanks to the inertia of the masses.

Our relations with the Allies have given them two stages. The first may be summed up as follows: They are about to give us everything; they want to come in person—exactly like the personage of Hekrasoff. Then we find that we have not received what they wanted to give. Thanks for the little we did get. . . . Nevertheless, we shall have to pay dearly. As for freeing ourselves of the Allies, there is no thought of that—although it may be possible, or, rather, millions are being sacrificed in order that centimes may be saved, and all the while we are losing precious time.

Let us consider now our military situation. Successes and defeats alternate at the front and they entail heavy losses of men. The gaps cannot be filled. There are plenty of reserves, but there is a scarcity of troops sufficiently instructed and disciplined. We are obliged to recognize here that war spoils men.

The same mistake is inevitably repeated; organization and combat are confused like the madman and the water. It is the same here in Ekaterinodar as it was at Novotcherkask. *God grant that it be not the same in Siberia.*

Other mistakes add the weight to this one capital mistake. Experience has taught us nothing; the staff is overcrowded and the front line lacks men. It is said that at Crimals there are 700 men in the staff, and the same number at the front. All are ambitious to become generals and to escape inferior duties. However, the plethora of units and "regiments" composed of seventy men has been somewhat diminished. The provisioning department works better. I repeat, if it were only in order to regain our prestige, we must emancipate ourselves from the patronage of the Allies. Here, for instance, we are not preoccupied about them. *If Kolchak could at least work the factories of the Volga. Otherwise the Allies will always hold us on a leash.* Meanwhile we cannot get along without working our factories and utilizing the resources.

Our officers' corps is practically lacking in instruction; above all, it needs to be weeded; a severe education is necessary, including vigorous repression, even to the death penalty publicly announced, and not behind closed doors.

I have said that morality has fallen very far; while fighting with the Reds, we have been contaminated. It is due partially also to the insufficient pay of the officers, but chiefly to their libertinage. The officers are usually weak and the number of idealists among them insignificant. It is the officers that make up the more dissolute element.

There no materials of attempting of something solid. Drunkenness and debauchery.

The ——— is composed almost exclusively of Cossacks. I think there is no sufficient concord between officers and men. *The officers have only feeble authority over the masses. Discipline is lax. Officers and soldiers show a steadily increasing desire for requisitions.*

It seems to me that we are only wasting our forces and that we are too widely scattered; we seem to lose sight of our goal, which should be to effect our junction with Siberia as soon as possible. We are learning to manoeuvre; the morale is in a desperate way. Not at the front, no, but behind the line; it is there that victories or defeats are prepared.

The only hope lies in our junction with Siberia.

Perhaps from there will come not only reinforcements of men but a healthy policy which will succeed in recruiting the greatest possible number of partizans. A handful of men can very well undertake a campaign a la Korniloff, but we must conquer, or else we shall all perish.

We need a firm hand, and there is none felt here, and one hand only. People who have done nothing, who have not been able to do anything, must be prevented from coming into power. Let them remain at subaltern employments and let there be no hesitation about putting them back to their places if necessary."

Excellent "White" Ministers

(Russian Soviet Telegraph Agency)

It is reported from Helsingfors that Kolchak's Minister of Provisions Zefirov, and the head of the Grain Section of the same ministry, Miltanov, have, according to the counter-revolutionary paper *Russky-Syever*, committed a number of "violations of their trust" (thefts?), of such gross nature that they have not only been removed from office but also imprisoned.

Russian Church and Bolsheviks

A wireless message from Moscow, dated October 23d (but not issued to the press), says the London People's Russian Information Bureau, makes the important announcement that the Russian Orthodox Church has rallied to the Soviet Government and is protesting against foreign intervention. The message runs as follows:

"Patriarch Tikhon has issued a pastoral letter to the clergy, recognizing the Soviet Republic. On a previous occasion he pronounced an anathema against the Bolsheviks and called upon the people not to recognize the authority of the Soviets and not to obey its representatives. Now the Patriarch condemns all foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Russia, declaring that no foreign intervention can save Russia from ruin and disorder so long as the Russian people remains disunited."

The Struggle for the Russian Booty

The Rolling Avalanche

(*Der Kampf*, Munich, October 15, 1919)

THE German Government is endeavoring at present to wash its hands before the world and particularly before the Supreme Council at Versailles of the Baltic incidents and to prove that it is responsible neither for the old nor for the new turn of affairs. It is in the situation of a man who has lied once and who is not trusted any more even though he manifests an enforced honesty. Subjectively, the German Government might truly long to see the consummation of the whole Baltic affair once for all—objectively, it remains responsible for all the events that had developed in the Baltic region at least with its indulgence and which are evolving now without anybody being able to say whither they might lead. The Government must appear still more guilty by reason of the fact that it considers itself unable to master the affair. Even the *Frankfurter Zeitung* cannot but admit that in the Baltic scramble the military authorities at Berlin also must have had their hand, and that Mr. Noske bears the responsibility. The Government cannot therefore succeed in imparting to the public the impression that it is merely an innocent sufferer in the case. On the contrary, the Government itself is multiplying in the clumsiest manner the signs which would indicate a most active participation in Baltic affairs.

It has passed with a gesture of nonchalance over the fact that representatives of the so-called West-Russian Government are carrying on their business in Berlin and that they are trying to close large financial deals in order to conduct a struggle against the Bolsheviks on Russian and Lettish soil. Meanwhile, the identity of this West-Russian Government with the Baltic-Prussian-Russian Czarists is a public secret. One more reason for implicating the prophetic German Government. The misguided news reader learns from the note of Marshal Foch that the recall of Von der Goltz had been demanded *thrice*, that he was sent back again to the Baltic province, and that, therefore, our supposition of a fraudulent order of recall is correct. The German Government might say that the influence of Von der Goltz upon the troops would have to be exercised according to the wishes of the Entente. However, the actual tendency of Von der Goltz's influence in his field of operations may be seen from the Entente note, which says, in part:

Why was the recall of the General denied, that *had been demanded thrice*? Why was the General *purposely sent back to the field of operations*, after he had been only a few days before commissioned to Berlin. It was obviously done in order to use the authority of his official position for the carrying out of an arrangement which affords the German Government an opportunity to-day to maintain that troops which heretofore were *paid, clad and transported* by this same Government, *have now become unruly*.

How far Von der Goltz is exerting his influence upon the troops in accord with the German Government is proved by an English dispatch accord-

ing to which 20,000 Germans are attacking the Baltic people before Riga. The following dispatch breaks like a lightning into the Baltic caldron:

TU. The Hague, Oct. 12. The *Times* Correspondent at Helsingfors is sending to his paper the following declaration of General Wassilkovski: "I am just returning from Reval. The troops of General Von der Goltz are preparing their advance. Their vanguard will in 14 days march to an attack on Pskov under the command of Colonel Bermond. (?) They will try to occupy Lithuania and to march against Petrograd in order to establish there a German monarchist administration. (?) I request to communicate this news to Marshal Foch."

Don't we feel ourselves placed back in the days of April, 1919, when we read that the Lettish cabinet of Ulmanis has been again replaced by Herr Niedre.*—Niedre. . . . Niedre, that is the figurehead of the Baltic junkers who had carried out the coup d'état against the democratic government of Lettonia, a coup that has made null and void every questionable legal claim of the German soldiers for colonization in the Baltic region.

But that, it might be urged in reply, was no concern of the German Government. Very much so, and particularly so if one considers the undisguised sympathetic overtures of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* towards the vagabond freebooter Bermond. According to them this Avalov-Bermond pursues a policy which is not "so" reactionary as that of Kolchak, the Lettish peasants will follow him—mark the present struggles in the Baltic!—and he will create opportunities for an economic agreement with Russia. That is the crux of the matter—economic opportunities for the junkers who wish to save their land holdings from the workings of the Lettish agrarian reform. So it is from Goltz that the German Government derives its knowledge.

Let us, however, proceed with the enumeration of the charges against the German Government! Why has it diffused fraudulent information according to which the retreating German troops were attacked by the Estonians and the Letts, whereas the lie was to serve as a screen for the advance of the German troops against Riga under a *Russian disguise*?

Has not Noske himself declared that he would be glad if the German troops went over to the Russians in order to lead the struggle against Bolshevism?

Struggle against Bolshevism or, as the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* so nicely defines it, restoration of "state authority" in Russia through no less an agency than the robber bands of Avalov-Bermond! If that phrase be reduced to its everyday meaning, then a struggle against the peasant

* The reader will find reference to the Ulmanis-Niedre affair in the article of O. Preedin in No. 13 of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

agrarian reform in Lettonia, Esthonia and Russia would be that which constitutes the actual social *motive* of the Baltic and Russian Czarists—first in the Baltic and then in Russia itself.

What is taking place at present in the Baltic is a struggle of democratic peasants in the Baltic border lands and in Russia itself against the mercenaries of the Baltic-Russian-Prussian Junker tribe. That is the elementary social tension which is but a part of that world tension, political and economic, existing between the victorious states of the Entente and Russia—at least that Russia which is dominated by proletarian aims. *Who should exploit Russia? That is the question of the day.* The source is limitless from which Capital, weakened by the world war, is planning to get relief. Sharp and glaring light is being shed on the situation by the blockade note of the Entente, which shows how much Capital considers itself yet strongly in the saddle. It is but a reversal of the Continental blockade.

How false the idea is which considers that the whole action of the Allies is fictitious and that Foch and Noske are hiding under one screen in their action against the Bolsheviks could be seen as clear as day also from that blockade note. The note has as its end, besides other political and diplomatic measures of the Entente, to keep Germany economically far from Russia and make her closely dependent on the Entente.

It is very clear, however, that a combination of Prussian, Russian and Baltic Junkers constitutes not merely a military danger for France, but that following the suit of the bayonets of the Goltz and Bermont mercenaries, German capital will, like a hyena, thrust itself upon the Russian lands.

A lasting menace of the Junker plots pushes the Baltic states into the arms of the Bolsheviks or at least to a situation where they want to live in peace with Bolshevik Russia in order to defend themselves against the Junkers, who want to frustrate the liberation of the peasants. This explains the energetic action of the Entente, which at any price, and most likely at the price of Goltz and Bermond, must retain the alliance of the Baltic border states. . . .

The Soviets and Public Instruction

IN VIEW of the robber stories and the ridiculous tales spread by the counter-revolutionary press of the whole world about the Soviet Government, we consider it our duty to present a sketch of the admirable work accomplished in the domain of public instruction.

The New School

According to the people's commissars, professional education, of whatever sort, ought not begin before the sixth year.

But they have based the new school on the necessity of physical labor in all its forms (agriculture, handicraft, factory work).

This labor must be utilized in school as a means of education. Thus the instruction in sciences, such as physics, chemistry, biology, etc., is combined with actual practice. The cultivation of the school garden is used for the teaching of botany; the participation by the pupils in the administration of the school co-operatives initiate them in the problems of law and social sciences.

New methods for the preparation of the teaching personnel for this new school became imperative. The program of these higher normal schools was enriched by a supplementary course devoted to physical work and confined to instructors coming from the ranks of the proletariat.

Lastly, in order to render it possible for the children to attend the schools, the government takes it upon itself not only to procure school supplies for them, but also nourishment and clothing.

Recently there came into being councils for the protection of pupils. Their task is to look for the betterment of the food and the lodgings, particularly in the large industrial centres like Moscow and Petrograd.

They have a threefold connection with the commissariats of public health, of food supply, and of communications.

Great importance is attached to extramural education. A special section has been organized for that purpose.

Popularization of Instruction

The old regime found glory in ruling a people that counted over fifty per cent of illiterates.

The Russian masses, eager to learn, are utilizing the various means which the people's commissars put within their reach.

* * *

A vast organization, extending like a net over the entire country, is creating in schools, workshops, factories, halls for the meetings of the house committees, courses for illiterates and others, adapted for workmen and peasants who possess already some elementary knowledge.

Scientific lectures or lectures on the most burning social questions are arranged all over, as well as exhibitions and educational motion-picture shows.

In remote places the post offices are used for the distribution of pamphlets and journals.

Le Populaire.

The next issue of SOVIET RUSSIA will contain an article from the pen of the well known Soviet worker, Alexandra Kollontay, under the title:

The Institution of the Family in Soviet Russia

It is a brilliant and convincing analysis of the influence of economic conditions on the past and present state of family life under Capitalism and of the changes developing under the communistic innovations in the Soviet Republic.

American Labor Party Demands Removal of the Blockade

The following resolution of protest against the blockade of Soviet Russia was adopted by the First Annual Convention of the American National Labor Party at Chicago, Nov. 22:

WHEREAS, we the delegates in the first Labor Party National Convention have wisely limited resolutions in general to matters of domestic American policy, nevertheless,

WHEREAS, the hellish crime of starving the helpless women and children of Russia by the Allied blockade and embargo continues in the face of a bitter winter after its boundless stupidity, nameless cruelty and hopeless futility has been demonstrated to the conscience and intelligence of the entire world, and

WHEREAS, the share of America in this supreme infamy, after our professions of friendship for the Russian people and declaration of faith in the principle of self-determination is the most shameful blot upon the name and fame of our country, now therefore be it,

RESOLVED, that we denounce the savage brutality and horrible crime against humanity in continuing the embargo and blockade of Russia, and demand that this shameful slaughter of the helpless and the innocent case by the immediate lifting of this embargo and blockade by the Allied and associated nations, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we call upon the working people of all lands to join in this protest and continue until this blockade is lifted, and be it further

RESOLVED, that we demand of the Administration at Washington to give notice that it will grant licence at once for the immediate shipment of food and supplies to all the suffering people of Russia wherever situated.

* * * *

The Convention also adopted a resolution demanding the withdrawal of American troops from Russia, as follows:

WHEREAS, There is no justification under international law or any other excuse for the maintenance of troops in Russia, there being no declaration of war against that country, and,

WHEREAS, It is apparent that some sinister influence is at work which becomes more apparent each day in an effort to prevent the people of that country from establishing certain working class principles of government not in harmony with the trustified dictations in effect in other countries, and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that the American soldiers in Russia are not only anxious to return home, but are opposed to supporting the forces of reaction which are attempting to reestablish the rule of Czarism, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we emphatically protest against keeping our soldiers in Russia and demand that they immediately be brought home before the rigors of another winter, with its attendant suffering and hardship overtake them;

RESOLVED, Further, that a copy of these resolutions be immediately forwarded to the President of the United States and the Secretary of War.

Teaching Political Truth and Honesty

We have just received an interesting little piece of propaganda issued by the "Institute for Public Service," 51 Chambers Street, New York City, from which we quote the following characteristic passage. It is to be hoped that the other material issued by the "Institute" recommends the imparting of more correct information than that appearing in the following passage:

New York, Nov. 24.—How Bolshevism's performance compares with Bolshevism's promise is set forth in a report entitled Teachable Facts About Bolshevism and Sovietism which is being issued today by the Institute for Public Service, 51 Chambers Street, New York City, of which Julius H. Barnes is chairman.

Its six sections cover the social background of Bolshevism, its extent, what it has done in Russia, how our allies and we have treated it, what it wants and teaches, and Bolshevism in the United States.

In giving out the pamphlet, Mr. Barnes said yesterday: "The most potent argument against Bolshevism is not that it would overturn our form of government, or even that it would substitute a minority dictatorship, but rather

that in two years it has made an appalling record of industries and distribution paralyzed, of millions starving within a stone's throw of grain surpluses, of promises broken, and of compromises made even in the theories which it still exploits by an unexampled propaganda. The weakness of Bolshevism is not in its advertisements, but in the fact that it offers remedies for American conditions needing correction which have not worked in Russia and are infinitely less workable here than in Russia."

We might quote much more, but for the present we simply leave to our readers the question of whether or not the last paragraph above gives a correct impression of the reason for any defects that may at present be felt in matters of transportation and distribution in Russia.

If you know that new subscriptions to SOVIET RUSSIA are received at the rate of one dollar for three months—and we assure you that is the case—why not become a new subscriber?

Statement from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau, December 2, 1919

Maxim Litvinoff, the representative of the Soviet Republic, who is in conference with a British representative at Copenhagen, has cabled Mr. L. Martens, the representative of Russia in the United States, that the Soviet Government will pay in gold, foreign securities or raw materials for American goods purchased by the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York.

The cable received from Mr. Litvinoff today states that all goods contracted for in America will be paid for on delivery at prices and on terms arranged by the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York.

"The military situation of Soviet Russia," Litvinoff cables, "is splendid. Internally the Government has been enormously strengthened by the latest developments. The prospects are bright."

A Feud Among the Counter-Revolutionary Emigrés in New York

[The following letter from New York, entitled "Russians in the United States," appeared in the Vladivostok pro-Kolchak daily *Dalny Vostok* (Far East), of October 9, 1919]

THE present situation of Russia caused the formation of many groups abroad whose sole aim is to work for the regeneration of the Fatherland. . . . Having united and formed a vital active group, these worthy men of Russian descent achieved some success and have gained some influence; they are listened to.

The success they have attained cost them unbelievable efforts. Besides the want of material means, their difficulties were intensified by the lack of moral support from the representatives of the present Russian embassy.

The latter knows but one refrain: Let the Siberian Government manifest its activity in actual, positive accomplishments—then we will support it. In the meantime these diplomats who live on Russian money, jointly with the Jew Sack, the Director of the Russian Information Bureau, which has a branch at Omsk and which owns the magazine *Struggling Russia*, are busy discrediting the Siberian Government.

This activity greatly hinders the work of the Russian patriots, compelling them to wage a never ceasing struggle. In the first place, to keep alive in the minds of the Americans the advantage of spreading the movement which was initiated by these patriots, aiming to crush Bolshevism and to re-create a New Russia on democratic principles—which movement is paralyzed by the Jewish element, whose press, through it does not support Bolshevism openly, nevertheless gives a distorted interpretation to the facts. In the second place, to urge on the Russian embassy, which exists by the force of inertia, causing it to work in harmony with the activity of the men who strive for the re-establishment of a Great Russia. The neglect that was shown by the representatives of Russia to the vital interests of their country is incomprehensible and deserves to be censured.

In addition to the people of Russian descent who live in cities, there is in the United States a large body of Russian emigrants who came to the United States about sixty years ago. They belong to the farming class, and being non-partisan they form a stable element which does not yield to the pernicious influence of Bolshevik propaganda. . . . The fact that they are a large number of homogeneous people makes them influential during elections, and the parties naturally seek their support. The majority of them are Carnato-Russians of Greek-

Catholic faith. . . . Some of these pioneers of the regeneration of Russia united with General Dobrzhanaky and formed a Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland. Later on the other pioneers as well, lacking support from the outside, turned to the same Committee and, surrendering their powers, accepted its protection. . . . The Committee was formed under exceptionally difficult conditions. Nevertheless, neither the lack of money and of moral support nor the wily attacks of the Jewry and of its press killed the aspiration of this handful of people who have, it would seem conceitedly, undertaken to save Russia.

Their efforts brought positive results. The activity of the Committee is encouraged by many American senators, and there is reason to believe that thanks to this it will secure material support.

These achievements could have served as a basis for a more solid organization had it been possible to overcome the evident ill-will toward the Committee that was manifested by the Embassy. If the Omak Government would but send new, strong men who would love their country and be ready to ably defend her interests, a great deal would be accomplished, for the ground is adequately prepared.

Looking at this question from another plane, from the purely economic, and considering the part which could be played by the Russian colony in the United States, we should bear in mind that among the Russians, non-Jews, there are Americanized persons who owing to their position as owners of big enterprises are well known in and have the confidence of the business world.

There are already indications as to the ways which the United States will take with regard to the industrial life of Russia, and particularly of Siberia. The geographic situation of the United States naturally assures them a privileged position in trade relations with Russia. The development of the American industry during the war and her ability to turn immediately to peace-time production assures for the United States the position of principal importer of life necessities to Russia.

The protective measures intended to protect the country from capture by foreign capital can be painlessly removed. And in this regard the above mentioned Russians should be taken into account. If these Russians would come out with a proposal of an economic nature it would give the impression of great unselfishness.

The Republican and Democratic parties are already lining up for the approaching presidential election. Many signs point to a Republican victory. This would be of great advantage to Russia. The policy of the Republican party is non-interference in the internal affairs of Russia, allowing the constituted government every possibility for the independent regeneration of the country. While the Democratic party in its Russian policy pursues personal, strictly selfish interests.

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By A. KOLLONTAY

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2. *Sidelights on Intervention.*
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
A YEAR-OLD PROTEST	1	EDITORIALS	12, 13
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	2	THE FAMILY AND THE COMMUNIST STATE. <i>By Alex-</i>	
GERMANY'S AGGRESSIVE POLICY IN THE BALTIC RE-		<i>andra Kollontay</i>	14
SION. <i>By O. Preedin</i>	5	THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN SIBERIA. <i>By Mrs. Ger-</i>	
THE PATHS OF GREATNESS. <i>By Joel</i>	8	<i>trude Robinson</i>	20
PEACE—BUT THERE IS NO PEACE	9	GERMANY AND THE RUSSIAN BLOCKADE	21
BEFORE THE STORM IN SIBERIA	10	VARIOUS SMALL ITEMS	23

A Year-Old Protest

RADIO

ON December 2, 1918, George Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, sent out the following wireless telegram, protesting against military intervention in Russia by the Allied Powers. This protest is fully a year old, but intervention still persists. It is to be hoped that the negotiations now in progress at Copenhagen, between Litvinov, representing the Soviet Government, and O'Grady, representing the British Government, may lead to some satisfactory arrangement between the powers, that may definitely put an end to intervention. The text of the protest is as follows:

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America:

The Government of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, through which the great laboring masses themselves, the workers and the peasants are ruling, and which embodies their aspiration for the peaceful self-government of the toiling and producing people, who have no quarrel with the toilers of any other country, has learned that a British fleet is moving in the Baltic Sea towards Russian shores, that the ships of the Entente countries have been directed from Constantinople to the harbors of Crimea and the Southern Ukraine, and that the troops of those same countries have already crossed the borders of Bessarabia. The Russian Socialist Soviet Republic has never menaced or tried to invade the Entente countries; it only demanded to be left in peace, to develop itself on the lines which its people have chosen for themselves, contenting itself with influencing, by word and by example, their toiling brothers of other countries, and not to be interfered with by the great military powers which were carrying on the world war. Without any provocation from the Russian side, without any reason and without any shade of justification for their action, the armies of the Entente countries last summer invaded the borders of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, occupying its towns, seizing its villages and hamlets, ransacking the country and shooting down its best sons, and trying to advance into the heart of Russia, to crush its independence, and to drown the emancipation of its laboring masses in the blood of its defenders. The Entente troops were moved through the Far East for the support of the Czecho-Slovak and White Guards' counter-revolutionary mutinies, participating together with them in the mass massacres of workers, of peasants, of fighters for freedom, which were their constant deeds. British and French officers took a leading part in all the movements against freedom

in whatever part of Russia they were devised; they were the principal authors and instigators of the dark subterranean conspiracies which aimed at taking by surprise the Soviet Government through base treachery and bribes and overthrowing it through its nearest servants, which nevertheless proved themselves to be incorruptible and faithful and turned to the discomfiture of the unmasked Entente plotters their treacherous attempts. After all these blows aimed at the liberty, at the life of the Russian laboring masses and of their popular Socialist Republic, the governments of the same Entente countries are now tightening their net against the ever-peaceful Russian Socialist Republic, which, far remote from any aggression against others, thinks only of defending itself against the aggressors. The plans of the Entente governments are hidden in the dark. They have declared that their armed forces will protect in those regions which had been occupied by the German armies, the same social order which these German armies had protected. The armed forces of the Entente countries are coming to these regions as the enemies of the great popular masses in order to give support to their exploiters and to keep upright the old social regime which these popular masses wish to overthrow. Numerous utterances of responsible statesmen of the Entente countries prove that the governments of these countries have further reaching views and directly aggressive intentions against the independence, the freedom and the popular government of the Socialist Republic of the Russian laboring masses. The Soviets of the Russian workers and peasants have called out the youth of the people to rally around the banners of the Socialist republic and to defend it to the last drop of their blood. At the moment when the Entente armies are crossing the borders and the Entente fleets nearing the shores

of what was previously the Russian Empire, the Government of the Soviet Republic protests once more solemnly before the great popular masses of the Entente countries, before the devoted soldiers and sailors of their fleets, before their toiling brothers all over the world, against this wanton aggression, against this act of sheer violence and brutal force, against this attempt to crush the liberty, the political and social life of the people of another country. The Russian Republic has offered peace to the Entente countries, but the governments of the latter have left this offer unanswered, their answer is the present new aggression. The Socialist Soviet Republic is

always ready, as before, to make peace; against attacks from without it relies upon its faithful and valiant Red Army; it makes responsible for the new bloodshed those who are coming to attack its borders and to continue their oppression in the occupied regions, and, with clear conscience, and pure intention, it answers the new menace of the governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America with this solemn protest.

THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
CHICHERIN.

December 2d, 1918.

The War in Russia

(Strategical and political reflections)

IN our previous article "The War in Russia" published in the SOVIET RUSSIA, October 25th, we stated that, "as far as can be ascertained, the real destination of the Russo-German army under Von der Goltz and the Russian General Avaloff-Bermondts was to support Yudenich and Rodzianko in their dash on Petrograd." We insisted on this statement in spite of the fact that Yudenich is quoted as having called Avaloff-Bermondts a traitor. We find our opinion supported by a dispatch from Michael Farbman to the New York Globe and the Chicago Daily News of December 4 from Riga, which said in part: "The Letvian government has obtained Colonel Avaloff-Bermondts's secret and other documents left by him in the hasty retreat from Mitau. . . ." Most important of the letters sequestered are those which "throw new light on General Yudenich's reported indignation over Colonel Avaloff-Bermondts's treason to the fatherland as it was repeatedly announced that General Yudenich had ordered the colonel to join his on the Narva front." This dispatch also confirms the opinion expressed by us on several occasions: "General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak have been fully informed as to the aims of the Goltz-Bermondts army; had approved the transformation of the German troops into a so-called Russian army, and had agreed to the occupation of the Baltic provinces."

We have always maintained that the counter-revolutionary leaders were in close touch with military Germany. We hope that now, at last, it will be generally recognized that in supporting Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich the Allies are practically reviving Imperialist Germany. On the other hand, the revelations prove that the Soviet Government never had any agreement with Germany since the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The policy of Moscow is as clean and straight as its strategy, which has even conquered the strongest weapon of the Allies—the lie.

The public opinion of the world is more and more inclined to make peace with the Russian Soviet Republic. The British press is full of suggestions along this line, as for instance, the *Observer*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Daily Express* and, of course, the *Manchester Guardian*. These leading newspapers, representing opposite parties,

are urging immediate peace. The same is urged by many American newspapers as well. The *Springfield Republican* of December 3 contains a significant statement:

"Peace in eastern Europe is an American interest. The adherents of Kolchak and Denikin begged a year's grace, asserting that if supported through 1919 they could capture Moscow and Petrograd, overthrow the Soviet Republic, and set up a new government. But the year of grace has almost elapsed—neither Moscow nor Petrograd has fallen, Yudenich and Kolchak are beaten; Denikin is hard pressed; the British have abandoned Archangel; the Baltic States are making peace, and the Soviet armies after a defense which a hostile British critic calls 'magnificent' are more strongly backed by the Russian people than at any time since hostilities began. Intervention, in short, has proved a disastrous failure except as it may have served, contrary to the purpose of the Allies, to consolidate Russian patriotism on the side of the Bolsheviki against foreign invaders. . . ."

The quoted article continues: "The time has come to abandon a policy the failure of which all admit."

Emphasizing the good faith with which Soviet Russia now is approaching the Allies and recognizing the ability of the Russian army to continue successfully its defensive warfare, the *Republican* pays tribute to the Soviet Government for its unselfishness and even self-sacrifice in attempting to stop a most criminal and terrible slaughter, granting independence to Finland, the Baltic States, Poland and the other subject nations and thus being willing even to isolate Russia from the open seas.

"Lenin, fortunately takes the anti-imperialistic view that what matters for a land-locked nation is simply freedom of transit. One need not agree with any of his other theories to recognize that this attitude greatly simplifies the problem of peace; if it had been generally adopted throughout Europe, many of the present troubles would be eliminated. . . ."

In an article in the *New York Call*, December 6, discussing from a strategical point of view the impossibility of a successful invasion of Siberia by the Japanese army as suggested by the Associated Press, even in co-operation with America, (N. Y. *Tribune* cable from Tokio November 28), *Col. Roustam Bek* points out, "that the Soviet army is the Russian nation in arms, led by the finest and most experienced strategists the world over has seen. The facts prove it. The Russian nation has arisen to defend her land and freedom and revolution from the foreign invaders. It is an element-

ary movement which must and will crush any physical onslaught."

Yudenich, who cannot be considered as sympathetic with the Soviets, confessed to the *Globe* representative that he and the rest of Kolchak crowd, Denikin included, have "ceased to consider the Red Army a band of demoralized looters." "We appreciate it," he says, "as a real military force, which can be fought only with a carefully organized and perfectly supplied modern army."

In the *New York Tribune*, December 7, Frank H. Simonds in a long and detailed article illustrated by the portraits of "Victor" Lenine and "Vanquished" Kolchak says that "Peace must soon be made with Lenin and Trotzky." Mr. Simonds is of the opinion that "there is no longer any basis for hope that the armies of Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich in conjunction or any one of them separately can break the military power of the Bolsheviks." In regard to the assistance which the United States can give towards the establishment of peace in Europe he says, "the only assistance that can be given must be consent to abandon the blockade and to recognize the present Lenin regime."

According to the dispatches up to December 6, we can see that the Soviet army is occupying with its right flank the town of Berdicheff and extends towards the east through the most important railway junction, Fastov, recently captured and never retaken as has been wrongly reported from London; it has passed beyond Kieff and very probably south of that town and then to Kozeletz, which was taken by the Soviet troops some days ago. Therefore it is possible that the main road Kieff-Bakhmach is in the possession of the Soviet army and that the battle of Kozeletz was for the control of that road which is of great strategical importance. It is also reported that the Reds have captured, further to the east, the towns of Romni and Sumi, and have begun an offensive which has as its objective Baromlia, 25 miles south of Sumi in the direction of Kharkoff. At the same time a fierce battle is raging for the town of Belgorod, 50 miles N.E. of Kharkoff on the Kharkoff-Kursk railway. Further to the northeast, about 120 miles from Kharkoff, Ostrogojsk has been taken by the Reds as well as Liski on the Don river, both very important railway junctions. From Liski the battle line runs to the South-East along the river Don in the direction of Tzaritzin on the lower Volga, where Denikin's sphere of operations ends. There the Soviet troops are in possession of Dubovka, 20 miles South-East of Tzaritzin on the Western bank of the Volga, and also of Tzarev about 35 miles East of Tzaritzin; here Denikin's forces, under Baron Wrangel, are gradually falling back, heavily pressed by the Reds, and there is a strong probability that Tzaritzin is already occupied by the Soviet army, because after a series of serious tactical defeats such as Wrangel's army has suffered during the last two months, even its defensive quality may be very low and may collapse at any moment.

Studying the situation in this theatre of the war, we may conclude that Denikin's army presents three separate columns, all of which are rapidly retreating southward, one from the Berdicheff-Kieff line, the second from Kursk towards Kharkoff, and the third towards Tzaritzin. It is evident that between these columns considerable distances remain unprotected because of the shortage of troops. On the other hand, the movement of the Soviet army on Baromlia, both from Romni and Sumi, proves that their general advance on Kharkoff is practically now the main objective of the offensive of the Reds in the center. By taking Kozeletz, to the North-East of Kieff, the Soviet army, in the first place, has rescued Kieff from a possible encircling movement of the enemy and, by its further advance to the South, has created a screen for the advancing column from Romni in the direction of Kharkoff.

By studying the strategical position of Kharkoff, we can see that this important commercial center of South Russia, possessing 249,000 inhabitants, is in communication with all of the most important centers of Russia by seven main railway lines: (1) Kursk-Orel-Moscow; (2) Kharkov-Lgov-Briansk-Smolensk; (3) Kharkov-Vorobja-Bakhmach-Kiev, Bakhmach-Gomel-Minsk; (4) Kharkov-Poltava-Kieff; (5) Kharkov-Lazovaia-Alexandrovsk-Sebastopol; (6) Kharkov-Liman and the Donetz coal region and (7) Kharkoff-Kupiansk, Kupiansk-Voronezh and the Donetz coal region. All these railway lines are so many radial lines converging at Kharkoff, thus making its situation similar to that of Moscow in the North.

Summing up all these circumstances, we may consider that our enemy will try to defend Kharkoff, exploiting its favorable central position, which operation requires a great ability, high spirits on the part of the troops, and a regular supply with ammunition and reserves, which we are scarcely ready to believe Denikin has in abundance. On the other hand, in the rear of the Denikin army, several important places have been captured by his enemy, such as Polenovo, Ekaterinoslav, Alexandrovsk, Mariupol, as well as all the Crimea. Thanks to the repression of Denikin's generals in the Caucasus, the revolutionary movement is growing along the whole Eastern coast of the Black Sea, from Novorossiysk to Sochi, and also in the direction of the Caspian Sea through the Caucasus. Serious rebellions were reported in Yekaterinodar, Maikop, Stavropol, Grozny, Petrovsk, Port Derbent, and in Baku, the capital of the Azerbaidjan Republic. Consequently all the centers of the oil industry are hostile to the invaders and have taken up arms in their own defense.

All this only convinces us that Denikin is practically encircled by his enemies on all sides, and the way for the retreat of his armies is practically cut off.

The town of Kharkoff now is the strategical key of the Southern theatre of war, and its fall will signify the complete defeat of the Southern inva-

sion; then the Soviet army has to accomplish the last act of its main strategical aim—to annihilate the enemy entirely.

In the meantime, something mysterious is happening in the Southern and South-Eastern Ukraine. There is no very definite information about the operation of the army of General Petlura as a tactical unit. Having carefully studied the material which we could procure with regard to the movement of the Ukrainians, we consider the situation in that region to be as follows:

The winter time naturally presented to Petlura's headquarters certain difficulties in continuing the normal operations against Denikin. The conditions of the supply of foodstuffs to his army and procuring the shelter for very numerous units of his troops from the cold weather, became more and more difficult. On the other hand, the enemy within the last two months was considerably weakened, even losing his ability to maintain constant communication between his separately retiring columns. This may have brought it about that Petlura has radically altered his tactics, and transformed his army into several "partizan" groups, which henceforth have to pursue only one aim: to attack the communication of the enemy in the rear and harm him as much as possible, without any previously selected tactical objectives, thus supporting the strategy of the Soviet army by a constant and pitiless annihilation of the living force of the enemy. Quite automatically, such a transformation of the war in Ukraine became similar to what happened in Russia in 1812, when Napoleon, after having abandoned Moscow, started his retreat. Part of the Russian army was dispersed, mingled in different regions with the peasants, and without any influence of General Kutuzoff's headquarters, organized a formidable force of so-called "partizan" groups, large and small, which successfully maintained themselves at the expense of the enemy's supplies, and gradually annihilated the retiring Napoleonic army.

Generally such detachments, though operating separately, keep in permanent touch with each other, thanks to the fact that they are operating in their own country, which facilitates such operation, and so, to a certain extent, allow their headquarters to be fully informed about their activity, and in some cases, even to be directed by their supreme chief.

This situation caused the lately so often repeated dispatches, which produced considerable confusion to the military experts who are studying the situation in Russia. According to cables issued by the different press agencies, the sudden appearance of Petlura's or Machno's bands in some places, where they could not be expected, and the dispatches about the capture of these places by the "Bolsheviki" produced a certain confusion. The question arose: how could the Soviet troops penetrate so far in the rear of the enemy, when neither their breaking through his lines, nor the encircling movements were reported. On the other

hand, such reports often were repeated two or more times from different sources, which proves their accuracy, as was the case with regards to a number of Black Sea towns and with some places which could be considered to be in the sphere of control of Denikin's military administration. This opens up to us a possibility that the Ukrainian "partizans" have a great influence on the local population and especially on the armed part of it, and their appearance in the Ukrainian villages and towns at once caused local meetings and the overthrow of the authorities established by Denikin.

All signs prove that our supposition is correct, and if this is the case, the fate of Denikin's army will be decided very soon, because the battle for Kharkoff is undoubtedly his last chance to maintain himself for a short time longer. His concentrating advance to the North, which has received a mortal blow south of Orel, was finished by a general failure, and his retreat is gradually assuming the character of a rather peculiar flight, which must be ended by a disaster. The All-Soviet front in the period of less than two months has advanced 130 miles. The serious operations in Siberia and in the Petrograd region only prevented the Soviet army from annihilating the Denikin forces earlier. It was supposed in London and Paris that the Reds would be unable to continue their war during the winter, thus permitting Denikin to be reinforced and to be able to reorganize his rear. On the other hand, it was believed that Yudenich and Kolchak at last would succeed in checking the enemy and in keeping very considerable forces in readiness for possible counter-attack in case the adventure towards Petrograd should terminate in a partial failure only. In reality, Yudenich was defeated entirely, Kolchak now leads only a nominal existence, and instead of an alleged menace from Finland and the Baltic States, there is the prospect of an inevitable peace. The new complication which arose between the Allies and Germany only strengthened the general situation of the Soviet army from a military standpoint, and consequently the strategical reserves of Soviet Russia could be used without any danger for the Eastern, Northern and the Western fronts, in all their strength, against Denikin.

We are informed from very reliable sources, that enthusiasm in the Soviet army is rising day by day; the millions are drilling and all of workers' and peasants' Russia in Europe and Asia, neglecting all physical suffering, with all means in their power, are supporting their armies in the field, morally and materially.

In the presence of such a high spirit in the whole nation, united by the common idea of settling with the foe as soon as possible, thus winning the long wished for peace, the final victory is already in the hands of the victorious two-year-old Soviet Republic, and only short-sighted ignorants cannot yet understand this.

In our January issues: Many New Features.

Germany's Aggressive Policy in the Baltic Region

By O. PREEDIN

THE Pan-Germans long ago began to cast greedy glances at the Baltic region. Even the old Moltke had already, in the words of Paul Rohrbach, "theoretically recognized that Germany must occupy this region." But the Pan-Germans could not undertake any practical steps for the realization of these plans until after the first Russian Revolution, of 1905.

Only at this time the German barons and other reactionary elements of this region began to look upon the Germany of Emperor William, whither they escaped during this revolution, as their prospective refuge in the next revolution. Hoping to save not only themselves but also their large estates and all their privileges, the German barons from that time on became very active as Pan-Germans. As the first step in their campaign for the annexation of this region to Germany, they began to colonize it with Germans. Thus, between 1908 and 1913, they colonized Courland and Livonia with about 20,000 German peasants, who were brought there from various remote German settlements in Russia and, partly, directly from Germany.

At the outbreak of the world war, the German barons of the Baltic openly supported Germany, and many of them were condemned for treason. At the same time Germany was openly making preparations to seize this region and elaborating plans for the permanent annexation to Germany.

All the imperialists of Germany agreed that the colonization of this region with Germans was the essential and surest means to secure its permanent annexation. The famous "theoretical interpreter" of the policy of the Imperial German Government, Professor Paul Rohrbach, laid great stress on this. In his book, "*Russland und wir*," which was published in 1915, he says among other things:

"The decisive element in a correct judgment of the future of the Baltic-Lithuanian region is the fact that a great German immigration from the German settlements scattered in Russia can be brought into that region, thus laying the foundation for a comprehensive Germanization of the country" . . . (page 56).

"The Lithuanians and the Letts will not disappear at once, but it will be possible, if a wise nationality policy is pursued, to gain them even spiritually for a German domination, and gradually Germanize them completely" (page 58).

Opinions differed as to the time which would be required to Germanize the local peasants. Thus, Silvio Broederich, a German baron of Courland, wrote:

"No Baltic German doubts that within one or two generations under German government the Lettish peasants will be Germanized as to language."*

* See "Die Letten in den Baltischen Provinzen, besonders in Kurland," by S. Broederich ("Die Grenzboten," 74. Jahrgang, 1915, Drittes Vierteljahr, page 25).

In opposition to this extreme advocate of colonization and forcible assimilation, Dr. Gaigalat, a member of the Prussian Landtag, expressed doubts as to the possibility of a rapid Germanization of this region, as follows:

"The Germanization of the Letts within fifty years, such as was recently suggested in the *Ostpreussische Zeitung*, as a possibility, is out of the question. Such a process would require tremendous financial and moral sacrifices, which could never be justified by the limited success that might be attained."

His doubts are based on the fact that "the Letts have already become too strong in a national and economic respect." But he, too, advocated that: "Whatever may be the outcome, the main result will have to be that the new state will have to enter into close relations with Germany, its army coming under the German Supreme Command, and its territory being included in the German tariff boundaries."†

Even those Pan Germans who did not consider the Baltic region as "German" wanted to annex this "much debated coast region along the Baltic." Thus Dr. Max Hildebert Boehm wrote, with reference to what he rather unflatteringly designated as the "microscopic interests of the Baltic Germans":

"I repeat: the fate of the Baltic region will not be decided by the interests of this little band of German individuals. . . . We should rather seek to determine how this colonial character of the country may be maintained, thus enabling much that is untimely and out of place in our present order to continue to be fruitful and active."‡

There were two reasons why the projects of the extreme advocates of German colonization of the Baltic region found wide-spread support among the population of Germany. Firstly, on February 2, 1915, the late Russian czar signed a law to the effect that all Germans living in Russia should liquidate all their property and leave Russia with their families within the next ten months. German farmers and their families residing in European Russia numbered 2,000,000,§ distributed as follows:

In Poland -----	500,000
In Volhynia -----	250,000
In the black-earth region--	750,000
In the Volga region-----	500,000

Secondly, during the invasion of the Baltic region by the Germans, parts of this region were deserted by almost all the local (Lettish) population. Ralph Butler in his book points out the

† See "Die litauisch-baltische Frage," by Dr. Gaigalat (*Die Grenzboten*, 1915, Erstes Vierteljahr, pp. 235-236, 239).

‡ See "Die Krise des deutschbaltischen Menschen," by Dr. Max Hildebert Boehm (*Die Grenzboten*, 1915, Zweites Vierteljahr, p. 378).

§ See "The New Eastern Europe," by Ralph Butler, London, 1919, p. 51.

results: "When the Germans entered Windau, only 3,000 out of 35,000 inhabitants were left. The last Russian census gave Courland a population of 674,000. A German census taken in September, 1915, gave only 230,000" (page 47).*

Under these conditions, extensive plans were elaborated for colonizing Courland with Germans. When Paul Rohrbach visited Courland in 1915 he was assured by the German large landed proprietors that about a third of the land which belonged to the German barons could "almost right now" be given to German settlers. In 1916 the colonizers in their projects calculated that for their purposes they could make use of the following land:¹

From crown land	166,000 acres
From large landed estates.....	600,000 " "
From glebe land.....	24,000 " "
From small landed properties.....	600,000 " "

In 1917, at the session of the Courland Landtag, the barons actually decided to turn over one-third of their landed estates to be sold "at reasonable prices for colonization purposes."

Of course, during the war these colonization plans could not be realized to any large extent. The law of February 2, 1915, was practically never enforced, except in very few places, and the German settlers of Russia did not show the least desire to emigrate to Courland. The extensive movement which was expected from this side did not materialize.

Only in Germany did this agitation have any practical consequences. German colonization associations had been organized there, which collected large funds and which had the support of the governmental institutions. Thus, for instance, in June, 1918, the Saxon Landtag granted an appropriation of 500,000 marks to one of these associations "for the colonization of the Baltic provinces." But this "colonization" until now could and did express itself in only one form: *in the recruiting of volunteers for Von der Goltz's armies of occupation.*

That the German armies of Von der Goltz which are stationed in Courland and Lithuania were recruited in Germany mainly with the aid of the colonization agitation, was frequently pointed out in the Lettish press, and this was for a long time used by the so-called "Provisional Government" of the Lettish nationalists as one of the main arguments against the German armies. Thus, for instance, the Bulletin of May 26, 1919, of the London Information Bureau of this "government," pointed out that "the Germans feverishly continue to fortify their positions," that "large numbers of German citizens are enlisting in the Landwehr because they are promised land in Courland," and

that "the Germans plainly show their intentions to colonize Courland with Germans."

And in the Bulletin of July 11 this Bureau said: "Propaganda for the colonization of Latvia with Germans is all the time energetically carried on in Germany. . . . It is reported (in the German press) that recruiting offices have been opened in all parts of Germany to recruit soldiers for the army of Latvia and that after at least four weeks' service they will be given citizenship rights in Latvia and withal the right to land."

This Bulletin reports very interesting facts about the views of the German soldiers who were already serving in Latvia. "From conversations with German soldiers in Latvia it is clear that they take no interest in politics. They will obey the orders of their commanders in expectation of the congress which Mr. Niedre* promised to call for July 1 to determine how much land is to be given to each soldier."

This has been repeatedly corroborated since then. Thus the Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times*, in a cablegram dated October 3, quotes the officers of Von der Goltz as saying that "his German troops are sworn to remain with him in the Baltic region, which to many is the promised land in more than one sense."

Von der Goltz himself told Mr. M. Farbman (*New York Globe*, October 4): "Germany after the war and the revolution and especially under the peace treaty is so poor that the soldiers naturally are afraid to return home, where they have no chance to find employment. My troops consider that . . . they have earned the right to settle down as peasants, workers, and otherwise in Vitebsk, Smolensk and other parts of Russia."

Thus the official representative of the German Government. That volunteers for the anti-Soviet bands operating in the Baltic region were recruited in Germany even as late as September and that these volunteers were promised "the right to settle" there was stated at the Lucerne conference by Hilferding and Cohn, representatives of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. According to the *Sozialdemocrat* of September 9, one of them said:

"In Weimar itself, under the very eyes of the Government and the National Assembly, the newspapers are still carrying large advertisements calling for volunteers to enlist for service in Courland and promising them land. About forty recruiting offices are still busily at work recruiting volunteers for the reactionary bands of Keller, Lieven and Von der Goltz, promising them colonization land. Ammunition is still being sent to Courland, and the Government is not doing anything to stop it."

All of this shows that the so-called "German" policy in the Baltic has already a long history and that it had an important place in the nationalistic and militaristic plans of the German imperialists, who were aided for many years by the most reactionary groups of the population of the Baltic

* The data of the last census are too dubious. There is no doubt that it was executed with "German exactness," but even this exactness could not give correct results, because a large number of the inhabitants of Courland were hiding in the endless thick forests.

¹ See R. Butler's "The New Eastern Europe," p. 53.

² The total area of these lands before the war was 2,671,000 acres.

³ These are the so-called "peasant lands," which belonged to the Lettish peasants. Their total area before the war equaled 2,440,000 acres.

* The Premier of the "government" which was formed last spring in Libau by the German barons and the pro-German ultra-reactionary Letts.

region. Only people consciously aiming to deceive the broad masses of the people, taking advantage of their credulity and their ignorance of the complex relations and of the bloody history of German encroachment in the Baltic region, can pretend that the present conflict with the German troops in Courland is accidental and will soon pass. The interests of the Baltic German barons and of all the so-called "Balts" play an important part in this region, despite the fact that even the representatives of German imperialism at times speak of them as "a handful of Germans." The interests of this handful are not at all "microscopic," for they own over half of the land of this region. But the interests of these "Balts" are indeed "microscopic" in comparison with the colossal designs of the German imperialists, who aimed to seize this region and through its exceptionally favorable position to secure economic domination over all Russia up to and even beyond the Urals.

But there was perfect harmony, and there will be in the future, between the "Balts" and the German imperialists. This is assured by the fact that the objects of the German imperialists can be attained only by the annexation of this region and by its transformation into a German colony and its subjection to their forcible political domination.

In the spring of 1918, when the German imperialists were making up their mind as to the fate of the invaded Courland and part of Livonia, D. Karlberg, a former City Secretary of Riga, wrote in *Das Neue Deutschland* that Germany must not leave Riga as the capital of even a pseudo-independent Baltic state, because under such conditions Riga would soon become the object of intrigues of either Russia or England, whichever of these nations might succeed in financing the city's industry.

Karlberg's surmise that England might try to dominate this region through pseudo-independent states has been fully justified by the events of this year. The British imperialists have already established themselves there and are causing a great deal of trouble to their German adversaries. The British have already occupied all the strategic points of the Baltic coast line. They have seized, despite the protests of Esthonia, the island of Oesel at the entrance into the Gulf of Riga, and many British warships are lying in all the ports of this region.

At present, therefore, the German imperialists can pursue their aggressive policies in this region only from the side of the continent, and the colonization of this region with Germans is one of their most important practical means. In pursuance of their ancient aim "to transform the Baltic Sea into a German lake" they must for the present confine themselves to the Germanization of the Baltic region. The main obstacle to this effort since the Workmen's Soviets of Latvia were put

out of the way last May is the nationalistic Lettish bourgeoisie.

The "Provisional Government" of the Lettish bourgeoisie, which was at first extremely unpopular among the Lettish proletarian masses, has become in the struggle against German aggression the rallying point of the democratic forces that were still left there. Each forward step of Von der Goltz' army augmented the ranks of the thin anti-Soviet forces of the "Provisional Government" of Latvia and had the effect of transforming these anti-Soviet forces into anti-occupation forces. The armies of Esthonia and Latvia grew and became stronger not in the struggle against Soviet Russia, but precisely in the struggle against the German-Russian occupation.

It has thus come about that the different armies, which, according to the plans of the "Great Powers" directing the campaign against Soviet Russia, were to form one big army for an offensive against Petrograd and Moscow, began to fight each other. Starting with petty clashes, their quarrels grew to a real bloody war around Riga. At the very time when Yudenich started his "great offensive" against Petrograd, Bermond, a subordinate of this commander-in-chief, was holding up the reinforcements sent to Yudenich from Poland and Germany and used them to fight Yudenich's allies, the national armies of Esthonia and Latvia.

And thus the extensively organized campaign against Soviet Russia on the northwestern front collapsed. The peace offer of Soviet Russia to Esthonia and Latvia found so strong a response among the in part already organized and armed popular masses of these states that the "Provisional Government" of Latvia, which was set up by the British, was forced to accept this offer and conjointly with the Esthonian Government started peace negotiations.

Regardless of the outcome of the official negotiations, which will be influenced by Allied pressure, peace between Esthonia and Latvia and Soviet Russia is virtually an accomplished fact.

As to the Russo-German armies of occupation, it is not at present in the interests of the British or French imperialists to have them recalled to Germany. Some slight changes might, of course, take place, such as, for instance, the change suggested recently in the Lettish press—that Von der Goltz would resign as a German commander and would head these armies as a Russian attaman under the name of Goltzevich. But the Esthonians and the Letts will not reconcile themselves to any foreign occupation of their countries and will resist it with all their power. Besides, the negotiations with Soviet Russia have already taken a serious turn. And, thirdly, the Esthonians and Letts are earnestly considering the question of liquidating definitely the large landed estates, among other reasons, in order to destroy the very foundations of the policy of foreign colonization and of reaction.

And precisely for the purpose of keeping alive the idea of occupation and to have armed forces at their disposal to be in a position to exert pressure on the peace negotiations, the imperialists

of the great nations will not remove the Russo-German armies from the place where these imperialists are playing their game for rich booty. The end of this terrible bloody game is not yet.

The Paths of Greatness

By JOEL

In Christiania *Social-Demokraten*

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

YUDENICH

HIS ADJUTANT

YUDENICH (Alone in his office. Late in the morning. Sits in deep thought).

ADJUTANT (looking in): Did your Excellency call?

YUDENICH: Did I call? Not on you anyway, you hellish—

(*Adjutant exit*)

YUDENICH: Adjutant!

ADJUTANT: Your Excellency?

YUDENICH: Anything new?

ADJUTANT: We moved back a few kilometers last night.

YUDENICH: Didn't you hear my question? I asked was there anything *new*?

ADJ.: N-no, your Excellency.

YUD.: Any prisoners?

ADJ.: No, your—oh, yes—we caught a peasant with a goat last night. He was trying to sneak through our lines and go over to the Reds—

YUD.: All right. A Bolshevik provision transport intercepted! Good. Anything else?

ADJ.: No, your Excellency.

YUD.: How long will it before we get stuck in the swamps?

ADJ.: A few days, your Excellency, at our present rate of motion.

YUD.: Why the hell doesn't it freeze over. Why doesn't it get as cold as—tell me why!

ADJ.: I don't know; maybe it is because of the warm air.

YUD.: Hold your tongue! Not getting cold because of the warm air! Has anyone heard of the likes of this idiot! Have there been any papers lately?

ADJ.: Not since the last I gave your Excellency—

YUD.: I don't read the papers any more. What was in them?

ADJ.: Why, there was—we were approaching Petrograd, and there was—Kolchak had fallen, and there was—the ruble quotations going up, and there was—General Yudenich, the hero of the day, and then—

YUD.: Hold your tongue! Why did you send out those telegrams, eh?

ADJ.: Why, I understood that your Excellency—and then the ruble quotations really are rising—

YUD.: You didn't understand; you didn't get me; you don't understand anything—do you get

that? Approaching Petrograd! I should say! You're an idiot!

ADJ.: Yes, sir, your—

YUD.: It won't do. We are going to the devil.

ADJ.: Yes, sir, your Excellency.

YUD.: The offensive simply won't work. We have got to put over some atrocity stuff again. Are there any atrocities in the latest papers? I mean on the part of the Reds?

ADJ.: It is a little hard—you see we are now retiring and the Reds are discovering *our* atrocities, while we are not discovering any of theirs.

YUD.: What do you think you have this job for? Do you think it is in order that you shall tell me things that I already know? I need a man who has imagination. You told me distinctly that you had written verses. They must have been pretty funny verses.

ADJ. (deeply offended): Your Excellency, my verses have been read in the best society. And if they have not been printed it is merely because of the war. And as for imagination that . . .

YUD.: All right, go and use it.

ADJ.: An old woman was found murdered yesterday—

YUD.: Well, what about it?

ADJ.: Perhaps we might cut down her age a bit—say by about fifty years—no one knows the murderer, and it would be easy to suppose that it is a Red operating behind our lines—a sort of Jack-the-Ripper—a detestable Bolshevik, soaked with vice.

YUD. (contemptuously): Jack the-Ripper! Nothing doing! That is too stale. You worked the thing too hard at the beginning, my boy! Atrocities don't draw now any more. Nothing would make any impression but flaying alive and cannibalism—

ADJ. (has a sudden idea): One of the Cossacks was drunk yesterday; he fell into the stove and burned to death. The others could not pull him out, for they were also drunk. The old woman had a lot of brandy. If we should photograph him—

YUD.: Played-out devices—altogether too old. Hang it! Is no offensive possible? Could we not retire from some village and then go back again—I mean to reconquer it—

ADJ.: Our troops are not in the mood for it.

They could very well retire from the village, but they won't go back again——

YUD.: Go to hell! You cannot get up any decent atrocities, and you cannot get up any offensive. Out with you!

(*Adjutant goes out. He comes in again a few minutes later with a bundle of newspapers.*)

YUD.: You here again! Didn't you hear? I told you to get out! Out, I said!

ADJ.: Your Excellency, some Swedish and Norwegian newspapers have just come. Perhaps your Excellency——

YUD.: Hand them out! Translate!

ADJ. (*nervously*): Petrograd about to fall. General Yudenich advancing irresistibly. Fighting in the suburbs of the city. The days of the

Bolsheviki are now numbered. The General makes a statement to our paper——

YUD. (*in rage*): Stop. Did you send out that stuff?

ADJ.: I—I—thought your Excellency—your Excellency said you——

YUD.: Out, out, I say!

(*Exit Adjutant*)

YUD. (*walking up and down swiftly in the room, then more slowly; finally he stops. Remains standing for a moment in thought*): Adjutant!

ADJ. (*coming in*): Your Excellency?

YUD.: Sit down here. We have got to resort to some atrocity stuff. Let us see what you can do—for you say that you have been a poet——

CURTAIN

Peace—But There Is No Peace

(By Our Paris Correspondent)

PARIS, Nov. 20.—In the past few weeks there has been more and more talk of peace with Russia. But the discussion is still in the academic stage, and there seems to be no immediate prospect that the Allied statesmen will make any concrete move for peace. The tremendous Soviet victories have made the Entente sit up and take notice; they have made the Entente despair of defeating the Soviet power by force of arms. But it has not led them to accept the repeated overtures of the Moscow government for the conclusion of peace.

Either the statesmen of the Entente are hoping and praying for a miracle to happen, which shall suddenly wipe out the entire Russian revolution and make things rosy again for reaction in Europe; or else their statesmanship has become so bankrupt that they know not which way to turn now that their plans for crushing the Russian revolution have gone awry. The truth is that if Lloyd George and Clemenceau displayed one-tenth of the statesmanship of the Soviet Government, we should have had peace long before this.

The chancelleries of the Entente seem to have become affected with an indefinable psychopathic malady. The Russian situation has become a psycho-analytic complex to them, about which they cannot think clearly any more. The nearest approach to sanity on their part seems to have been the Prinkipo proposals, but all the Allied ministers who took part in that affair have been very eager to deny that they ever meant to conclude peace with Russia.

It seems useless to hope for a definite and immediate peace between the Allied Governments and Russia. Lloyd George has promised that the Supreme Council will try again to discuss the Russian situation. But we need not build any great hopes upon this discussion. The stumbling block

in these inter-Allied discussions, aside from the psychopathic prejudices shared in common by all the Allied statesmen, has been France—that is to say, Pichon and Clemenceau. Now these two will hardly be tempted to yield in their opposition to peace with Russia, after the tremendous reactionary victory at the polls last Sunday. Indeed, there is a rumor, which *Le Populaire* prints under full reserve, that Clemenceau, encouraged by the heavy majority in the Chamber, will move for an open declaration of war against Russia in order to "end the Bolshevik peril." It would be a risky business to send large numbers of French troops and marines to fight against the revolution, but Clemenceau might dare all in one grand coup. In France proper there would be nobody to stop this action except the 1,700,000 "Bolsheviks" or unqualified supporters of the Russian revolution. But these unfortunately have a representation of only fifty-five in the Chamber.

The most promising hopes for Russia seem to be in a gradual dissolution of the counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the Allies. England has renounced any further economic assistance to Kolchak and Denikin, and this decision may quickly send these two adventurers to their doom. The crushing of Yudenich has had the effect of stimulating the negotiations with the border states. The peace negotiations at Dorpat are now not only between the Baltic Provinces and Russia, but unofficially they include Poland and Finland as well. Poland has been ambitious to turn these pourparlers into a general peace conference between the Allies and Russia. The meeting was to be held in Warsaw, on a sort of revised Prinkipo platform, but Allied pressure has squelched the entire plan. The Allies are not yet ready to conclude a definite peace. But when one speaks of the Allies one should speak only of France and England. Italy is more than sick of

her part in the interventionist program. The official Italian press, commenting recently upon Poland's initiative toward peace, declared that Italy should have forestalled Poland's action, since Italian interests in Russian peace are very vital.

Another ally that shows signs of disaffection with the policy of the Supreme Council is Japan. Japan entered into the interventionist program frankly for spoils, for materialistic gain. The Soviet Government, knowing this, has already begun negotiations with the Japanese Government, looking toward the solution of the Japanese interests in Eastern Siberia. It is anxious that America, too, join in these discussions, as she too is vitally interested in the future settlement of Siberia. Indeed, were not President Wilson preoccupied with the League of Nations, there would now be a splendid opportunity for the display of independent American statesmanship in many phases of the Russian question.

It is quite possible that the blockade may be broken to pieces before the end of winter. There is a dispatch stating that the English warships in the Baltic are to be recalled before the sea freezes over. Last winter the Soviets managed to obtain quantities of supplies from Sweden by dragging

them over the ice to Petrograd. This winter it is probable that this traffic will be better organized. But more important than the amount of supplies that can be smuggled over through ice sledges is the question whether the English warships will ever return once they depart from the Baltic. If the negotiations with the Baltic provinces continue favorably, the Soviets will soon be able to make a big breach in the blockade, opening up the manufacturing resources of Germany. In that case, it would be useless for England to send back her battleships next spring to keep guard in the Baltic.

Summarizing all these scattered observations, it would seem that Russia is slowly finding a solution for her foreign imbroglios. The solution is through individual action with her various enemies. The multiple wars against Soviet Russia were not ushered in by any formal declaration of war, and they will end without any formal declaration of peace. The flames of counter-revolution will peter out. They have all but petered out this summer. When next spring comes around the Russian revolution will perhaps be able to beat her swords into plowshares and her spears into pruning hooks.

Before the Storm in Siberia

(A LETTER TO THE EDITOR)

TO the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA:

Dear Sir:

Kindly permit me to acquaint the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA with the contents of a letter I have just received from the other side, depicting the state of affairs in "Kolchakia" before the final storm.

The letter is dated at a little town in Northern Manchuria, September 28, and the writer of it is a well-known Socialist Revolutionist, who was fighting the Bolsheviks, as well as the Soviets, at the time I met him in Siberia, but who, like almost all the honest and true Socialists there, "has seen the light."

For obvious reasons, I am prevented from giving the name of the writer, but should any absolutely responsible Socialist like to see the original, I shall give him the opportunity.

Respectfully yours,

MAX M. ZIPPIN.

The letter follows:

I have sent you a number of clippings, for which I have spent the sum of 120 rubles. It is a big sum, isn't it? But don't be alarmed, it is much less than an American dollar here. (We pay 180 rubles for one dollar.) Now you can see for yourself how the Allied bankers prize Kolchak's rubles and what trust they have in him.

The situation in Siberia now can be described in one word: "anticipation." We are anticipating news, great news, every day; we have been expect-

ing it, as a matter of fact, since May. The restlessness and discontent with the Omsk dictator grows by leaps and bounds with every new day, and the most interesting thing about it all is the fact that this dissatisfaction is to be found among the upper classes no less than among the lower strata of the population. The middle class, the small as well as the big capitalists, were never as restless and rebellious as they are now. Of the workers it is needless to speak. Their sympathies are openly on the side of the "Reds." They make no secret of it, and show it on all occasions. The coming of the Bolsheviks is awaited here by the whole of the population—and I am not exaggerating in the least—with the keenest eagerness. You can hardly picture to yourself the unpopularity of Kolchak today. No matter how much the official, semi-official, and privately-owned press, which is, of course, under the sway of the powers that be, picture Kolchak and his henchmen in the most glowing colors, the population as a whole remains deaf to these appeals. And no matter how many lies the same press is spreading about the Soviets in Central Russia, they do not bring any results. The population as a whole was never as "left" as it is now, and it is constantly and almost hourly shifting further to the extreme in that direction.

Anti-Semitism never ran so wild as it does today in Siberia. It is being practiced by all means and channels, base and foul. It has already

taken on such repulsive forms, that one finds it too far beneath his dignity to answer such base and wild accusations against the Jews. I've sent you one issue of the official government newspaper in Harbin, *Sviet*, so that you may judge for yourself how far down they have fallen in this respect. Of course, we all know the reason for this. It is the last straw, which the dictator, constantly losing ground, is trying to clutch on for support, and I am happy to state that most of the democratic Russian population views the matter in this light, hardly granting it any attention.

You have probably heard of the strike we have had here, on the Chinese Eastern Railroad, and I presume that you were under the impression that it was a political strike. The newspapers surely pictured it as a "red" strike. The fact is that it was a purely economic strike, the workers putting forth one demand only, namely that they be paid in Chinese or Japanese currency, since they can buy actually nothing for the Kolchak rubles they get in payment for their work. The road here, as you know, is under Allied control, with an American at the head of it. Still, a punitive expedition was sent here from Nikolsk-Ussuryisk and the strike was broken. They have done their job to perfection, have these Cossacks. Quite a number of workers were killed and wounded, and sixty of the strike leaders were court-martialed. Worst of all, sixteen of the main leaders were banished from Manchuria and deported over the border. You know what it means. These sixteen will never get even as much as a court-martial trial. They will be shot by the Cossacks as soon as they have crossed the border. Why go to the trouble of trials, when one can do the job quicker and surer?

A few weeks ago the authorities arrested at Harbin the well-known communist leaders, Messrs. Mekler and Zalmanowitz, and the old director of the People's Gymnasium, Pavlovsky. I hope you remember them. The first two are members of the party of the Mensheviks, while Pavlovsky is a member of the People's Socialist party. They were all members of the city government of Harbin, representing the only opposition to the powers that be, namely, the left opposition. They were arrested for siding with the strikers and were condemned to be deported over the border, another way of doing away with them forever, without even the semblance of a trial. But a volley of protests came from all sides; the bourgeois element were even firmer in their expressions than the laboring element, and they were deported to Japan. Thank God, the lives of the three honest Communist workers were spared.

We are having now in Siberia a spy system that Russia never experienced even in the days of Plehve. One is practically not sure of his life. It is sufficient to be denounced as in the opposition, and you are instantly seized. But bad as it is in Manchuria, it is not half so bad as in Vladivostok,

where the Allies are in full control. The lawlessness and the terror there have taken on such anomalous, raging, and flagrant forms, that one can hardly find the proper words for their description. And the further West, the nearer to the "seat" of the "All Russian" government, the worse it gets. Still, some of us do manage somehow to live yet. Believe me, you have to do some managing to get through alive.

As to the lot of the Jews, since this interests us both much. Some sort of petition was made by England and America in behalf of the Jews. There was a pretty powerful letter on this subject published by Dr. Frank. But it was of no avail. The position is one of despair only. Trying to draw away the hatred of the population from himself and direct it towards the Jew—a thing as old as is Russian autocracy—nothing of this is left undone by the dictator to instigate the gentile population against the Jews. We are actually flooded with black proclamations of the most pernicious kind. The walls of almost all the government buildings are covered with inflammatory pictures that call for Jewish blood. And of course it brings grim results from the Cossacks. When a Jew travels by train, he runs the risk of his life. But just now a decisive battle is being fought near Omsk, and we all hope that we shall get rid of all our troubles in the very near future. You don't know how anxiously the whole population is waiting for the good news that, we hope, will soon come.

You have asked me for newspapers. To tell the truth, I cannot see that you will get anything out of them. There's nothing but victories for the "glorious" armies of Kolchak in them, and: "everything is all right on the Shipka." The newspapers are prohibited from writing anything that has not the approval of those "higher up," and we all look to the foreign papers and the approved secret channels to know the truth. The news of the fall of Cheliabinsk, for instance, came to us by a roundabout way, and even then, only six weeks after it had happened. But I shall try my best to satisfy your desire. But I warn you, they will all be of the blackest kind, since no opposition organ is allowed to function. In Vladivostok just now there does appear a timid opposition paper, the *Dalnevostochnoye Obozrenie*, and that is about all that exists in Siberia. The *Ekho* was closed up long ago, and the same thing happened to each and every newspaper that dared to tell even a part of the truth. Pretty good work for one that is "fighting for democracy," isn't that?

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THE correspondent of the *Times* at Riga asks a plain question and states some cold facts. "Do the Allies, including the United States, want peace with Soviet Russia," he asks, "or war? If war, how is that war to be carried on?"

"To save time, money and vain hope, it may as well be recognized now that there is nothing to be done with the White Russian armies as at present constituted." With this preface, Mr. Duranty describes the complete military and political hopelessness of the counter-revolution. Of Yudenich, Denikin and Kolchak, he says: "I have learned enough during the last weeks of the incompetence, to say the least, of their military and political conduct of operations to warrant the gravest doubts of their success. . . . Yudenich's advance was made possible by four British tanks with British crews. . . . Jealousy and intrigue are rife among the superior officers who appear to have every object save that of getting the best results for the whole army. The same criticism applies in even greater degree to the forces of Kolchak, while Denikin appears to be little better off. There are ugly stories of the actual sale to the Bolshevik enemy by the latter's subordinates of war material supplied to them by the British, while reports of the conduct of the army officers in Omsk indicate an exceedingly low state both of morale and discipline. Add to that the fact that all these commanders refuse to recognize the independence of the small nations formerly attached to the Russian Empire, thus alienating all their desire to co-operate . . . and that their severity toward the population of the country they occupy is such as

to cause incessant revolt, and it is evident that they are not fitted to direct Russian destinies, even should further Allied help render military success possible, which is more than doubtful. Even suppose the Allies do decide to take a hand. Suppose they actually send troops and succeed in overthrowing the Soviet Government, what guarantee is there that these Czarist reactionaries, for they have shown themselves to be nothing else in conduct, despite vague professions of liberality, will stand for a moment after the allied bayonets are withdrawn against the people of Russia who have tasted freedom."

We have come so far in the past few weeks that the correspondent of the *Times* can actually speak of Kolchak and Denikin as "czarist reactionaries" and concede that the people of Soviet Russia have "tasted freedom," without fear of being called a paid Bolshevik agent.

Even the ever-hopeful Harold Williams admits that in Denikin's area "there are difficulties and anxieties at every turn, economic, financial and political," and that "the position at the front is trying." The "ugly stories" to which Mr. Duranty refers are told more frankly by the Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily Herald*. British war material, paid for by British tax-payers and supplied to Denikin, was sold by the latter's agents and smuggled into Soviet Russia. British tanks, manned by British crews, leading the Yudenich army upon Petrograd were met by other British tanks bought from Denikin and manned by Red soldiers.

THE Associated Press is broadly satirical in its account of the new cabinet upon which the "Omsk" government, recently removed to Irkutsk, "bases hopes for a reconciliation with the Social Revolutionists, the Zemstvos, the Czechs and the Cossacks." The immediate result of this latest grotesque attempt of the itinerant "All-Russian" government to be all-inclusive was the refusal of the Municipal Council of Irkutsk, the capital city, to participate in Kolchak's much advertised congress of municipalities and Zemstvos. The Associated Press learns that this action of the Irkutsk council "is disapproved by all the non-socialist elements," and solemnly quotes the objections of the "official organ of the Czecho-Slovak army" in evidence of the popular disapproval. Meanwhile the premier has gone to discuss with Kolchak the details of what the correspondent derisively terms "the supposed compromise program" of the new government.

Future historians and humorists will explain how the agents of this amazing aggregation of adventurers, speculators, and czarists contrive to maintain their mysterious official and financial existence in Paris and Washington as representatives of a vague, legendary Russia. It is a wonder that some enterprising French royalist, seeing what is to be had out of it, does not come and establish an "embassy" in Washington. For the moment, how-

ever, the circumstance is only of academic interest. If the American people are content to endure these imposters, we are not deeply concerned with their antics. In due time the Russian people will hurl the ridiculous sham into the Pacific. Meanwhile an extra ambassador or two, no doubt, come in handy at official banquets. In the end, of course, the tax collector will dispose of them.

IN a volume entitled "Lenin, the Man and His Work," published by Scott and Seltzer, New York, Albert Rhys Williams has gathered biographical material and personal experiences which correct many misapprehensions and refute many falsehoods concerning the present leader of the Soviet Government. By a strange irony the secret police records from the archives of the Okhrana of the Czar afford the outline of the life of the first Premier of the Russian Republic. In addition to Mr. Williams' own observations, an appendix contains first hand impressions of Lenin by Raymond Robins and Arthur Ransome. The book is invaluable to all who seek the facts with which to meet the daily flood of misinformation and deliberate abuse. It is especially fortunate—all friends of Soviet Russia will thank Mr. Williams for this—that this first serious biography of Lenin in English presents the man against his appropriate background and emphasizes the eternal social and economic forces which transcend all personalities and apart from which the work of Lenin or any other man has no significance.

"The strength and persistence of the Soviet Government does not lie, as some infer, in the violation of all law, the strange whimsey of an inscrutable Providence," writes Mr. Williams. "It rests just where Lenin said it would—on the solid achievements of the workers and peasants. . . . More stupendous and significant are those achievements when one considers the handicaps under which the masses labored. When they took over the government they had as their heritage a people brow-beaten, impoverished and oppressed for centuries. The Great War had killed two millions of their able-bodied men, wounded and crippled another 3,000,000 and left them with hundreds of thousands of orphans and hundreds of thousands of the blind, the deaf and the dumb. The railways were broken down, the mines flooded, the reserves of food and fuel nearly gone. The economic machinery, dislocated by the war and further shattered by the Revolution, had suddenly thrown upon it the task of demobilizing 12,000,000 soldiers. They raised a bumper grain crop, but the Czechs, supported by the Japanese, French, British and Americans, cut them off from the grain fields of Siberia, and the other counter-revolutionaries from the grain fields of the Ukraine. . . . They were sabotaged by the old officials, deserted by the intelligentsia and blockaded by the Allies. The Allies tried by all manner of threats, bribery and assassination to overthrow their government, British agents blowing up the railway bridges to pre-

vent supplies reaching the big cities, and French agents, under safe-conduct from their consulates, putting emery in the bearings of the locomotives. . . .

"The fate of the Russian Revolution lies in the source whence it has sprung—in the hearts and hands of the masses. It lies back in those economic forces, the pressure of which has set those masses into motion. For centuries these masses had been quiescent, patient, long-suffering. All across the vast reaches of Russia, over the Muscovite plains, the Ukrainian steppes, and along the great rivers of Siberia, they toiled under the lash of poverty, chained by superstition, their lot little better than that of the beast. But there is an end to all things—even the patience of the poor.

"In March, 1917, with a crash heard round the world, the city masses broke their fetters. Army after army of soldiers followed their example and revolted. Then the Revolution permeated the villages, going deeper and deeper, firing the most backward sections with the revolutionary spirit, until a nation of 180,000,000 has been stirred to its depths—seven times as many as in the French Revolution.

"Caught by a great vision, a whole race strikes camp, and moves out to build a new order. It is the most tremendous movement of the human spirit in centuries. Based on the bed-rock of the economic interest of the masses, it is the most resolute strike for justice in history. A great nation turns crusader and, loyal to the vision of a new world, marches on in the face of hunger, war, blockade and death. It drives ahead, sweeping aside the leaders who fail them, following those who answer their needs and their aspiration."

Garvin Comes Over

"INTERVENTION MUST CEASE"

The *Observer* yesterday had a four-column editorial article on Russia.

It takes for the first time the "realist" view of the situation, having regard to the Soviet victories and the desire of the Baltic States for peace with Russia, which, it says, "necessarily means, for all effective purposes, the end of the anti-Bolshevik blockade." It continues:

"The first thing is to be clear about the immense change in the military and political conditions. After the steps towards peace taken by the Baltic States, further foreign intervention in Russia is not merely useless, but mischievous, and must cease. Mr. Lloyd George's Government will not continue it. No party in this country will stand for it; no coherent section of any party. . . . Nothing whatever can now bring about a stable system in Russia but conference and compromise."

A few hundred copies are still obtainable of our Special Anniversary Number of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 22). Readers may obtain copies at ten cents each, or seven cents each in bundles of ten or more.

The Family and the Communist State

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

1. *The Family and the Wage-Labor of Women*

WILL the family be maintained in the Communist State? Will it be just as it is today? That is a question which is tormenting the women of the working class, and which is likewise receiving attention from their comrades, the men. In recent days this problem has particularly been agitating all minds among the working women, and this should not astonish us: Life is changing under our very eyes; former habits and customs are gradually disappearing; the entire existence of the proletarian family is being organized in a manner that is so new, so unaccustomed, so "bizarre," as to have been impossible to foresee. That which makes women at the present day all the more perplexed is the fact that divorce has been rendered easier in Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact, by virtue of the decree of the People's Commissaires of December 18, 1917, divorce has ceased to be a luxury accessible only to the rich; henceforth the working woman will not have to petition for months, or even for years, for a separate credential, entitling her to make herself independent of a brutish or drunken husband, accustomed to beat her. Henceforth, divorce may be amicably obtained within a period of a week or two at most. But it is just this ease of divorce which is a source of such hope to women who are unhappy in their married life, which simultaneously frightens other women, particularly those who have become accustomed to considering the husband as the "provider," as the only support in life, and who do not yet understand that *woman must become accustomed to seek and to find this support elsewhere, no longer in the person of the man, but in the person of society, of the state.*

There is no reason for concealing the truth from ourselves; the normal family of former days, in which the man was everything and the woman nothing—since she had no will of her own, nor money of her own, nor time of her own—this family is being modified day by day; it is almost a thing of the past. But we should not be frightened by this condition. Either through error or through ignorance we are quite ready to believe that everything about us may remain immutable while everything is changing. *It has always been so and it will always be so.* There is nothing more erroneous than this proverb! We have only to read how people lived in the past, and we shall learn immediately that everything is subject to change and that there are no customs, nor political organizations, nor morals, which remain fixed and inviolable. And the family in the various epochs in the life of humanity has frequently changed in form; it was once quite different from what we are accustomed to behold today. There was

a time when only one form of family was considered normal, namely, the *generic* family; that is to say, a family with an *old mother* at its head, around whom were grouped, in common life and common work, children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren. The *patriarchal* family was also once considered the sole norm; it was presided over by a father-master whose will was law for all the other members of the family; even in our days, such peasant families may well be found in Russian villages. In fact, in those places the morals and the family laws are not those of the city worker; in the country there still are a large number of customs no longer found in the family of a city proletarian. The form of the family, its customs, vary according to race. There are peoples, such as, for instance, the Turks, Arabs, Persians, among whom it is permitted by law for a husband to have many wives. There have been, and there still are at present, tribes which tolerate the contrary custom of permitting a wife to have several husbands. The habitual morality of the present-day man permits him to demand of a young girl that she remain a virgin until legitimate marriage; but there were tribes among whom the woman, on the contrary, made it a matter of pride to have had many lovers, decorating her arms and legs with rings to indicate their number. . . . Such practices, which could not but astonish us, practices which we might even qualify as immoral, are found among other peoples to have the sanction of holiness, peoples who in their turn consider our laws and customs to be "sinful." Therefore there is no reason for our becoming terrified at the fact that the family is undergoing a modification, that gradually the traces of the past which have become outlived are being discarded, and that new relations are being introduced between man and woman. We have only to ask: "What is it that has become outlived in our family system and what, in the relations of the working man and working woman and the peasant and peasant woman, are their respective rights and duties which would best harmonize with the conditions of life in the new Russia, in the worker's Russia which our Soviet Russia now is?" Everything compatible with this new condition would be maintained; all the rest, all the superannuated rubbish which has been bequeathed to us by the cursed epoch of servitude and domination which was characteristic of the landed proprietors and the capitalists, all this shall be swept aside together with the exploited class itself, with these enemies of the proletariat and of the poor.

The family in its present form is also simply one of the legacies of the past. Formerly solid, compact in itself, indissoluble—for such was considered to be the character of marriage that had

been sanctified by the priest in person—the family was equally necessary to all its members. Were it not for the family, who would have nourished, clothed, and trained the children, who would have guided them in life? The orphans' lot in those days was the worst that could befall one. In the family such as we have become accustomed to it, it is the husband who earns and supports wife and children. The wife, on her part, is occupied with the housekeeping and the bringing up of the children, as she understands it. But already for a century this customary form of the family has been undergoing a progressive destruction in all the countries in which capital is dominant, in which the number of factories is rapidly growing, as well as other capitalist enterprises which employ workmen. The family customs and morals are being transformed simultaneously with the general conditions of the life surrounding them. What contributed most of all to change the family customs in a radical manner was without doubt the *universal spread of wage labor on the part of woman*. Formerly it was only the man who was considered to be the support of the family. But for the past fifty or sixty years we have beheld in Russia (in other countries even somewhat earlier) the capitalist regime obliging women to seek remunerative work outside of the family, outside of the house. The wages of the "providing" man being insufficient to provide for the needs of the family, the wife in her turn found herself obliged to look for work that was paid for; the mother was obliged also to knock at the door of the factory offices. And year by year the number of women of the working class who left their homes in order to swell the ranks of the factory workers, to take up work as day laborers, saleswomen, office help, washerwomen, servants, increased day by day. According to an enumeration made before the beginning of the world war, in the countries of Europe and America there were counted about sixty million women earning a living by their own work. During the war this number increased considerably. Almost half of these women are married, but it is easy to see what sort of family life they must have—a family life in which the wife (mother) goes to work outside of the house, for eight hours a day, ten if you include the trip both ways! Her home is necessarily neglected, the children grow up without any maternal care, left to themselves and all the dangerous risks of the street, in which they spend the greater part of their time. The wife, the mother, who is a worker, sweats blood to fill three tasks at the same time: to give the necessary working hours as her husband does, in some industry or commercial establishment, then to devote herself as well as she can to her household and then also to take care of her children. Capitalism has placed on the shoulders of the woman a burden which crushes her: it has made of her a wageworker without having lessened her cares

as a housekeeper and mother. We therefore find the woman crushed under her triple insupportable burden, forcing from her often a swiftly smothered cry of pain, and more than once causing the tears to mount to her eyes. Care has always been the lot of woman, but never has woman's lot been more unfortunate, more desperate than that of millions of working women under the capitalist yoke today, while industry is in its period of greatest expansion. . . .

The more widespread becomes the wage labor of woman, the further progresses the decomposition of the family. What a family life, in which man and wife work in the factory in different departments! In which the wife has not even the time to prepare a decent meal for her offspring! What a family life when father and mother out of the twenty-four hours of the day, most of which are spent at hard labor, cannot even spend a few minutes with their children! It was quite different formerly; the mother, mistress of the house, remained at home, occupied with her household duties and her children, whom she did not cease to watch with her attentive eye—today, from early in the morning until the factory whistle blows, the workingwoman hastens to her work, and when evening has come, again, at the sound of the whistle, she hurries home to prepare the family's soup and to do the most pressing of her household duties; after an all too scant sleep, she begins on the next day her regular grind. It is a real workhouse, this life of the married workingwoman! There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the fact that under these conditions the family ties loosen and the family itself disintegrates more and more. Little by little all that formerly made the family a solid whole is disappearing, together with its stable foundations. *The family is ceasing to be a necessity for its members as well as for the state*. The ancient forms of the family are becoming merely a hindrance.

What was it that made the family strong in the days of old? In the first place, the fact that it was the husband and father who supported the family; in the second place, that the home was a thing equally necessary to all the members of the family; and in the third and last place, that the children were brought up by the parents. What is left of all this today? The husband, we have just seen, has ceased to be the sole support of the family. His wife, who goes to work, has become the equal of her husband in this respect. She has learned to earn her own living and often also that of her children and her husband. This still leaves us as the function of the family the bringing-up and the support of the children while very young. Let us now see whether the family is not about to be relieved also even of this task just mentioned.

2. Household Work Ceasing To Be a Necessity

There was a time when the entire life of women

In the *great times* in the city as well as in the country, was present in the bosom of the family. *Formerly*, the mistress of her own house, the woman knew sewing and housework hardly needed to know anything. To compensate for this, she had within her own house a most varied group of occupations, of a most necessary and useful kind, not only to the family itself but also to the entire state. The woman did everything that is now done by any workingwoman or peasant woman: She cooked, she washed, she cleaned the house, she went over and mended the family clothing; but she not only did that. She had also to discharge a great number of duties which are no longer done by the woman of today: she spun wool and linen; she wove cloth and garments, she knitted stockings, she made lace, and she took up, as far as her resources permitted, the pickling and smoking of preserved foods; she made beverages for the household; she moulded her own candles. How manifold were the duties of the woman of earlier times! That is how the life of our mothers and our grandmothers passed. Even in our own days, in certain remote villages way off in the country, far from the railroads and the big rivers, you may still run across little spots where this mode of life of the good old time has been preserved in all its purity, in which the mistress of the house is overburdened with labors of which the workingwoman of the big cities and of the populous industrial regions have for a long time had no idea.

In the days of our grandmothers all this domestic work was an absolutely necessary and useful thing, on which depended the well-being of the family; the more the mistress of the house applied herself to these duties, the better was life in the house and the more order and affluence it presented. Even the state was able to draw some profit from this activity of woman as a housekeeper. For, as a matter of fact, the woman of other days did not limit herself to preparing potato soup either by herself or to be prepared by the family, but her hands also created many products of wealth, such as cloth, thread, butter, etc., all of which were things which could serve as commodities on the market and which therefore could be considered as merchandise, as things of value.

It is true that in the time of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers their labor was not estimated in terms of money. But every man, whether he was a peasant or a worker, sought for a wife a woman with "hands of gold," as is still the proverbial saying among the people. For the resources of man alone, "without the domestic work of woman," would have been insufficient to keep their future household going. But on this point the interests of the state, the interests of the nation, coincided with those of the husband: the more active the woman turned out to be in the bosom of her family, the more she created prod-

ucts of all kinds: cloth, leather, wool, the surplus of which was sold in the neighboring markets; and thus the economic prosperity of the country as a whole was increased.

But capitalism has changed all this ancient mode of living. All that was formerly produced in the bosom of the family is now being manufactured in quantity in workshops and factories. The machine has supplanted the active fingers of the wife. What housekeeper would now occupy herself in mending candles, spinning wool, weaving cloth? All these products can be bought in the shop next door. Formerly, every young girl would learn to knit stockings. Do you ever see a young working woman now knitting her own stockings? In the first place she would not have the time. Time is money and no one wants to waste money in an unproductive manner, that is without getting some profit from it. Now every housekeeper who is also a working woman is more interested in buying her stockings ready-made than losing her time by making them herself. Few and far between are the working women who would take up their time in pickling cucumbers or in making preserves when they remember that the grocery store next door has pickles and preserves ready to sell. Even if the product sold in the store is of an inferior quality and even though the factory preserves are not as good as those made at home by the hands of an economical housekeeper, the working woman nevertheless has neither the time nor the strength which must be applied in any extensive operations of this kind for her own household. She is before all other things a wage worker who is obliged to neglect her household. However this may be, the fact is that the contemporary family is becoming more and more liberated from all domestic labors, without which concern our grandmothers could hardly have imagined a family. What was formerly produced in the bosom of the family is now produced by the common labor of workingmen and workingwomen in factories and shops.

The family consumes but no longer produces. The essential labors of the housekeeper are now four in number: matters of cleanliness (cleaning the floors, dusting, heating, care of lamps, etc.), cooking (preparation of dinners and suppers), washing, and the care of the linen and clothing of the family (darning and mending).

These are painful and exhausting labors; they absorb all the time and all the energies of the working woman, who must in addition furnish her hours of labor in a factory. But it is nevertheless certain that the task of our grandmothers included a much greater number of operations. And, in addition, they possessed a quality which is completely lacking in the household labors of the working woman of our days: the latter have entirely lost their quality of being useful to the state from the standpoint of national economy, for these labors do not create any new values; they do not contribute to the prosperity of the country.

The workingwoman would in vain spend all the day from morning to evening cleaning her home, washing and ironing the linen, using herself up in ceaseless efforts to keep her worn-out clothing in order, she might kill herself preparing with her modest resources such food as might please her, and there would nevertheless at nightfall remain not a material result of all her day's work, and she would have created with her indefatigable hands nothing that could be considered as a commodity on the commercial market. Even if a workingwoman should live a thousand years there would never be any change for her. There would always be a new layer of dust to be removed from the mantelpiece and her husband would always come in hungry at night and her little tots would always bring in mud on their shoes. . . . The work of the housekeeping woman is becoming more useless day by day, more unproductive.

The individual household has passed its zenith. It is being replaced more and more by collective housekeeping. The working woman will sooner or later need to take care of her own dwelling no longer; in the Communist society of tomorrow this work will be carried on by a special category of working women who will do nothing else. The wives of the rich have long been freed from these annoying and tiring duties. Why should the working woman continue to carry out these painful duties? In Soviet Russia the life of the working woman should be surrounded with the same ease, with the same brightness, with the same hygiene, with the same beauty, which has thus far surrounded only the women of the richer classes. In a communist society the working women will no longer have to spend her few, alas, too few hours of leisure, in cooking, since *there will be in communist society public restaurants and central kitchens* to which everybody may come to take his meals.

These establishments have already been on the increase in all countries, even under the capitalist regime. In fact, for half a century the number of restaurants and cafes in all the great cities of Europe increased day by day; they sprung up like mushrooms after an autumn rain. But while under the capitalist system only people with well-larded purses could afford to take their meals in a restaurant, in the communist city, anyone who likes may come to eat in the central kitchens and restaurants. The case will be the same with washing and other work: the workingwoman will no longer be obliged to sink in an ocean of filth or to ruin her eyes in darning her stockings or mending her linen: she will simply carry these things to the *central laundries* each week, and take them out again each week already washed and ironed. The workingwoman will have one care less to face. Also, special clothes-mending shops will give the workingwomen the opportunity to devote their evenings to instructive readings, to healthy recreations, instead of spending them as

at present in exhausting labor. Therefore the four last duties still remaining to burden our women, as we have seen above, will soon also disappear under the triumphant Communist regime. And the workingwomen will surely have no cause to regret this. Communist society will only have broken the domestic yoke of woman in order to render her life richer, completer, happier and freer.

3. *The Bringing Up of Children is the Affair of the State*

But what will remain for the family after all these labors of individual housekeeping have disappeared? We still have *the children* to deal with. But here also the state of the working comrades will come to the rescue of the family by substituting for the family: society will gradually take charge of all that formerly was on parents. Under the capitalist regime, *the instruction of the child has ceased to be the duty of the parents*. The children were taught in schools. Once the child had attained school age, the parents breathed more freely. Beginning with this moment the intellectual development of their child ceased to be an affair of theirs. But all the obligations of the family toward the child were not therefore finished. There was still the duty of feeding the child, buying it shoes, clothing it, making skilled and honest workers of them, who might be able when the time came to live by themselves and to feed and support their parents in their old age. However, it was very unusual when a workers' family was able to fulfil entirely all these obligations towards their children; their low wages did not permit them even to give the children enough to eat, while lack of leisure prevented the parents from devoting to the education of the rising generation the full attention which is demanded for this duty. The family was supposed to bring up the children. But did it really? As a matter of fact, it is the street which brings up the children of the proletariat. The children of the proletarians are ignorant of the amenities of family life, pleasures which we still shared with our own fathers and mothers.

Furthermore, the low wages of the parents, insecurity, even hunger, frequently bring it about that when hardly ten years of age, the son of the proletarian already becomes in his turn an independent worker. Now, as soon as the child (boy or girl) begins to earn money, he considers himself the master of his own person to such an extent that the words and counsels of his parents cease having any effect on him, the authority of the parents weakens and obedience is at an end. As the domestic labors of the family die out one by one, all obligations of support and training will be filled by society in place of the parents. Under the capitalist regime the children were frequently, too frequently, a heavy and unbearable burden to the proletarian family.

Here also the Communist society will come to the aid of the parents. In Soviet Russia, owing to the cares of the Commissariats of Public Education and of Social Welfare, great advances are being made, and already many things have been done in order to facilitate for the family the task of bringing up and supporting the children. There are homes for very small babies, day nurseries, kindergartens, children's colonies and homes, infirmaries, and health resorts for sick children, restaurants, free lunches at school, free distribution of text books, of warm clothing, of shoes to the pupils of the educational establishments—does all this not sufficiently show that the child is passing out of the confines of the family and being placed from the shoulders of the parents on those of collectivity?

The care of children by the parents consisted of three distinct parts: (1) the care necessarily devoted to the very young babies; (2) the bringing up of the child; (3) the instruction of the child. As for the instruction of children in primary schools and later in gymnasiums and universities, it has become a duty of the state, even in capitalist society. The other occupations of the working class, its conditions of life, imperatively dictated, even to capitalist society, the creation for the purposes of the young, of play-grounds, infants' schools, homes, etc., etc. The more the workers became conscious of their rights, the better they were organized in any specific state, the more society would show itself to be concerned with relieving the family of the care of the children. But bourgeois society was afraid of going too far in this matter of meeting the interests of the working class, lest it contribute in this way to the disintegration of the family. The capitalists themselves are not unaware of the fact that the family of old, with the wife a slave and the man responsible for the support and well-being of the family, that the family of this type is the best possible weapon to stifle the proletarian effort toward liberty, to weaken the revolutionary spirit of the workingman and workingwoman. Worry for his family takes the backbone out of the worker, obliges him to dicker with capital. The father and the mother, what will they not do when their children are hungry? Contrary to the practice of capitalist society, which has not been able to transform the education of youth into a truly social function, a state work, Communist society will consider the social education of the rising generation as the very basis of its laws and customs, as the corner stone of the new edifice. Not the family of the past, petty and narrow, with its quarrels between the parents, with its exclusive interests in its own offspring, will mold for us the man of the society of tomorrow. Our new man, in our new society, is to be molded by Socialist organizations such as playgrounds, gardens, homes, and many other such institutions, in which the child will pass the greater part of the day

and where intelligent educators will make of him a Communist who is conscious of the greatness of this sacred motto: solidarity, comradeship, mutual aid, devotion to the collective life.

But now, with the bringing up gone and with the instruction gone, what will remain of the obligations of the family toward its children, particularly after it has been relieved also of the greater portion of the material cares involved in having a child, except for the care of a very small baby while it still needs its mother's attention, while it is still learning to walk, clinging to its mother's skirts? Here again the Communist State hastens to the aid of the working mother. No longer shall the child-mother be bowed down with a baby in her arms! The Workers' State charges itself with the duty of assuring a livelihood to every mother, whether she be legitimately married or not, as long as she is suckling her child, of creating all over maternity houses, of establishing in all the cities and all the villages day nurseries and other similar institutions in order thus to permit the woman to serve the state in a useful manner and simultaneously to be a mother.

Let the working mothers be reassured: The Communist Society is not intending to take the children away from the parents nor to tear the baby from the breast of its mother; nor has it any intention of resorting to violence in order to destroy the family as such. No such thing! Such are not the aims of the Communist Society. What do we observe today. The outworn family is breaking. It is gradually freeing itself from all the domestic labors which formerly were as so many pillars supporting the family as a social unit. Housekeeping? It also appears to have outlived its usefulness. The children? The parent-proletarians are already unable to take care of them; they can assure them neither subsistence nor education. This is the situation from which both parents and children suffer in equal measure. Communist Society therefore approaches the workingwoman and the workingman and says to them: "You are young, you love each other. Everyone has the right to happiness. Therefore live your life. Do not flee happiness. Do not fear marriage, even though marriage was truly a chain for the workingman and woman of capitalist society. Above all do not fear, young and healthy as you are, to give to your country new workers, new citizen-children. The society of the workers is in need of new working forces; it hails the arrival of every new-born child in the world. Nor should you be concerned because of the future of your child; your child will know neither hunger nor cold. It will not be unhappy nor abandoned to its fate as would have been the case in capitalist society. A subsistence ration and solicitous care are assured to the child and to the mother by the Communist Society, by the Workers' State, as soon as the child arrives in the world. The child will be fed, it will be brought up, it will be educated by the cares of

the Communist Fatherland; but this Fatherland will by no means undertake to tear the child away from such parents as may desire to participate in the education of their little ones. The Communist Society will take upon itself all the duties involved in the education of the child, but the paternal joys, the maternal satisfaction—such will not be taken away from those who show themselves capable of appreciating and understanding these joys." Can this be called a destruction of the family by means of violence? or a forcible separation of child and mother?

There is no escaping the fact: the old type of family has seen its day. It is not the fault of the Communist State, it is the result of the new conditions of life. *The family is ceasing to be a necessity to the State, as it was in the past; on the contrary, it is worse than useless, since it needlessly holds back the female workers from a more productive and far more serious work. Nor is it any longer necessary to the members of the family themselves, since the task of bringing up the children, which was formerly that of the family, is passing more and more into the hands of the collectivity. But, on the ruins of the former family we shall soon behold rising a new form which will involve altogether different relations between men and women, and which will be a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the Communist society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers. No more domestic "servitude" for women! No more inequality within the family! No more fear on the part of the woman to remain without support or aid with little ones in her arms if her husband should desert her. The woman in the Communist city no longer depends on her husband but on her work. It is not her husband but it is her robust arms which will support her. There will be no more anxiety as to the fate of her children. The State of the Workers will assume responsibility for these. Marriage will be purified of all its material elements, of all money calculations, which constitute a hideous blemish on family life in our days. Marriage is henceforth to be transformed into a sublime union of two souls in love with each other, each having faith in the other; this union promises to each workingman and to each workingwoman simultaneously, the most complete happiness, the maximum of satisfaction which can be the lot of creatures who are conscious of themselves and of the life which surrounds them. This free union, which is strong in the comradeship with which it is inspired, instead of the conjugal slavery of the past—that is what the Communist Society of tomorrow offers to both men and women.* Once the conditions of labor have been transformed, and the material security of the workingwomen has been increased, and after marriage such as was performed by the church—this so-called indissoluble marriage which was at bottom merely a fraud—after this marriage has given

place to the free and honest union of men and women who are lovers and comrades, another shameful scourge will also be seen to disappear, another frightful evil which is a stain on humanity and which falls with all its weight on the hungry workingwoman: prostitution.

This evil we owe to the economic system now in force, to the institution of private property. Once the latter has been abolished, the trade in women will automatically disappear.

Therefore let the woman of the working class not worry over the fact that the family as at present constituted is doomed to disappear. They will do much better to hail with joy the dawn of a new society which will liberate the woman from her domestic servitude, which will lighten the burden of motherhood for woman, and in which, finally, we shall see disappear the most terrible of the curses weighing upon women, known as prostitution.

The woman who is called upon to struggle in the great cause of the liberation of the workers—such a woman should know that in the New State there will be no more room for such petty divisions as were formerly understood: "These are my own children; to them I owe all my maternal solicitude, all my affection; those are your children, my neighbor's children; I am not concerned with them. I have enough to do with my own." Henceforth the worker-mother, who is conscious of her social function, will rise to a point where she no longer differentiates between *yours* and *mine*; she must remember that there are henceforth only *our* children, those of the Communist State, the common possession of all the workers.

The Workers' State has need of a new form of relation between the sexes. The narrow and exclusive affection of the mother for her own children must expand until it embraces all the children of the great proletarian family. In place of the indissoluble marriage based on the servitude of woman, we shall see rise the free union, fortified by the love and the mutual respect of the two members of the Workers' State, equal in their rights and in their obligations. In place of the individual and egotistic family, there will arise a great universal family of workers, in which all the workers, men and women, will be, above all, brothers, comrades. Such will be the relation between men and women in the Communist Society of to-morrow. This new relation will assure to humanity all the joys of the so-called free love ennobled by a true social equality of the mates, joys which were unknown to the commercial society of the capitalist regime.

Make way for healthy, blossoming children; make way for a vigorous youth that clings to life and to its joys, which is free in its sentiments and in its affections. Such is the watchword of the Communist Society. In the name of equality, of liberty, and of love, we call upon the workingwomen and the workingmen, peasant women and

Germany and the Russian Blockade

GERMAN official circles are now practically mere mouthpieces for the Allied governments. Some of these circles are attempting to attach Germany to the Allied policy of blockade; others are actively aiding in furthering the interests of Kolchak and Denikin by enabling them to recruit German soldiers in Germany, for counter-revolutionary uses in Russia. Another service being rendered to the Allies is the forwarding of former

Russian prisoners in Germany by the sea route to Denikin's ports. We recall a protest in the *Kommunistische Arbeiterzeitung* of Hamburg, September 5th, against permitting the steamer *Pylon* to sail for the Black Sea with Russian prisoners on board. The author of the protest declares that sailing orders for this ship had arrived from Berlin.

Below is a protest against German participation in the Russian blockade.

AGAINST THE STRANGULATION OF SOVIET RUSSIA

THE governments of the Entente have taken new steps in order to carry into execution a *more stringent blockade of Soviet Russia*. The proletariat of the whole world has been thus confronted with a new situation: it must combine all its forces in order decisively to interpose in the Eastern policy of the governments and to thwart the international conspiracy of the capital.

The Russian Soviet Republic is menaced from all sides by enemies who under the battle cry "Against Bolshevism" are in fact fighting against all the Socialists of the world. To the east of Soviet Russia is Kolchak; many times beaten and repulsed, he is again bringing his troops together against Moscow. From the south, Denikin is advancing against Moscow. Petersburg is menaced by the troops of General Yudenich and the English navy. On the Western front there is gathering, besides the Poles who are playing the role of gendarmes of the Entente, the counter-revolutionary army of the German and Russian monarchists; it has started its advance from Courland and Lithuania in order to take its part of the booty.

A more passive role in this hunt against Soviet Russia is played by the former Russian border peoples, the Estonians, the Letts, the Lithuanians, the White Russians, the Ukrainians. The aversion against Bolshevism and the Great Russian centralism also drove many petty bourgeois and peasant elements within these lands into the arms of the enemies of Soviet Russia. Still, they fear no less a victory of Kolchak and Denikin, which would rob them not only of their independence, but also of their land, and would force them back to czaristic slavery. They fear also that the Entente might obtain a footing in the border lands which would bring them economic subjugation and dependence. But most of all they dread the German reactionaries and militarists who have stretched out again their rapacious fingers in the Eastern direction.

The anxiety before the open and concealed brigands from the West makes the governments of the Russian border lands inclined to submit to the demand of the local Socialists—to conclude *peace with Soviet Russia*. The readiness to con-

clude peace must be given succor by the German and the western European proletariats, it must serve as a basis for action in all countries which will set free the road to the

Universal Peace in the East

for which Soviet Russia has many a time stated its readiness in solemn declarations to all governments.

This peace will materialize only after the combined European proletariat has exercised the strongest pressure upon its governments and has compelled them to stop their military expeditions and the murderous blockade directed against the Russian people, to drop any kind of open or concealed support of the Kolchaks, Denikins, Yudeniches, Avalov-Bermonds, and to desist from doing political and economic violence to the border peoples as well as from every exploitation of these peoples for the purpose of fighting Soviet Russia. As long as western European imperialism is artificially keeping up the chaos and anarchy in the East and is misusing the Eastern peoples as tools for its policy, there is no way of getting peace.

The German proletariat must in this connection fulfil a special task: its struggle against the Russian policy of the Western powers is simultaneously a struggle against the German counter-revolution, which has been strengthened in the East. The Baltic adventure of the German military, the appearance of Count Goltz and other officers on the scene, the conspiracy of the heads of the German heavy industry, the nobility and the military camarilla with the leaders of the Russian monarchist counter-revolution offer a complete proof that the German imperialists and militarists wish at an opportune moment to recompense themselves in the East for their losses and defeats, and are determined to use the Russian counter-revolution as a jumping-off stage for the counter-revolution in Germany.

The negative attitude of the Entente towards the German imperialists does not confuse the latter in their plans. They try to disperse the fear of the Entente capital before the German competition in the East by bringing to their view the benefits of German military aid, the fitness of the

German generals and mercenaries for an advance against Moscow. The demand of the Entente to take part in the blockade of Russia comes not inopportunistically to the German foes of Socialism and Democracy. Should the Entente offer them as a reward more soldiers for the National Guard and a part of the Russian booty, they will come also in this matter to an agreement with the "hereditary foe and enemy of the country."

We stigmatize the plans of the German militarists and imperialists as well as the counter-revolutionary measures of the governments of the Entente. We indict the German imperialists for the criminal acts they are committing in the East. We protest against the favors which the Government has extended to them and their czarist counter-revolutionary allies. We declare the most bitter war on the conspiracy that is directed against the Russian and the German revolutions. This piratical policy, full of enmity towards the workers, was openly and secretly fostered by the Scheidemann as well as by the Bauer governments, thanks to their political course.

We protest as vigorously against the Interventionist Policy of the Entente in the East. This policy is a crime against the peoples of Russia and the future of the world. We greet the active steps which are being taken with an ever-growing force by our comrades in the countries of the Entente against the blockade of Soviet Russia and for the opening of peace negotiations with the Soviet Government. We, too, are determined to continue with all energy this our struggle, which we have been waging for months. Only this can put an end to the bloody chaos in the East, save Socialism, and ward off the rise of an abject reaction that is menacing the proletariat of all countries.

We demand of the German Government that it take at last, by means of efficient actions, a clear and honest stand in the Eastern policy. All persons occupying official positions who have caused, either by their actions or by neglect of duty, the present entangling of Germany in the East, or who have taken part in the conspiracy in union with the Russian counter-revolutionaries, must be dismissed from their posts and put under indictment. All military persons who will not obey the order of the Government calling them back should at once be deprived of their civic rights. The participation in the barter of men for the Russian White Guards and the recruiting among the Russian prisoners of war who still are kept back in Germany must be met with severe punishment.

The demand of the Entente to take part in the blockade of Russia must be denied. The Government ought to declare at the same time its readiness to re-establish diplomatic and economic intercourse with Soviet Russia.

But in addition to these minimal demands the German proletariat must be ready to thwart all

attacks against Soviet Russia or the Russian border lands coming from the German side, and to sustain our Russian comrades in their defensive war. The German proletariat ought not in its own interest to permit the putting down of the Russian Revolution. It is imperative that the international front of Capital be faced with the

International Front of the Proletariat.

Over the still closed border we are stretching our brotherly hand to our Russian comrades, fully possessed of the conviction that by means of a common struggle the international proletariat shall succeed in overcoming the world reaction and to help to a victory the cause of Socialism.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY GROUP OF THE INDEPENDENT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY.

—*Der Kampf*, Munich, October 23.

The Red Army

We are indebted to the People's Russian Information Bureau, London, for the following:

A recent report of the Political Education Department of the Soviet General Staff describes in detail the great educational work which is being done in the Red Army. This work is in the charge of the local sections of the Department, which are attached to all military district commissariats, and to all units of the Army throughout the country, including the front. In May last the 133 army units counted in their midst 64 centres of the Communist party engaged in Socialist propaganda, 97 educational committees, 50 clubs, 27 elementary schools, as many reading rooms, and 63 lending libraries. Throughout the country attached to the Red Army in May last, were 1614 libraries and reading rooms, 674 schools, 211 theatres, and 221 cinemas. In Moscow alone the Red Army Clubs, in the first three months of the present year, were able to arrange 108 theatrical performances, 191 concerts, and 552 lectures. At every large junction station which the Red soldiers have to pass on their way to the front, literature is distributed, meetings are held, lectures are delivered, etc. Propaganda circles are attached to every unit, which carry the revolutionary agitation right into the camp of the enemy, with the result that whole regiments of the "Whites" not infrequently go over to the Soviet lines. Courses of instruction for the illiterate are held almost every day, and one Red Army has a movable university attached to it at which lectures are delivered by members of the War Council, of the Political Education Department, etc. Nothing is left undone to permeate the Red soldiers with the Socialist and Revolutionary spirit and to impart to them a clear understanding of the "war aims" of Soviet Russia. Of course, the Red Army gets all the papers which are published in Russia, but has several papers of its own, which enjoy great popularity, as the contributors are for the most part the soldiers themselves.

British Fleet in the Baltic

IN THE House of Commons yesterday, Mr. J. C. Wedgwood (Lab.—Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked what orders have been given to the admiral commanding in the Baltic with respect to the use of the British fleet or seaplanes against unarmed Russians, or against armed Russian ships or forts which are not engaged in attacking the British fleet.

Mr. Walter Long (First Lord of the Admiralty) said the admiral commanding in the Baltic had orders to employ his forces as he thought necessary to prevent aggression by Bolshevik forces against the Baltic States, and to assist by all means in his power those States which are fighting in accordance with the aims of the Supreme Council. If the reference to "unarmed Russians" was intended to imply the deliberate use of the British naval forces against such people, he could only say it had not been considered necessary to give any orders on the subject.

Captain Benn (L.—Leith): Having abandoned the land expedition, are we now carrying on a sea war against the Russian Government?

Mr. Long: I have given a definite answer to a definite question.

Mr. Long added, in reply to Mr. Wedgwood, that the approximate cost of maintaining the British fleet in the Baltic in July, August, and September was £800,000.

Mr. Harmsworth, in reply to Mr. Swan (Lab.—Barnard Castle), said that no replies had yet been received from the neutral Governments to the note addressed to them by the Allied and Associated Governments asking them to co-operate in the exercise of economic pressure on Soviet Russia. The text of what purported to be the reply of the German Government was published in the press on Friday, but the Government had no information as to whether that text was accurate or not.

Captain W. Benn: Has the blockade of Russia ever received the approval of the House of Commons?

Mr. Harmsworth: There is no actual legal blockade of Russia.

Mr. Swan: A very illegal blockade.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 4, 1919.

Workers Demand the Reopening of Russian Connections

All Bolinder's organized workers, assembled for meeting Wednesday, October 1st, decided unanimously to concur in the resolutions made by the Bergsund Iron and Metal Workers' Union, in regard to the immediate opening of trade connections with Soviet Russia.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, Oct. 3, 1919.

Under Bolshevik Rule

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir: As one who has not been to Russia of late, I refrain from offering any critical remarks on Mr. Paul Dukes' letter in your Wednesday issue, but one sentence of his decidedly calls for an energetic protest. He says: "Some people have the audacity to say the blockade is starving Russia, as if Russia ever imported food!" Mr. Dukes is either totally ignorant of facts or is himself guilty of the offence which he imputes to other people. Yes, it is true that Russia never imported food from abroad, but the central and northern provinces always, even in the best years, imported food from the south—that is, the Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus, and the Volga district. When, therefore, the transport became dislocated owing to the war, famine at once set in in the north and the centre, seizing in its grip, more particularly, the two capitals. That happened early in 1916—that is, long before the advent of the Bolsheviks. Of course the well-to-do were still able even then to feed well by paying fancy prices to speculators, but the masses of the people were suffering acutely, and their sufferings gave rise to many passionate debates in the Duma, and ultimately led to the outbreak of the Revolution. Since then the transport has not improved, but another and still more important factor joined to render the situation still worse. First the Germans by the occupation of the Ukraine, and then the Allies by their support of the counter-revolutionaries, deprived Soviet Russia—that is, just the northern and central provinces—of all the granaries in the south, and even in the east, in Western Siberia. No wonder that Soviet Russia is starving!

Mr. Dukes further blames the corn monopoly, which, he declares, discourages the peasants from selling their corn. No doubt Free Trade would have greatly helped—the rich. We see this in Berlin, and even in Vienna and Budapest. But it would have deprived the poorer people, the working class, of what little they are still able to obtain, thanks to the strict system of rationing. Hence this severe struggle with the "sackmen" and other forms of illicit trading in foodstuffs. For the rest, the corn monopoly is not an invention of the Bolsheviks, but was first established under Kerensky, to the great disgust of the big landlords (*pomiestchiki*).

As for the failure of the Soviet authorities to bring in sufficient food in April, when they still occupied the Ukraine, perhaps Mr. Dukes will be good enough to remember that by that time the corn supplies even in the south were running particularly low, and that in the following month Denikin began his successful advance. For the rest, is the Soviet Government the only Government which fails to keep its promises or to realize its expectations?

Yours, etc.,

A RUSSIAN.

London, November 13.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 15, 1919.

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1. *In Denikin's Rear*, by MAX M. ZIPPIN.
2. *Social-Revolutionists Organize Against Kolchak*. (Two Characteristic Documents.)
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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE DENIKIN REAR, <i>By Max M. Zippin</i>	1	EDITORIALS	12, 13
THE WAR IN RUSSIA	4	STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU	14
THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN RUSSIA	6	A LETTER TO EMMA GOLDMAN	14
YIDDISH BOOKS IN SOVIET RUSSIA	7	SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS IN REVOLUTIONIZED RUSSIA	16
THE CIVIL WAR IN SIBERIA, <i>By Semper Frey</i>	9	SIDELIGHTS ON INTERVENTION	18
TO THE KING OF SWEDEN	11	A SAMPLE OF KOLCHAK PROPAGANDA	23

The Denikin Rear

By MAX M. ZIPPIN

JUST now the rear of General Denikin's line is everywhere disturbed by the attitude of often indifferent or unfriendly populations, replete with propaganda that he re-establishes monarchism. . . . (From an Associated Press dispatch.)

"There is every reason to believe," the dispatches assert, 'that in a very short time the insurgents will clear the whole Kuban territory of Denikin's so-called volunteer army.'" (From an Associated Press dispatch, dated Washington, Oct. 29.)

As usual these highly informing dispatches of the Associated Press and Washington came after several Russian newspapers, from the other side, a few months ago, that have managed to break through the front and the rear lines of the Allied and Associated censorships, had already told us these facts in many more words. According to these newspapers, the Denikin rear collapsed as early as March last, if not even earlier. The Kuban Cossacks, with whom the populations, according to Washington, made common cause, asserted their rights and declared their independence of the Saviour Denikin and the intriguing Allies months ago, and the Don Cossacks have partly done the same. Even the Cossacks, it seems, get tired of being flogged, murdered, buried alive with heads sticking out, to impress the rising generation, and of having, in addition, their whole villages, whether Russian or Tartar, wiped off the face of the earth, whether it be for the sake of saving Allied democracy or not.

The Denikin rear collapsed months before they dared tell about it, because it could not do otherwise. Were the Allies less interested in bleeding Russia to death and should they, instead, consult recent Russian history, they would find out that

Denikin, as well as Kolchak and all the other agents of Allied imperialism in Russia never had any rear and never could hold any. They did have fronts. They may create new fronts even today. With the enormous war materials now idle, with the huge capital collected from their populations in the form of liberty loans, and with the perfected machinery of intrigue at their disposal, the Allied governments can hardly boast of formidable undertakings when they create new fronts in Russia now and then, and produce new creatures-provocateurs, like Avalov-Bermont, Yudenich, etc., to hold for them, for a certain while, their new fronts. But not so with the rears. They have been trying to create a rear since the Soviets came into power, we might as well say even since Kerensky's days, as the Kornilov affair, a purely Allied affair, has proven without any doubt, and they have never succeeded in progressing any further than the fronts. The rears,—the great Russian Federated Socialist Republic, the vast majority of the Russian people, jealous of its new acquired freedom, had always remained for what it was,—the great Russian truly democratic Socialist Republic, with a people always on the alert and ready to die in defence of that freedom. Fronts do not amount to very much after all "in a country as large as Russia," to quote Mr. Lloyd George. It's the rears that count, and it's in the rear that all their plans and schemes go to pieces in a land like Russia.

To quote the official communication of the Soviet Government of February 4, 1918, that is, nearly two years ago, in the *Izvestia*, "The Allied consuls have supported the Kieff Rada and have encouraged it to organize the so-called National Army, which resulted in the total derangement of the

whole front. The Allied consuls have financed the Rada, supporting it in its war against the government of the Russian Republic. The Allied consuls supported Kaledin, and provided him with artillery, ammunition and moneys. The Allied consuls had dealings with Alekseyev and helped him to create counterrevolutionary battalions. The French military mission became the source of the most foul, reckless and pernicious slander against the revolutionary diplomacy of the Russian Republic. The Allied governments have become the open protégées of the Rumanian oligarchy in its counter-revolutionary conspiracies against the Russian Republic. There was no single counter-revolutionary attempt or plot in Russia in which the agents of the Allied governments, or the members of their military missions, have not either directly or indirectly participated, or which they have not financed outright."

So the Allied agents have been trying to create fronts in Russia all along, from the very first day the Russian workers and peasants have seized the power, but save for the spilling of rivers of Russian blood, they have never accomplished any more than that. The fronts of the Allies in Russia were never supported by rears, and never will be.

The Don-Kuban region has turned into a bad and collapsed rear just now, for that gentleman of the English Order of the Bath, Denikin, was to be an Allied rear as early as the end of 1917. The now "famous" Denikin was then only a member of the Allied-Alekseyev staff and then only in a minor capacity, since when Kaledin committed suicide, Alekseyev entrusted the office of Field Ataman, held by Kaledin, to General Nazarov, then to others in succession, but not to him. But when the Allied front there had become a rear, and, after it had become a rear, collapsed, and when Kaledin committed suicide because of it, and Alekseyev died or was killed by the rebellious Cossacks, and the other atamans have either passed away or fled, Denikin, who neither had committed suicide nor was killed, was selected by the English and French "Missions" to be the "savior."

It is an interesting chapter of recent Russian history, this endeavor of the Allies to create a front against the Russian people in the regions of the Don and Kuban and to make these regions a base for their evil and bloody conspiracies against Russia at the end of 1917, that is, soon after the Russian people became their own rulers. It is interesting if only for the proof that in the case of Allied intrigues in Russia, history does repeat itself, and, indeed quite often. It started with Kaledin as the hero and the Allied "white-hope," but something evidently happened, and Alekseyev, whom the Russian revolution had discarded even in the days of Kerensky, was sent there by the French "mission" as the moving spirit. It lasted a few months with the familiar blood-spilling so peculiarly characteristic of the Allied "policy" in Russia, and with the total destruction of every vestige of self-government in the regions affected, notwithstanding the fact, as is usually the case

with the Allied "saviors" in Russia, that the war against the Bolsheviks was heralded as a war against "usurpers" and "dictators." So it pretty soon became a rear, and when it did become a rear, the Kubanians created a republic of their own; one that was to be neutral and opposed to the war of Russians against Russians, against what was familiarly called then, the Russian-Russian fronts, and in the Don. . . .

Here is what the General who was selected to take the place of the suicide Kaledin, Nazarov, has told officially in his manifesto to the Cossacks of the region, January 28, 1919, in what he was pleased to call "Ukase No. 1":

"The United Cossack military government . . . at its meeting of January 29, having convinced itself of the fact that there is a terrible lack of real support on the side of the population and the army, also of the total impossibility to govern the region, on account of the rupture between the provinces and the Novotcherkask government, has ordained: The whole united military government, headed by the military ataman, is to resign its trust and to turn its power, in the cities to the city governments, while in the regional governments the power is to be delegated to the "all-party regional committee to preserve order." In half an hour after this decision, the Field Ataman, General of Cavalry Kaledin, had committed suicide. Unable to see any real authority to which I could feel a responsibility, while continuing the work of defending the fatherland from all the attempts of our enemies, and also unwilling to be an accomplice of the rulers (meaning Alekseyev), I too, have resigned my trust at the meeting of the delegates of Novotcherkask Stanitz (county) with delegates of the Grushevsky Stanitz and others present. I was elected Field Ataman at that very meeting, and after declining the office five times in succession, I at last agreed to the election on the explicit understanding that it be only provisional, and only after the representatives of the Novotcherkask Stanitz had promised to put at my command two thousand warriors, and other Stanitzas had also agreed to continue the war against the Bolsheviks."

The order of this general then follows. The Cossacks of the Don region are to mobilize their forces, and those unwilling to do so are to be disarmed.

But somehow, this general governed only for a very short while and then disappeared. The Don front of the Allies, at a time the Allies, one would think, had a greater task before them than to fight the Russians, the Germans being pretty powerful then, and as yet not corroded by the propaganda of the same Russians the Allies were fighting—the Bolsheviks—in a word, the Allies' front on the Don against the Russians had turned into a rear, and the rear collapsed. Nazarov kept his promise and did not become a party to the rulers, that is to Alekseyev, who was to do the Allies'—I had nearly said, dirty work, and he couldn't last long. The masses of the Don region would not follow him, because the masses, by the confession of both Kaledin and Alekseyev, as it will be seen later, have elected to espouse the cause of the horrible Bolsheviks. And the middle classes soon found out that it was a war against the whole of the Russian people for the purpose of grabbing Russian oil, Russian territory, the Russian *all*, and have equally stopped supporting these "democratic" undertakings.

Alekseyev, who was to be crowned a sort of

provisional monarch by the notorious Russian "National Center," sitting now and scheming at Paris as the representatives of the whole of Russia, had he not died or been killed—there are proofs for this—had started, as they all do, with the Constituent Assembly on his lips, and we see below what he has actually done, according to the letter Kaledin addressed to him before he had ended his life.

By the will of fate and of the Cossacks of the peaceful Don, you were entrusted with the great task of freeing the Don from the enemies of the free Cossacks, from the enemies of national self-determination, from the Bolsheviks.

With your fiery temperament you have boldly taken up the work and you have begun to prosecute the Bolshevik soldiers who were in the territory of the Don Cossacks.

You fought mercilessly, but you forgot to take into consideration one circumstance, and that is, that the Cossacks follow their leaders only so long as they bring them the wreaths of victory, but as soon as fortunes change and victories cease, they begin to look upon their leader not as upon a Cossack in spirit and by birth, but as upon one who seeks to promote his own personal interests.

That is what happened to me, and that will happen to you, if you should fail to defeat the enemy.

The interests of Cossackdom are very dear to me, and I ask you to drop the idea of defeating the Bolsheviks. Relieve the pacific Don of these terrible days, and don't lead into battle any more my beloved Cossacks.

I am going away, and I forgive you all wrongs you have committed against me since you came into my circle.

Respectfully,

KALEDIN.

One can easily imagine how mercilessly Alekseyev fought and what Kaledin meant by it. Kaledin didn't like it, neither did the Cossacks. Besides, Bolshevism wasn't so horrible for them after all. Alekseyev himself is a witness to that. Here is what he wrote, in February, 1918, to the French Mission; that is, to his paymasters:

I had thought that with the help of Cossackdom we would be able to raise a fresh and powerful army that would establish order in Russia and strengthen the front. I knew well that the Cossacks do not wish to take upon themselves the mission of establishing order in Russia, still I selected the Don as a base for activity against the Bolsheviks. I was sure that the Cossacks would give us the possibility of securing a corner where we would be able, without danger, to form our army.

But I was mistaken. The Cossack regiments that are returning from the front are terribly demoralized, and the ideas of Bolshevism have found followers among the broadest ranks of Cossackdom. They do not even wish to fight for their own territory, and do not even wish to save what is their own. They are still confident that Bolshevism aims only at the rich class, at the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, but not at the workers and the toiling poor, the farmers, and consequently, not at their territory.

General Alekseyev then gives a list of other Cossack regions, including Kuban, where it would be possible to begin the work, but the conditions there were no better, if not worse, and he concludes:

Losing in this unequal struggle we still do not renounce it. But our powers are weak, and if we do not receive help we shall be compelled to withdraw from the politically and strategically important Don territory, to the general misfortune of Russia and the Allies.

The Allies, bent—we might as well confess it to ourselves—on enslaving the Russian people, and make Russia pay for all the war losses, since Germany is, apparently, unable to pay the huge bill, and, besides, to turn history back to where it was in the good czarist days, would not be downed. Over and over again, and then once more, they try the same "policy" of subduing the Russian people, using the very same means that were employed by the Bourbons that never learn and never forget. With the old slogan, the slogan of democracy, on their black banners, and with the same tried and proved monarchists to bring that particular brand of democracy to the Russian people as their agents; with the same means, with war materials, only in greater quantities, since the Western front had released so much of it, and they might as well use it on the backs of the Russians as to throw it into the ocean, to back it and with the same, the very same, results. A front here and there, built by Allied tanks, and gasses, and bombardments, and never a rear. The fronts are always the same, but so are the rears.

Denikin, like Kaledin, like Alekseyev, like all the rest of the Allied hired thugs, started in the same manner, and finished in the same fashion. The longer he lasted, and the further he went, the more was the population enslaved by this English Knight, the more was it robbed of each and every right, the more pitilessly was it exterminated. Is it a wonder that his rear, so needful to the success of his fronts, has collapsed too?

"We are marching into a fog," says Lloyd George, speaking of Russia. It is not true. There's nothing foggy about the Russian situation if you don't befog it willfully. The issue is a clear-cut one, just as clear as the "policy" of the Allied bankers.

That it is not succeeding, and never will, is not the fault of any fogs. As President Lincoln would have put it: "You can't fool all the Russian people all the time, and you certainly can't rob the Russian people of their newly acquired true freedom." It is too dear to them.

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At the end of December, after No. 30 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.

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The War in Russia

(Strategical and Political Reflections)

THE fall of Kharkoff, as we stated in our article of December 13th, has a great strategical importance for the further development of military operations in South Russia. It is a great victory of the Soviet army. The invaders were struck mortally just before Christmas, as Trotzky had promised. There is no prospect in sight for the enemy's recovery. The blow was too speedy and too strong. Both of Denikin's groups, the Western and the Central, are in full flight, being energetically pursued by the victorious Soviet forces.

Our supposition that Kieff and Poltava are in possession of the Soviets is also confirmed officially. According to the cables in the *New York Times* of December 12th and 13th, the Whites were driven off from the town of Piryatin, about 80 miles east of Kieff. This part of the enemy forces must be encircled entirely, being between Kieff, Kharkoff and Poltava, and subsequently annihilated. The fall of Berditcheff, which was defended by the extreme left wing of the Denikin army, shows that the Soviet forces, while severely attacking the left flank of the enemy, have succeeded in breaking through his center in the direction of the Donietz industrial region. Simultaneously, the invasion of the Donietz region has been begun by a separate Red detachment from Valchansk, North-East of Kharkoff. It became clear that having captured this town the Soviet forces will direct their movement on Kupiansk, a very important railway junction, through which the coal of the Donietz district passes into three different parts of Russia. This possible movement on the part of the Soviet army is very well protected by Kharkoff, from the North, by Poltava, from the North-West, by Yekaterinoslav, which is in the hands of the Soviets, from the South-West and by Taganrog, on the Sea of Azoff, from the South. Practically, the Donietz industrial region is open to the Soviet army and will be at last incorporated with Soviet territory.

The Eastern Denikin group, which still holds Tzaritzin, is isolated from the main army by the Soviet forces holding the Don from Ostrogojsk to Kachalinskaia, and farther southward along this river.

Forty miles to the northeast, Dubovka is situated on the Volga, 20 miles to the North of Tzaritzin, and for a considerable time occupied by the Soviet troops. Here, as reported November 25th, the Denikin cavalry succeeded in penetrating into the rear of the Soviet lines, causing some damage to the enemy's communications, but as this was never confirmed, we receive this news with considerable reservation.

The comparative inactivity of the Eastern group of the Soviet army against General Baron Wrangel, at Tzaritzin, could be explained by the fierce attack of the Reds directed on the left flank and the center of the Denikin forces; with the complete annihila-

tion of these, the defeat of the Baron Wrangel army will come automatically. From a tactical point of view, it was important to hold him in permanent check, thus preventing him from dispatching a part of his troops to the other part of the attacked front.

On the Esthonian front, the bombardment of the enemy's fortified position was continuously in progress. There were some insignificant encounters between the scouts of both sides, but the general attack on Narva very probably was postponed, thanks to the peace negotiations at Dorpat. Now, when it became known that the peace pourparlers are adjourned, it is possible that Narva may be taken in order to hasten the signing of peace. From the military standpoint, the capture of Narva is a matter only of a few days for the Soviet army, especially in the winter.

As far as we can understand, the Allies still hope to restore the dispersed reactionary movement in the Baltic provinces. With an extraordinary cynicism, General Estievar, of the French army, appealed to the Esthonian Government to reorganize the fragments of the beaten Yudenich army, and to add to it the Russian troops once under the command of Von der Goltz and Avalov-Bermond.

The hydra of reaction is a really vigorous beast, and though its heads be separated from its dead body, they remain still alive and utter speech of remarkable audacity. Yudenich, who only some weeks ago so frankly and sincerely confessed to the *New York Globe* correspondent the impossibility and uselessness of fighting the Soviet army, to which he paid the deepest tribute, suddenly changed his mind and declared to the correspondent of the Associated Press that he had "not given up the intention to capture Petrograd." He repeats the standard argument of all heads of the armies of the "All-Russian" Governments: "If we had more cloth with which to make uniforms, we would have had more soldiers, and the story might have been different," he said. That is quite a new method of recruiting men for military service. The English, it seems, do not want to supply their favorite with British uniforms, since the Soviet army was also dressed in British khaki, in pursuance of the famous suggestion of Trotzky, who admired the smartness of the troops in the American uniform, captured from Kolchak.

The latter is still running towards the Pacific, vigorously pursued by the Soviet cavalry. Something mysterious is happening in Siberia. The pursuit of the beaten enemy seems to be carried out by means of sleds. The numberless troikas are crossing the Siberian plains unexpectedly, attacking the retiring fragments of the Kolchak army. Generally, during such a long pursuit, the pursuer is gradually losing his military strength and consequently is forced to stop to take a rest. In

Siberia, on the contrary, the forces of the Soviet army are increasing as they advance and accomplishing their work of annihilation of the enemy systematically along a front of several hundred miles. An example of such a long pursuit of the enemy has never been seen in history. According to the cable from London, of December 12th, published in the *New York Times*, "The Siberians have an enormous amount of artillery, about one gun to each one hundred men, which is out of all proportion." The Soviet army is gradually collecting guns of English make, which will be very useful for them in the future; in proper hands the artillery is a very good weapon.

Novo-Nikolaievsk, on the Ob River, South-West of Tomsk, must soon be in the hands of the Soviets.

And in spite of such a gloomy atmosphere, a most significant telegram appeared in the *New York Times*, from Washington, on Sunday, December 14th. In spite of its anonymous character, it is not difficult to recognize the author. Poor "Ambassador" Bakhmeteff, feeling the approaching end of his political existence, still endeavors to persuade the American public that the peace between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia will be a new menace for Europe. According to this message, "Esthonia, Letvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and White Russia have declared themselves in the Dorpat conference as favoring a military and political convention to defend their independence." Against whom are they prepared to defend themselves? Soviet Russia did not show any hostile intentions to their independence; on the contrary, as far as we know, it has been believed to recognize this independence entirely. But according to the letter published in the *New York Times*, "therefore it is suggested to overthrow the Bolshevik forces and . . . to co-operate with those constructive elements in Russia that are seeking a chance to start the real work of reconstruction . . .," that means, with Kolchak and Denikin and their associates. Further on, the author of the correspondence continues: "In his communication with the Allies, Admiral Kolchak definitely announced the intention of the Omsk (sic), Denikin, Archangel (sic) and other anti-Bolshevik governments, to guarantee the autonomous arrangements of nationality within a unified Russian State," but at the same time the Baltic peoples must bear in mind that they will be retained within Russian territory because: "Russia, is a part of a great Slav State with a predominant race and religion. . . ." This is what Kolchak has promised and guaranteed (sic) to the Allies, who, in their own turn, must vouch for Kolchak to the Baltic States.

In the same correspondence, the real military strength of the Soviet Army is calculated at 450,000 men. Three-fourths of these troops are engaged on the Denikin, Kolchak and the Northern fronts, and "only about one-fourth, or slightly more than 100,000, on the Western front facing Poland, Lettonia, and Esthonia. According to this showing," continues the correspondent of the *New York Times*, "therefore, scarcely more than

100,000 Soviet soldiers have been operating on the Baltic front, while nearly 350,000 Bolshevik soldiers have been operating on what might be described as the purely Prussian (?) front. Quantitatively, the number of Bolshevik troops on the Baltic front is small, compared with what the Lenin-Trotsky regime has pitted against the other three fronts."

According to the Yudenich statement, there were concentrated for the defense of Petrograd more than 125,000 Soviet troops, the number of which, thanks to the offensive resumed by the Soviet army, could be only increased, but in no case decreased. On the other hand, the total strength of Denikin was estimated at from 250,000 to 300,000 men, and that of Kolchak at more than 300,000 at a time when they started their offensive several months ago. We must remember that for more than two months on the Denikin front and for about five months in Siberia, the Soviet armies have been engaged in a permanent offensive. This requires that the attacking forces, especially as the Reds are often using massed formations, would be by no less than twice and in some cases thrice superior in numbers to the enemy. Supposing that the information from Washington is correct, and the Soviet army has only 450,000 men; to the Esthonian front were sent 112,500; and the remaining three-fourths, which represent 337,500, were divided between the Archangel-Murmansk front, the Kolchak and Denikin fronts, and there is also very extensive Polish front; and what about Turkestan, where the Soviet troops have gained several brilliant victories over the British, on the Persian frontier?

If what the correspondence from Washington suggests is true, then neither the Kolchak nor Denikin armies together with their supporters, present any military value whatsoever, taking into consideration that the technical equipment of their troops was much superior to that of the Soviets, because they were routed by the incomparably smaller armies of their enemies. But it was not so in reality. The intention of the *N. Y. Times* is certainly to minimize the real strength of the Soviet army, in order to encourage the Baltic States to a new adventure, now being planned in London. Already in January, 1919, the first line Soviet army, according to the official statement, numbered 750,000, and in November it already counted not less than two millions, for the territory of Soviet Russia was gradually increased, especially during the last two months.

The failure of the armed intervention was mostly due to the fact that the Allied war offices, and also Denikin, Kolchak and Yudenich, underestimated the military spirit and the real strength of their enemy, who became numerically superior to their forces, and is gradually increasing his armies.

We must not forget that in modern warfare, when armed nations are fighting, the number of the fighters only can decide the war. Never have we had more striking examples of what superiority in numbers means than during the Great War.

The revolutionary coalition, as it stands at present, will never be able to become numerically superior to Soviet Russia unless all the European coalition and America, together with Japan, should declare war on Russia, and even in that case, in which we do not believe for a moment, thanks to some com-

bination in Europe and Asia. Soviet Russia with her allies will be able to put in the field a superior military force, with a very high morale, because in that case the attacked nations would defend the cause which is sacred to all humanity—freedom from the Imperialistic aggressors.

The Economic Situation in Russia

RADIO

THE most important economic problems are the questions of fuel, transport, and food. In view of the war on four fronts, the greatest possible economy and efficiency of organization are necessary to solve the first problem. This applies particularly to the richly forested counties of the middle Volga, where the town population, refugees, and prisoners of war must be employed to accumulate the stores of fuel required by the rest of Soviet Russia. They will amount this summer to about three million cubic metres of wood. The total annual fuel requirements of Soviet Russia amount to 14 million cubic metres, most of which are destined for transport and the principal key industries.

Great electric power stations have been planned by the S. E. C. to combat the fuel crisis, one of them relying on peat from the Shatur'sk marshes, the other on the oil district around Moscow. These power stations will distribute electric light and motive power within a radius of 100 miles around them. The first is expected to be completed by autumn, and to be in operation by winter; the other will be finished by spring, 1920.

Power stations are also being built, to satisfy the needs of the Northern region, on the rivers Volkhov and Svir; these will take rather longer to complete. After them, it is intended to undertake similar work in the marshy districts of the county of Nizhni-Novgorod.

The attempt to solve the problem by the use of slate has not produced the results desired, as military operations prevented the full exploitation of the great Peterhof and Yamburg slate quarries; on the other hand, vast deposits have been discovered in the Volga region (Kazan, Simbirska, Samara), and steps are being taken to utilize them.

The transport question depends largely on that of fuel. Immense progress has been made in the regularization and pooling of transport, both by rail and water; but it is certain that this year's abundant harvests, not only in the Volga region, but also in the newly-reconquered county of Ufa, will make the greatest possible demands upon the system of transport—and, consequently, of fuel supply.

The months of July and August will be the most critical, as Soviet Russia will have to live during those months upon last year's harvest. The minimum required of 8 to 10 million poods is, however, more than covered by the quantity of corn known to exist in reserve; but energetic agitation in the villages will be required.

The lack of tea, coffee, and other colonial products has created the necessity for substitutes which already exist in Russia. The Food Institute of the S. E. C. has prepared a number of substitutes for which the materials exist in the Central and Volga regions. The best "ersatz" for coffee is acorns, but so far neither the population nor the food organizations have taken this matter in hand seriously. Certain herbs and berries will provide a substitute for tea. The S. E. C. is prepared favorably to consider any suggestion, from public or private sources, which will assist in the solution of this question.

All other questions of economic life depend on the solution of these three problems. The linen, wool, and starch industries are safe for another year; as will be also the cotton industry now that we are in touch with Turkestan, thanks to the Red Army.

(Rosta.) The Council of National Economy in the Moscow Government has rendered a report to the Soviet Government about the results it has achieved. After many difficulties it has succeeded in organizing production in departments for building materials, public buildings, the fur and leather branches, fuel, metal, chemical, war industries, and trade departments. There are fifty-one factories in the building material branch. Big factories have been started this year within this branch, which will produce bricks to the amount of one hundred and twenty-one and a half millions, over two millions of poods of cement, 870,000 poods of lime, 510,000 poods of tiles. The tanneries manufacture 240,800 poods annually, when raw materials are obtained in sufficient quantities. The Department of Forests has obtained a contract for twenty per cent of the fuel demand and that which remains can be obtained from other governments. There are 68 saw-mills and 128 planing-mills. The chemical department comprises the paper, china, and chemical production. All paper factories are working. The trade department supervises the production of 175,000 workers, and has its own art industry museum. War industry is going at full speed.

The local councils of national economy are in a good way to assuming solid forms in their activities.

If you know that new subscriptions to SOVIET RUSSIA are received at the rate of one dollar for three months—and we assure you that is the case—why not become a new subscriber?

Yiddish Books in Soviet Russia

By S. NIECHER

I HAD written in one of my articles that to undertake again the publication of Yiddish books in Russia was an impossible task without the assistance of and the powerful support of a state organization. Only a state could afford to spend the enormous sums of money that were required for the printing of books. Only a state could create the necessary technical means, which were almost half destroyed.

Would the Kerensky government, had it not fallen, have done all this for us? Perhaps it would have, and perhaps not. It is more likely that it would not have done this. The government of Kerensky was too closely related to the old timid liberalism. Its close relationship with the Russian liberalism weighed heavily on it and prevented it from acting energetically and courageously. It was a government of professors and lawyers, and they approached every question from the standpoint of law and constitution, while the laws and the constitution were yet to be worked out. We would have had to wait until the professors and the jurists would get through with the debates in the commissions at which they were busy day and night; we would have had to wait until the professors and the very learned jurists would come to an agreement on all the details of a bill to support the culture of the minority nationalities, including the Jews. . . . And then we would have had to wait until the Constituent Assembly would meet, where the debates would start all over again.

No, we should have had to wait a long time before we could get any assistance for Jewish cultural activity from a Kerensky government.

To be sure, there was in existence a government committee on educational affairs, with a liberal professor as its chairman, and this committee had among its members also representatives of the minority nationalities, not excepting the Jews. But this committee, just as all the others, was so busy talking and discussing that it simply had no time left to do anything; and besides, it had no right to do anything: its function was only "to prepare materials." . . .

After the Bolshevik revolution, the situation changed.

It is typical for the Bolsheviks—and even their enemies must admit it—that when they want to do something they do not consult lawyers and do not quibble as to whether it may or may not be done, but they go ahead and do it. It was thus also with the question of the Jewish cultural institutions and particularly with the question about books in Yiddish. They did not start discussing as to whether the "nationality principle" was right or wrong; as a matter of fact, they hardly bothered about the "nationality principle," and *formally* the Bolsheviks were less than anybody

else in favor of so-called national autonomy. But then Bolshevism does not trouble much about formulae and is not bound by theories. Bolshevism is not a system of theoretical quibbling, but of actions, of deeds. And the great revolution demanding that the right of Yiddish, as well as the rights of the language of any other nationality, be recognized, the Bolsheviks did not start debating whether Yiddish is a language as all other languages and whether the Jews are a nationality as all other nationalities; they went ahead and organized a "Commissariat for Jewish National Affairs," and the commissariat was given the power and the financial means to carry on extensive cultural and educational work among the Jewish masses and to publish in their language books, newspapers and magazines. After the Bolshevik revolution, the question of publishing again books in Yiddish, in as far as it was a question of money, was immediately solved.

The trouble was that the commissariat for Jewish affairs, though having ample financial means, had no intellectual forces to carry on serious cultural and publishing work.

The Jewish intellectuals and intellectual workers who belonged to the Communist Party were too busy with general Russian party work, which had abruptly expanded into governmental work. And, besides, most of the Jews who belonged to the Bolsheviks had no connection with the Jewish masses and scarcely knew Yiddish. The Bolsheviks therefore had to attract "outsiders," and here they encountered the greatest obstacles. At that time only their sympathizers agreed to work for the Bolsheviks (and there were very few such among the intellectuals) or those who would hire themselves to anybody who would pay well; that is, those who were morally incapable of earnest and sincere cultural work. No others would collaborate with the Bolsheviks. They would not accept any positions, even if these were offered them unconditionally.

The Commissariat for Jewish affairs could not, therefore, at first carry out its plan to publish serious books in Yiddish. The commissariat, as it were, was in the position of a man who is neck-deep in water and has to beg for a drink: its headquarters were in Petrograd and—later—in Moscow; there were in those cities many Jewish literary men, cultural workers and cultural institutions, but none of them dared to go to work under the Bolsheviks. Secretly a few literary men tried to translate and to edit fictional and scientific works for the publishing department of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs. But, of course, this work performed in the dark could not be very fruitful: men who had no courage to do their work in the open, because they were afraid of pub-

lic opinion, could not and did not have any affection and real interest for their work. And, indeed, notwithstanding the large sums of money spent, the results were poor. In addition to several pamphlets and magazines, they managed with great difficulty to publish a new edition of Mendele Moykher Sforim's "Kliache." Bovshover's "Collection of Poems," Sacks' "Political Economy," and a few more books. This was not enough, and, of course, it could not satisfy anybody. The "socialist" and "democratic" (as they call themselves there) Jewish intellectuals still kept aloof, were boasting of their political consistency and were rejoicing at "the inefficiency" of the Bolsheviks.

They never stopped to think that they themselves were perhaps partly responsible for the inefficiency of the Bolsheviks. They did not stop to think whether they even had the right to criticize the Bolsheviks for not doing enough when they themselves, the intellectuals, refused to assist them and boycotted them. They were rejoicing in having a "new proof" that the Bolsheviks have failed. And the fact that Yiddish books were very scarce, that the Yiddish libraries had no books for their subscribers, that the Yiddish schools had no text-books,—all this evidently did not worry these Jewish intellectuals. They were content to point at the Bolsheviks: "See, they cannot accomplish anything!"

Where politics are involved, the so-called intelligentsia is always ready to sacrifice the interests of culture, of which they talk so eloquently. . . . What matters it if all cultural institutions perish—if we but get rid of a political opponent!

Incidentally, the belief was still current that the Bolsheviks will last only a few days. I remember a meeting of the central committee of the Educational Alliance (the "Association to Spread Enlightenment") in Petrograd. They were discussing the question of asking the Soviet Government for support for the Jewish schools, libraries, and cultural institutions, which were on the point of closing down because there was no money for their maintenance. There was no doubt that if a request were made the Soviet Government would grant the necessary means. Nevertheless, with but one exception, everybody opposed the motion to apply to the Workmen's and Peasants' Government for a subsidy. For purely political reasons it was well to let the Jewish schools perish, to let the Jewish teachers starve, to disregard popular education among the Jews. . . . And when I asked if the Bolshevik Government was really worse than the Czarist Government, to which they used to send delegations and which they frequently petitioned for different favors disregarding the fact that it was swimming in Jewish blood—I was told that the Bolsheviks will fall within a week or a month. . . .

When such an attitude toward the Bolshevik Government prevailed among the most cultured

part of the populace serious cultural work was impossible. But later this attitude changed. The intelligentsia—including the Jewish intelligentsia—ceased to boycott or, as the Bolsheviks called it, to sabotage the Soviet Government—as did other parts of society. As time went by, cases of individual intellectuals offering their services to the cultural and educational institutions of the Soviet Republic became more frequent. Then came whole bodies. The Bolshevik commissariats were not only no more ignored and avoided, but, on the contrary, it became common to seek their favor. Every cultural institution tried to get as large a subsidy and as much money as possible. The cultural workers and cultural institutions sought to outdo each other in the presentation of plans and projects. And this new attitude toward the educational work of the Soviet regime altered also the situation with regard to the publication of Yiddish books. The want of collaborators was no more; on the contrary, there were now too many people who were anxious to "collaborate" in the Bolshevik publishing organizations. And they began to publish more serious books and magazines. In Moscow the publishing department of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs began to publish a weekly magazine, *Culture and Education*, whose editor and almost all contributors were non-Bolsheviks. I do not know how this magazine is conducted at the present time, but up to the early part of 1919 it printed fiction and articles on all questions of the Jewish cultural life that had nothing in common with Bolshevism. At the same time the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs brought from the Vilna publishing house of B. V. Kletzky the matrices of its Yiddish text-books, which they printed in tens of thousands of copies and distributed almost gratis among the Jewish libraries and schools. As much as the circumstances allowed, the commissariat also ordered new text-books, as well as translations of literary works for children and of various scientific books. In addition to this, the commissariat planned to publish new editions of the works of J. L. Peretz and of Mendele Moykher Sforim. . . . As the readers can see, the Bolsheviks were quite non-partisan in regard to the publication of books. They voiced their Bolshevik thoughts in their daily papers and in their agitation literature. But where important literary undertakings were involved, the only thing that mattered for the Bolsheviks was that the publications which they subsidized should have a general educational value and should serve to arouse and to educate the masses of the people.

In this respect the Petrograd director of the Commissariat of Education, Zorakh Greenberg, the assistant of Commissary of Education Lunacharsky, went even further than the Moscow Commissariat for Jewish affairs. This able, energetic and devoted Bolshevik educational leader was connected before the revolution with Jewish cultural work. At one time he was a representative of

the Association to Spread Enlightenment. He knows Yiddish very well (he is one of the best Bolshevik Yiddish publicists) and has a good deal of knowledge of Jewish life and of Jewish culture. And now, when he is virtually the leader of the commissariat of education in the Petrograd commune, he is just as ready to support every undertaking which aims to create culture and to spread education in Yiddish. If some one wants to publish something, Greenberg does not ask him for a Bolshevik certificate. He does not institute a Bolshevik censorship. If one desires to publish in Yiddish some work of general cultural and educational value, he can get through Greenberg the necessary means. Thanks to this, various Yiddish publishing organizations were formed in Petrograd. The Association to Spread Enlightenment created a publishing organization to publish popular scientific works in Yiddish. The association aiming to spread handicraft among the Jews was given a large sum of money to publish in Yiddish works on handicrafts and technical knowledge. Two or three millions of rubles were appropriated for an encyclopedia in Yiddish, and all the scientific and literary forces that can be found in Russia were attracted to this work. A group of Yiddish literary men received an appropriation for the publication of a historical magazine, *Amolighe Yohren* (Years Gone By).

If all these undertakings and plans are carried out only slowly and gradually, the cause of this lies in the ruined printing technique and in the scarcity of literary and cultural forces. But there is plenty of good-will.

This is proven not only by what has been done in Petrograd, but also by the work which had been started in Vilna when the Bolsheviks came there. They began to publish a large literary monthly magazine, *The New World*, and a weekly, *Folks-Bildung* (Popular Education), the latter an organ of the Commissariat of Education. The magazine for children, *Green Blossoms*, appeared again, at the expense of the Government. Tens of new Yiddish text-books had been ordered with the Yiddish pedagogues and literary men of Vilna. Plans had been made to publish in Yiddish albums of the literature of the local nationalities (Polish, Lithuanian, and White Russian). A large number of translations of artistic works were being prepared for publication. Some of them had already been set up.

But then the Polish legionaries came. . . .

You want to know what has become of these literary accomplishments in Vilna? Their fate was the same that will befall the Yiddish literary undertakings in Petrograd if the latter would be occupied by, let us say, Denikin. . . .

—*The Forward*, November 9, 1919.

The Civil War in Siberia

By SEMPER FREY

IN OUR issue of October 18 we gave a chronological index and a map of the guerrilla warfare in Siberia, compiled from Siberian newspapers, for the period from April to September, 1919.

The October issue of the monthly "*Sowjet*," published in Vienna, contains a "Siberian Monograph" by Semper Frey, dealing with the events in Siberia from the overthrow of the Soviet Government up to the present time. The author has evidently first-hand knowledge of the subject. We reproduce here from that article a narrative of the civil war, which throws a bright light upon the Siberian situation. In the portion of the account that precedes the following, Semper Frey has dealt with the conditions in Siberia preceding Kolchak's seizure of power, and with the forces of resistance that are maturing against the Dictator in that country.

* * *

Liberating Forces

The first blow against reaction, therefore, was dealt from the extreme Left. Its prelude was given a few days after the Dictator's accession to power, in the magnificent uprising at Omsk, December 22, 1918 (in the Dictator's own "capital"). This uprising terminated in the liberation of the political prisoners from the state prison by the

mutineers. Near Omsk, revolutionary workers, railroad men, and soldiers occupied the bridge across the Irtysh. Efforts were made to take possession even of the Omsk railroad station and to free the prisoners of war in the Omsk camp, who were eagerly awaiting such liberation. Only with great difficulty and with a cruelty that was even greater did the very dependable Czech military police, under the leadership of Colonel Zaitchek, former Commissioner of Police and first lieutenant, who had already acquired experience and distinction in the suppression of workers' uprisings in Ottakring (in Bohemia) in September, 1911, succeed in gaining the upper hand over the uprising. In the city all persons found without credentials were shot by military law as "escaped politicals," including the well-known social-revolutionist Novossyolov, one of the organizers of the overthrow of the Soviet power in Siberia, who, having been freed from prison against his own will by the rioters, had again surrendered himself to the prison authorities. The railroad was regained after three days of hard fighting, in which twelve hundred workers were killed. The military courts pronounced and carried out about two thousand death sentences, and Kolchak could breathe safely once more.

But only for a short time. For even the passive

demands were angered by such a procedure and gave the word for a general struggle of such elements as had been radical or had become so, against reaction. The state of siege and military law had restored the normal situation and had been proclaimed in an order, included the entire railroad line, and in the regions where recruiting was going on. The compulsory mobilization now aroused against the Dictator even the peasants, without exception. Refrains to be recruited, which led to punitive expeditions, even sharpened their rage ending in mutinies among the recruits. Whole districts became rebellious, for example, in the Urals, in the Kustanai region, where the rebellious peasants had proclaimed a Soviet power, and could only be put down after a struggle of several weeks against superior force. Four thousand peasants became the victims of the field courts and punitive expeditions; all settlements and dwellings of the rebels were burned down. These uprisings increased as the spring advanced, and no longer occurred sporadically, but in great, compact areas. Along the Siberian railroad, from Novo-Nikolayevsk to Irkutsk, there developed a continuous area of uprisings, into which everybody gathered who was fleeing from pursuit by the field courts' punitive expeditions. The rebellious recruit, the deserter, the striking worker, who was threatened by the military law and the knout of the Cossack, the railroad worker whose labor was being forced out of him by bayonets and by the muzzle of the revolver, while officers counted the workers' hours according to their own watches, all these fled by hundreds into the taiga (primeval forest), where they were not slow in finding their comrades, the scattered remains of the former Red army and fugitive prisoners of war who had remained here during the winter. All these found support in the rebellious peasants; they were all provided with provision, horses, wagons, clothing, and arms.

And now they went to work with a will. First in small, well-offered bands, then in raiding parties, and as soon as spring came, in larger bodies—using skis and wagons, they hurled themselves upon the railroad, the life sinew of Siberia, the hateful steel band which belonged to the speculators alone and which nourished and kept up the internecine conflict. In March, only a few kilometers north of the railroad, near Krasnoyarsk, a rebellious region, large divisions of Red workers and peasants had been formed, which constituted a regular front of almost two hundred and fifty versts, and behind which all their forces were organized and mobilized for battle. Beginning in April, no trains could proceed at all except in the day time, and then only when accompanied by armored trains, owing to the frequent attacks which destroyed several trains every day and many of the way stations. In May, traffic from Irkutsk to the West had to be suspended for days at a time; there was no passenger traffic of any kind. The same was the case at Irkutsk and at Chita, likewise at Vladi-

voostok, where the Entente troops were obliged to tolerate the presence of the Red Soviets only forty versts from the front, and could resist their agitation among the American and Canadian soldiers only by constantly relieving their soldiers with fresh troops. The same was the case in the Amur region, which the Japanese had been unable to hold for a year in spite of their one hundred and twenty thousand men of the regular army. The railroad to Khabarovsk, which is in a mountainous region, can no longer be kept in proper operation. Thus the attack by the revolutionary workers and peasants is striking into the very backbone of reaction.

The Decisive Struggle

The "All-Russian" army, which had, after Kolchak's accession to power, succeeded in recording a few successes, which were rendered possible largely by the withdrawal of great portions of the Red army from the Ural front to throw themselves against Denikin, and which had conquered Ufa and Perm, could nevertheless not overcome their war-weariness for any long period, and the fact that this army was having its ranks filled with troops who had been recruited by force certainly did not improve its quality. On the contrary, it became more and more accessible to the Red propaganda, and the feverish agitation of the revolutionists both at the front and in the rear made mutinies and mass desertions occur with increasing frequency. The collapse at the front also was beginning. Perm, Ufa, Yekaterinburg, and Orenburg, Cheliabinsk—the most important railroad center in the Ural region—have been reconquered by the Soviet troops. The Red Army is at the gates of Omsk. In the region of Tomsk, a regular insurgent army has been formed which threatens to cut off Omsk and Novo-Nikolayevsk from the East.

Where is there any hope for the reactionaries in this general collapse? Some may think of the "braves" of older days, of the Czechs. The Czechs are in a remarkable position. After the collapse of the old empire, they no longer have any reason to fight in Siberia for the freedom of the Czechoslovak republic. And they have also been relieved of the mission of rescuing their Russian sister democracy from the hangman of reactionary Germany, the Bolsheviks, by the fact that their Russian sister democracy has hanged itself. And they had no use at all for the outspoken reaction which despised the former prisoners of war and which they made nervous because of their righteous demands of political influence in return for their service in the cause of democracy, all the more since eighty per cent of them, according to their own appeals and posters, were social-democrats—they could not possibly have any use for this reaction, and if there was any fighting to do, there was plenty of it in their own country. But the Entente, which knew that Kolchak would be lost at the very outset if he did not have this support,

persuaded them, with the aid of the Minister of War Stefanek, who had been hastily summoned to take over the comparatively simple task of guarding the railroad, and therefore they had been stationed since January 19, in exactly the same echelons, all the way from Omsk to Irkutsk, without shifting for a year, and there they had been waiting, waiting. But they have not had peace

and quiet, for it is they against whom the savage attacks of the rebels are constantly directed, for the latter behold in the Czechs only Kolchak's hangmen, and the punitive expeditions, which have to be undertaken by the Czechs in order to furnish occasional relief from the outside pressure, have as their result only an increase in the venom of the rebellious onslaught.

To the King of Sweden

THE governments of the Allied and associated powers have delivered a note to Germany and the neutral states in which these countries are urged to take certain measures intended to sharpen the break in the relations with Soviet Russia.

On account of this note having been presented also to the government of Sweden, we, as delegates of the organized workers of Stockholm, and in the firm assurance that we have behind us here practically the whole working class of Sweden, submit the following views for the consideration of the government:

We consider this note of the Entente, which Sweden is urged to accept, to be contrary to the neutrality of our country, and that this neutrality, through the delivery of the note, has already been violated. The government of Sweden would violate it still more by accepting the proposals presented. We would regard an acceptance of the Entente proposal by the Swedish government as an indirect declaration of war against Soviet Russia. The workers of Sweden want peace and neutrality, and they will never give their consent to nor approve any measures whatsoever that will signify a breaking of our hitherto unviolated neutrality.

We further consider that an approval of the note of the Entente would mean a complete abandonment of the right of self-determination of Sweden. The government of Sweden would be forbidden to allow Swedish vessels to clear her ports, or to issue passports to Swedish citizens without first obtaining the permission of the leading men of the Entente governments. The workers of Sweden do not want their country to be included among the vassal states of the Entente, but consider that we ought to live our own free life, and we request that the government make this plain and clear, by a flat refusal.

We consider this note in reference to the blockade as only a new step in the counter-revolutionary activity which the governments of the Allied countries have developed, an activity which is plainly aimed at crushing Soviet Russia and her revolutionary working class and at blessing the country with a new capitalistic and monarchical regime. This point of view which we hold has been more and more strengthened and confirmed since we have seen how the reiterated peace proposals of Soviet Russia, her wish expressed at different times to live in peace and friendliness with all

nations, her willingness to resume connections abroad, have, without explanation, been abruptly rejected.

This opinion of ours is not only shared and held by the working class of Sweden, which now raises its voice to protest at mass meetings all over the country, but of the whole international working class, which has risen everywhere against the policy of the Entente governments toward Soviet Russia and demanded an immediate suspension of the blockade. At the Congress which was held by the Second Internationale at Lucerne last summer, a resolution was adopted for this purpose, further endorsed by the Congress of Trade Internationale at Amsterdam, which was also indicated a few days ago by the Swedish Government Secretariat in its protest against the note mentioned before.

In full unison with the whole international labor movement we also demand of the government of Sweden that it definitely dismiss the proposals of the Entente to extend the blockade against Soviet Russia; that it demand instead an immediate suspension of the already existing blockade and war undertakings, and that it itself take the initiative in the matter by resuming, as soon as possible, relations with Soviet Russia.

Stockholm, October 19, 1919.

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THE British Trade Union Congress has renewed its demand for peace with Soviet Russia. The Norwegian Parliament has adopted a resolution calling upon the government to repudiate the Allied blockade and urging the immediate resumption of trade relations between Norway and Soviet Russia. Great mass meetings have been held by Polish nationalists, socialists and peasant parties demanding peace. The correspondent of the *New York Globe* at Stockholm describes the increasing clamor in Sweden for trade relations with Soviet Russia. "This feeling," he reports, "is especially strong in the ranks of organized labor, which last week passed a resolution demanding peace with Russia." The commercial classes also are eager to enter the Russian markets, and "it is thought likely that some agreement will be reached." It is realized in Sweden that Russian resources in platinum alone afford a basis for financial arrangements which would make Russian money "higher on the exchanges than the money of any other country."

In a subsequent dispatch the same correspondent repeats that "every business man and every workman" in Scandinavia is eager for the removal of the artificial economic barriers. "They want the trade routes reopened and commercial relations built up," he says. "Within six months after peace is settled with Russia, the whole world will feel the effects of the booming of trade; for the eastern countries will not deal in money; they will deal in exchange of products." The peoples released from the blockade will trade vast quantities of raw materials for the luxuries and manufactured neces-

sities long denied them. "These," the correspondent points out, "might as well come from America as from England." Under present conditions, however, American firms are unable to compete with their English rivals, who, according to an announcement from London, are sending a delegation representing 1,800 British business houses to establish bureaus in Scandinavia for the conquest of the Baltic commerce. "Already," says the *New York Tribune*, "British interests are purchasing American goods to sell to the new Baltic states as part of their plan to get in on the ground floor commercially, when turmoil in that part of the world ceases." Forty per cent of Russian exports normally pass through Lettish ports. The American Chamber of Commerce in London, alive to British plans, is said to have strongly advised American interests to try for some of this business.

Meanwhile, the British correspondents at Copenhagen, writing for American consumption, continue to complain that Mr. Litvinoff insists upon talking to Mr. O'Grady about matters other than prisoners. It is interesting to observe that no mention has ever been made of the number of the British prisoners in Russia, who are supposed to be the sole object of Mr. O'Grady's solicitude. If the actual number were known, we believe it would sufficiently explain why Mr. Litvinoff is unable to prolong the conversation about them through the many days in which he has been in conference with Mr. O'Grady. The London correspondent of the *New York Herald* naively repeats the nonsense served out to him about the anxiety caused by the length of Mr. O'Grady's stay in Copenhagen. "It is the general belief," he says, with unconscious frankness, "that Litvinoff has done just as was expected, and led Mr. O'Grady into a labyrinth of argument as to why England should make peace with the Bolsheviks." The Copenhagen dispatches state that while the negotiations with regard to the exchange of prisoners are "most unpromising," the conference will probably result in a raising of the blockade sufficiently to allow the Soviet Government to import a shipload of drugs and medical supplies for its own use. (These supplies, it may be assumed, will be purchased in England.)

WHEN Kolchak fled from Omsk it was somewhat mysteriously reported that certain Japanese officials there had remained behind to await the arrival of the Soviet forces. The report was subsequently denied. At about the same time a foreign correspondent of the *London Daily Herald* stated with apparent sureness that Japanese delegates were in conference with Soviet representatives at some place not disclosed, and that the Japanese had indicated a desire to have the United States participate officially in these discussions. There have been indications that influential sections of Japanese opinion, even aside from the labor and socialist elements, have considered the advisability of a reconsideration of the present

imperialistic policy towards Russia. It has undoubtedly dawned upon the comprehension of the commercial interests that Kolchak is a frail instrument upon which to build plans for future Siberian trade. The willingness of the Soviet Government to establish economic relations with all the great manufacturing nations of the world has not been concealed from Japanese business men.

Recent press dispatches report that the plans of the Japanese Government to send considerable military reinforcements to Siberia have met with opposition from the people and the press. On the other hand, an inspired announcement from Washington states that fresh contingents of Japanese are unloading at Vladivostok and that others are on the way. Thus the censors and the propaganda bureaus, between them, succeed in befogging the news. They have not succeeded, however, in concealing entirely the fact that a change of policy is impending. The Associated Press finally broke through the censorship with a dispatch, several days delayed, calling attention to the significant utterances of the Japanese Official Press Bureau, which appear to have created quite a stir amongst the interventionists and others at Vladivostok. Mr. N. Zumoto, head of the Bureau and member of the Japanese Parliament, has issued an important statement to the Russian press, which is discreetly described as an expression of his "personal views."

"Nobody who has intelligently followed the trend of affairs in Russia," says this Japanese official spokesman, "can have failed to notice that the time is not far distant when the leading powers will have to confess the utter failure of their present policy of aiding in the solution of the problem by means of armed force. The sooner the powers give up this fatal policy and open the way for letting the Russian people settle the matter among themselves by peaceful compromise, the better it will be for all parties concerned."

* * *

MR. ROGER LEWIS, newspaper correspondent and Red Cross worker in Russia, has "Something to Say to Lenin," according to the title of his article in a recent number of the *Saturday Evening Post*. What Mr. Lewis has to say to Lenin is reserved for a future installment of his story, which we have not yet seen. In this first chapter, however, he has said several things of interest to the general reader. He quotes a British army chaplain returned from temporary captivity in Soviet Russia: "The Bolsheviks are great people," he said; "they are kind, amiable gentlemen, directing a very able army of loyal soldiers. They have plenty to eat; they are well clothed, and they are going to conquer the world." This enthusiast was hauled up by the British command and "sent back to England in disgrace." Mr. Lewis presents another picture in the words of an American prisoner released by the Soviet authorities: "They are a dirty bunch of scoundrels. They couldn't win a war against an army of muskrats. They are in

rags and have nothing to eat. They would walk over and join our side at the first opportunity." Without attempting to ascribe the divergence in these tales to a difference in the respective standards of living of English chaplains and American soldiers, we dwell with satisfaction upon the thought that, after all, the Soviet army has not yet been compelled to fight muskrats and has acquitted itself tolerably against all other adversaries. "An Allied Intelligence Officer" told Mr. Lewis that he had "indisputable" evidence of the torture of American soldiers at the hands of the enemy. An American officer commanding a sector of the north Russian front, however, said to Mr. Lewis: "After a very thorough investigation I have not been able to learn of a single authenticated case of Bolshevik atrocity committed against American soldiers in northern Russia. On the contrary, I have reliable information that our men who have been taken prisoners are well treated and have been living in comparative comfort on the other side of the line."

Mr. Lewis says that he has "fairly" convincing evidence that Lenin received money from Germany, but he thinks it a matter of "supreme unconcern," inasmuch as "Germany derived no more control over Bolshevism than over the movement of the tides." On the contrary, Mr. Lewis points out, "Bolshevism turned out to be one of Germany's chief enemies, which undoubtedly contributed to her collapse."

It is difficult to make any case against the Soviet Government out of the German money story, he says. "What are we going to say about the Allied money and intrigue that has backed anti-Bolshevik movements? If we rest our case on these popular scandals we may as well give up before we start."

Mr. Lewis appears to have good reason to want the money question left out of the argument. "I can prove," he states, "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."

* * *

READERS of SOVIET RUSSIA may have noticed an advertisement in our last issue, in which we offered for sale 100 bound volumes of the weekly, covering the entire period of its existence thus far, from June 7 to December 27, 1919. This volume will be known as "Volume I—1919." Readers who have been following the columns of this paper regularly will know what a wealth of official and unofficial, statistical, historical and descriptive matter is contained in its pages. There are long articles, in several installments, by such authorities on the Russian situation as Paul Birukoff, M. Philipps Price, and Arthur Ransome. There are official Soviet wireless messages, as well as other communications by the Soviet Minister

for Foreign Affairs, George Chicherin. In fact, almost all the information in this volume is of permanent rather than merely news value. Altogether there are 640 pages of matter, and a thorough analytical index is being prepared by the Information Bureau of this office, which will be bound with the volume as sold to those who place their orders in advance.

While we are not sure that we shall be in a position to execute orders to bind SOVIET RUSSIA for those of our readers who have been saving their copies, we suggest that they refrain for a few weeks from placing their orders privately, as it is possible we may succeed in making arrangements for taking care of such orders.

Statement from the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

In explanation of his refusal to produce his correspondence with the Government at Moscow for the inspection of the Joint Legislative Committee, Mr. L. Martens made the following statement at the hearing of that committee on December 11th:

I desire to state the reasons why I decline to produce my correspondence with the Government of Soviet Russia and to answer any questions relating to the same.

I am the duly accredited representative of the *de facto* Government of Soviet Russia. A *de facto* government has been defined as "such as exists after it has expelled the regularly constituted authorities from the seats of power in the public offices and established its own functionaries in their places, so as to represent in fact the sovereignty of the nation." (Moore's Digest of International Law, Volume 1, page 44, quoting from Williams against Bruffy, 96 U. S. 176, pages 185-186.) It is further said by the same authority that a *de facto* government enjoys 'the rights and attributes of sovereignty . . . independently of all recognition.' (Moore's Digest, Volume 1, page 72.) Now, it is the accepted principle of International Law that the correspondence between a foreign Government and its representative is privileged. I have applied to Justice Greenbaum of the New York Supreme Court for relief. I have read in the newspapers that my application has been denied, but no copy of the order denying my application has been served upon my counsel. As soon as we are served with a copy of the order of Judge Greenbaum we intend to take an appeal from his order.

I have answered all questions pertaining to my own activity within the State of New York; I have produced all my books and correspondence although I might have claimed privilege under the principles of International Law. But, to quote the language of the late Secretary of State Hay, in a similar matter, a representative of a foreign government "cannot be required to divulge information which came to him in his official capacity, for that is the exclusive property of his government." (Moore's Digest of International Law, Volume 5, pages 84-85, quoting from Secretary

Hay's letter, dated April 17, 1899, in the matter of Consular Agent Clancy.)

I desire to emphasize once more that the reason I decline to answer is not that I have anything to conceal but as a matter of principle I have no authority to divulge the contents of my correspondence with my Government.

A Letter from the Soviet Representative to Miss Emma Goldman

December 15th, 1919.

Miss Emma Goldman

Ellis Island

New York.

Madam:

New York morning papers, Sunday, December 14th, published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia. I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia and that you may be punished by death if you "plot there as you plotted here." While I have never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, I feel confident that you understand that I have made no such statements, and I am writing this only to emphasize this fact.

Far from sharing in the malicious hysteria, a product of which are the stories which I now want to correct and many other insults to which you, your comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth have been subjected in the United States, I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States. Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for his beliefs or political or economic theories. Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active co-operation with the enemies of the Russian workers,—especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy. Whether he be a bourgeois an anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers. I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you therefore will be as welcome there as any other working man or working woman who is interested in the liberation of the working class.

I regret very much that the anomalies of the present situation prevent me from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia. You are perhaps aware of the fact that I, on behalf of my Government, made an offer to the Government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free trans-

portation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here. This proposition so far has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would have saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

Please accept my best wishes and convey them to all the other refugees. Tell them that Russia, liberated from the oppression which drove them out of their native land, is welcoming them back, confident that they will find there an opportunity to work for the development of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) L. A. MARTENS,

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

Lenin's 13 Points

FOLLOWING the precedent of Brest-Litovsk, the Russian Soviet Republic is insisting on the utmost publicity for the peace negotiations at Dorpat, and yesterday made public the details of the terms on which it is ready to make peace with Esthonia. They are all based on the fundamental principle of self-determination, without indemnities or annexations, which is not specifically Bolshevik doctrine, having been firmly adopted by the Russian Socialists before the Bolshevik revolution. In adhering to it, Lenins' government will have the support of Soviet Russia, and it is equally to the point that this principle likewise commands the assent of Esthonia and the other non-Russian nationalities which desire their freedom.

Mutual recognition of independence is the point put foremost by Lenin's government, and it clearly outbids any offer that has been made or is likely to be made by the pan-Russians whom the Allies have been supporting. The second and third points provide for an armistice and the withdrawal of troops. The fourth and fifth may give more trouble; they forbid an alliance with states warring against the Soviets. Much will depend on the attitude of the Allies and the other Baltic states towards the negotiation of a general peace. There may be trouble, also, over the sixth point, calling for the internment of the defeated forces of Gen. Yudenich, yet such action would be no more than neutrality requires. The seventh point is a general amnesty.

The last six points are such as might be looked for in any treaty of amity. A commercial treaty is proposed, also the resumption of diplomatic relations, and the rest have to do with posts, telegraphs, railways, free transit across Esthonia, and dockage facilities in Esthonian ports. One of the most striking features of Soviet diplomacy and one from which the rest of Europe might profitably take a hint, is the pushing aside of political issues to get at the economic substance; if Russian goods go duty free over Esthonian railways, Moscow does not care who owns the Esthonian coast.

When we see the infinite trouble that is being made over like problems elsewhere we must regret that the new Europe left it to the Bolsheviki to set an example of practical common sense. A treaty on these lines would set off in glaring contrast some of the decisions arrived at in Paris.

It is a pity that a full report is not available of so important an event as the assembly at Moscow of the seventh Congress of Russian Soviets, the proceedings of which would be interesting and instructive. The one bit of news from it which has come through is the adoption of resolutions in favor of peace. It is declared that eight times since last August the Soviet government has proposed peace, and the Congress reaffirms its readiness for a general peace or for a peace with any power separately. It instructs the executive, therefore, to continue systematically the seeking of peace.

A rather disconcerting feature, indeed, of Soviet diplomacy is its ostentatious pacifism. Other governments throughout the war have hesitated to admit that they desired peace, and have sedulously denied having put out any peace "feelers." In part this is due to fear of hurting morale, in part to fear of losing prestige, in part to fear of criticism by the "bitter-enders." But being avowedly pacifistic, Lenins' government is strengthened rather than weakened every time it asks for peace; to fail to seek peace would hurt morale, and Russia apparently is wholly indifferent to military prestige. This pacifistic temper was harmful to the Allies in 1917, but it is a rather bright spot now in the general blackness of the European situation.

—*The Springfield Republican*, Dec. 10, 1919.

The *Jewish Daily Forward* of December 3, publishes the following cablegram from its special correspondent, N. Shifrin, under date of Copenhagen, December 2.

"What kind of a 'Democrat' Denikin is can be seen from the Odessa newspapers which I have just received. In one newspaper it is reported that Denikin has made the following declaration: 'The fall of the governments of Prince Lvov and Kerensky clearly proves that Russia must have an autocracy. Only a Czar could save Russia.'"

French Agreement with Great Britain

The *Presse de Paris* this morning, the paper in which over fifty of the most influential papers of Paris are at present merged because of the strike of printers, says, speaking of President Poincaré's visit to England: "Neither France nor England will make new sacrifices in Russia."

This statement is regarded here as the first authoritative announcement that France is to follow the new English policy towards Russia and to cease her supplies of men and material assistance. America is now the only country that has not definitely declared her intention of leaving the warring sections in Russia to settle their affairs alone—that is, of course, as far as material assistance to any of the parties is concerned. A similar declaration cannot be long in coming from America, and with that a new phase of the Russian problem will begin, in which the Entente will presumably try by means other than the supply of money and munitions to Denikin and Kolchak to bring about peace in the body of the largest European republic.—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 15, 1919.

Schools and Scholars in Revolutionized Russia

CRAMMING DISPLACED BY EDUCATION

THE authoritative statement on the education of children at school under the Workers' Republic, which we print below, is taken from *The School Life*, an official publication of the United States Department of the Interior. Lunacharsky, from whose book on "The Labor School" quotations are made, is Commissar of Education and Art under the Soviet Republic.

How the "Unity" School is depended upon by revolutionary Russia to educate its future citizens is described by a writer in the Swedish journal *Politiken* (June 3), reviewing Lunacharsky's book on "The Labor School." The translation of the article is forwarded by Post Wheeler, ad interim American chargé d'affaires at Stockholm.

"The new school form is the Unity School," says the writer in *Politiken*. "That is, all children begin on the same stage, and can, if they are intelligent, come equally high. All class limitations between the schools have been abolished. Instead of public schools, continuation school and communal middle school on one hand, and higher elementary schools, girl schools and the university on the other, as the school forms are in Sweden, dividing the nations into two parts, only different degrees of the same school now exist in Russia. They have even abolished technical and commercial schools.

Free Education to Age Seventeen

"Here are some regulations for the new school forms:

"All children from six to seventeen years of age are obliged to attend school. From six to eight years of age the children are taught in kindergarten. The regular school begins at the eighth year instead of the seventh, as in Sweden. The age limitation, eight years, can, by the management of the school, be decreased to seven with the consent of the Department of Public Education. From eight to thirteen years the education is called the first degree course. All education up to the seventeenth year is gratis. Even shoes, clothing and food (breakfast) the children receive free of cost.

"The school is entirely secular. There is no education in religion. The division of the teachers into categories is prohibited. All are simply teachers. The number of pupils per teacher may not exceed twenty-five.

Productive Labor as the Basis of Education

"This is the technical basis for Russia's unity school. Its spiritual contents are characterized by the revolutionary character of the labor school, up to now against the school doctrines in force. The basis for the school work must be productive labor not as compensation for the providing of the children or only as method of teaching, but as a publicly useful work.' We must take care

that the work of the children is productive.

"Russia is not greedy toward the children. Their work must not be done as payment for the education, and this work must not be carried out when the children are in a condition of psychical or physical tiredness.

"The work must be intimate, organically united with the education, a light which with its shine helps to the increasing of the knowledge of the surrounding life.'

"The children are required from their earliest age to be made acquainted with the productive work, even in its most developed form. The children in the towns are thoroughly educated in industry; the children in the country mostly in agriculture. The principle is that that which is closed to the children must first be made subject of the education.

A School of Commune

"The basis laid for the work is a strong means of education, bringing up the pupils so as to give them creative joy in the labor school. The school forms a school commune, which directly and organically through its work is in contact with real life.'

"Old formalistic school discipline, which bound the whole school life and the free, personal development of the children, must not occur in the labor school. But the processes of the work itself will educate the children to inner education, without which a methodic mass activity is impossible. The children get a live education by all the processes of work in school life, where the systematical arrangements, which appear at the practicing of the division of labor, must be the most important education part. Then the pupils will understand the ways of methodical utilization of human working energy and educate themselves to a feeling of responsibility, and for that part of work which will be everyone's part, and for all work in general. In short, the collective productive work and the whole school work ought to educate the future citizens for the Socialistic community.'

"Naturally the education also is done in purely general subjects, as geography, natural science, etc.; the first rule, however, is to make the children acquainted with labor and love it; thus the education in history is more an education in the history of work and culture.

No Home Work

"No home work is allowed; this is another revolutionary novelty.

"The school is open for the pupils all days of the week. It is for them a second home. Two days a week, not following each other, however, are made different from the others. One day is a holiday, and is used for reading, excursions, lectures and other free activities of the children.

For this purpose special teaching forces are engaged. The second day is half working day and used for club and laboratory exercises, explanations, excursions and pupil meetings. It is proposed that from the 1st of July to the 1st of September, December 23 to January 7, and April 1 to 14, the children should have vacation. The school work thus goes on nine months a year, of which eight months are proposed for usual school work, according to schedule, and one month, the last one before the great two months' holiday, 'in summer colonies, excursions, etc., to make the children acquainted with nature and life.'

No Examinations

"All punishments at school are prohibited. No examinations of any kind may be held.

"The decision that the division of classes must be changed to a division in groups, in accordance with the special state of development of the children, is correct from the pedagogical point of view.

"The management of the school is in the hands of the school council, quite a different institution from that in Sweden. The Russian School Council consists of one-fourth of all the school workers, (the common name for teachers, school doctors, and leaders of manual work, etc.), representatives for the workers in the school district, one-fourth of pupils from the older groups, beginning with children of twelve years of age, and a representative for the department of public instruction.

"The school collective, that is, children and school workers united, decides its internal affairs, according to special regulations."—*The School Life*.

—*The Watchword*, Dublin, Nov. 15, 1919.

Literacy in Russia

In previous issues (Nos. 2, 6, and 15) we have attempted to estimate the percentage of literacy in Russia on the basis of the last census (1897).

We proceeded from the assumption that the percentage of literacy for the several age groups in 1917 was the same as that for the respective age groups of 1897. We found that one-half of the male population of European Russia between the ages of thirty and fifty in the year 1917 could

read. We further found that in the incorporated cities and towns more than two-thirds of the male population between the ages of thirty and sixty, and more than one-half of the female population between the ages of thirty and fifty could read, and that even in the rural districts two-fifths of the most active male population could read.

In these estimates no account has been taken of the progress of education in Russia since the last census. A study by Professor Daniel Bell Leary, of the University of Buffalo, contains very interesting statistics on primary schools in Russia, which show remarkable progress since the last census. The following table* shows the progress of primary education from 1898 to 1911:

ALL PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN RUSSIA			
Year	Number of Schools	Number of Scholars	Percentage of Increase
1898	78,699	4,203,246	
1911	100,295	6,180,510	47

During the thirteen years from 1898 to 1911 the number of children in primary schools increased by nearly one-half, which is far in excess of the natural increase of the population of school age in any country of the world, including Russia.

The increase in the number of children in primary schools since 1911 is shown only for the schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education, which does not include the parochial schools. The enrollment in the latter amounted to 29% of the total enrollment of all primary schools in 1911, but the increase in the enrollment of these schools from 1898 to 1911 was only 21.5%, whereas the enrollment in the schools of the Ministry of Public Education increased during the same period 58%. The growth of the school system under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Education from 1898 to 1915 is shown in the table next following:

Year	Number of Schools	Number of Scholars	Percentage of Increase
1898	37,046	2,650,058	
1911	59,682	4,186,078	58
1915	80,801	5,942,000	124

The enrollment in the primary schools of the Ministry of Public Education more than doubled from 1898 to 1915. The progress was most remarkable within the four years from 1911 to 1915.

* Compiled from pages 122-123.

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.

Sidelights on Intervention

FOR THOSE WHO DIE AND FOR THOSE WHO SUFFER

By MARCEL CACHIN in *L'Humanité*

By the grace of the Allies, Arch-duke Joseph might mount the steps of the throne of Hungary. In Switzerland, the whole clique of exiled kings, emperors, and princesses, who have been shelved, are awaiting the "democratic" benevolence of the Entente to practice "restitution," "restoration," and revenge on the workers' revolutions.

Meanwhile, a great hue and cry is being raised in our country against the Socialists, against all those who consider it their duty to defend rebelling peoples, whether they be near or far.

We read the day before yesterday the touching protest of our friend Louise Bodin, against the assassination of Jeanne Labourbe at Odessa. When Paris, when France, knows the details, what a rage will arise against the barbarous brutes who ordered the death of this poor woman of pure faith and heroic courage.

News is just reaching us, indefinite as yet, of a council of war, with its seat at Constantinople, which is said recently to have taken up the case of Jacques Sadoul. As soon as we get official information of them, we shall not fail to hand to the French public the vagaries of this remarkable tribunal, which, we are told, did not even take the trouble to hear the person who was being judged.

And then, what has become of the several hundred Murmansk sailors who rebelled about a year ago, when they were about to be forced to fight the Russian revolution? Is it true that they were transported like criminals to the wilds of distant Morocco, where the worst tortures were reserved for them? What is to be the fate of the sailors of the Black Sea, of the officers who resolutely shared the cause of their men, the cause of the law of the Republic and of Socialism?

If they are being held in some vile jail, if they are being exhausted on the African roads, a prey to the martyrdom of Algerian *chiourmes*, let us demand an immediate amnesty for all these victims, for these Frenchmen of high spirit.

As for the officer, Marty, he also was condemned to prison, for an act which honors him in the eyes of all men who still retain any nobility of heart. According to the testimony of all those who had anything to do with him, he was of the most enlightened intelligence, and of the most loyal spirit. This mechanician, who rose to be an officer, committed the crime of obeying his conscience. He is now paying for this in a vile prison. The rigid public watch-dog, a Daudet managing a prison, has hurled himself upon this honest man. When the hour of amnesty arrives, will it also arrive for Officer Marty, for those sailors, for all those who like him have been

hard and cruelly hit? And if the bourgeoisie should unfortunately not liberate these innocent men soon, will the people of France permit so much injustice to be committed in their name?

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AN INTERVIEW WITH A SOLDIER FROM ARKHANGEL

OUR editorial rooms were visited by an American soldier who returned recently from Arkhangel, where he had spent a whole year as an interpreter with the American army. Our visitor was born in Russia and came to America at the age of eight. Like the majority of American boys, he took little interest in social questions, and only in Russia were his eyes opened to the importance of a full understanding of life in its social aspects. As an interpreter in the army he obtained no opportunity to see the front, but, instead, he came almost daily in contact with the population of Arkhangel.

The population of Arkhangel had not been favorable to the Soviets at the time of the arrival of foreign troops. These were expected to alleviate the dreadful situation. But soon the people experienced a great disappointment. The situation did not change but became worse. Heretofore the population received 40 pounds of bread a month; with the arrival of the Allies the quantity was reduced to 30. The English brought a ship-load of *vodka* and officers of all armies robbed the people by selling it. They *themselves* were buying it at 12 roubles a bottle and selling at 300.

Compulsory military recruiting was carried out under the administration of the Allies, which made the situation of the population still worse. The lack of employment was terrible. All workmen who had taken part in the Soviet Government were arrested and their wives came in large numbers to the Americans looking for help. "Each day they stood in flocks before the door of our quarters." It must be said in truth that the American Red Cross came to their aid without considering the political creed of their husbands or of the women themselves.

Theoretically, the Arkhangel government was entrusted to the Provisional Government of North Russia, under the presidency of Chaikovsky. In point of fact, however, the administration of everything was in the hands of a Czarist general, an avowed monarchist, Miller. The Allied armies, besides drunkenness, brought in demoralization. "Thirty per cent. of the high school girls are pregnant, sixty per cent. are infected with venereal diseases. That is the work of the idle and bored Allied soldiers."

The government of Chaikovsky has never been strong and the Soviet armies had always been very small on this front. During the current winter the

whole Murman country will doubtless go over to the Soviets.

The Bolsheviks are treating their prisoners well; several Americans were taken prisoners and later returned. They say that they were given all freedom, and were provided with food and drink and shelter. They were taken on an excursion up the Volga, were in Vologda, and also in Moscow.

But the Allies, on the contrary, treat the prisoners from the Red Army without mercy. They are compelled to do the dirtiest work and are sent to the Mudyoghi Island. Our visitor has read the article: "The Mudyoghi Hell" (*Col. Tr.* No. 51, October 25) and remarks: "Yes, that is a fact." He added that an American officer had visited the island and was so offended with the food that he made a protest after his return to Arkhangel. Scurvy is wide-spread on account of the lack of food and its bad quality. Abramson, a member of the Executive Committee of the Murman Regional Soviet, died from consumption, which he caught while staying in the Mudyoghi hell.

Bolshevik propaganda is well arranged. Leaflets are strewn everywhere, meetings called, and even the prisoners on the island are conducting propaganda. Newspapers are published now openly, but they contain large white spots prohibited by the censor (two representatives of the Allies and one Russian monarchist). The soldiers of the Northern army say that they will not war on the Soviet armies any more. Many of them had themselves taken prisoners by the Bolsheviks. American soldiers, too, have refused several times to go to the front.

All the soldiers who have returned, Americans, Englishmen, French, are now new men entirely. The Archangel expedition has opened their eyes.

—*Golos Truzhenika*, Chicago, Nov. 22, 1919.

IN CONTACT WITH THE BOLSHEVIKS INVADERS LEARN THE TRUTH

LONDON, Nov. 22.—A Castle liner with some 2,000 British troops aboard recently arrived in Plymouth. Other transports bringing contingents from the North Russia expeditionary force are still on their way. Many English and colonial homes have been made happy by this withdrawal from Russia, but the nation has discovered suddenly that the returned warriors are excellent agents for the Bolshevik idea.

Tommies you meet on the Strand, in the restaurants, in the Y. M. C. A. huts, everywhere, do not hesitate to tell you about the mutinies in the frozen North, and they give you the causes. Officers frown, but admit there was no help for it. And those who fear that the Bolshevik ideas which the soldiers spread may bring about serious troubles are hastening to disband the regiments and scatter the men to the four corners of the globe.

Had No Answer

"The real reason Bolshevism spread among the British, French, and American troops in Russia was because the officers had no valid answer to the men's asking what they were fighting for," a young Australian soldier, a bright chap who had been through the public schools and had worked in America several years, told me today. "The Bolshevik kept on sending over notes asking us why we were on their soil. At first we ignored them.

"Then came a day when some of our prisoners came back. They were set free on condition that they asked

their officers the same question. Another day some of our wounded of a previous day's encounter were returned to us under a white flag in charge of a young Russian lieutenant who spoke English perfectly.

"Ask your officers why they are fighting us," the Bolshevik advised us, and departed.

"Well, that made us think. Up to then we had sent one or two replies, just pulling the bolos' legs. This time we asked our officers.

"You are fighting the king's enemies—just as you swore to when you enlisted," our officers replied.

"So we sent that reply to the bolos.

"A day later we got some more notes from them. I do not remember the wording, but the idea was that they, the bolos, were not enemies of King George and that the real reason the Allied troops were on Russian soil was to restore the old Czaristic government so that the millions of pounds worth of Russian notes, held chiefly by French and British interests and canceled by the bolos, would be honored and paid."

Kept Quiet

The Frenchies got all upset by this note and by similar notes from the bolos professing the brotherhood of man and similar Socialistic stuff. We kept quiet. One day we had another fight with the Bolsheviks and lost some dead and wounded. The next day came the usual notes from the Bolos.

"This time we answered: 'We are fighting to save our skins.'

"The Bolos replied: 'So are we. Let's all go home.'

"That sounded good. Conditions were awful up there. We really had no reason to be there, we figured, despite the officers' saying it was to fight the king's enemies. Hell, I did enough fighting the king's enemies. I mean the Germans. I was wounded at Croiselles, on the Bapaume-Cambrai Road. I fought in Gallipoli. I knew why I was fighting then. But there was no sense in fighting the Russians, who were treating us damn white and only beggin' us to clear out and let them settle their own pudding.

Kept Up Bluff

"I guess the lieutenants and captains thought the same way about it, although outwardly they kept up the bluff of the Bolos being worse than the Germans. We thought so at first, too, and, say, the atrocities we committed against them were worse than any German atrocities against the Australians and Canadians. Yes, we killed Bolshevik prisoners, we tortured them, we bayoneted, wounded, and left them to freeze to death. After they replied by sending our wounded back well cared for, we changed our tactics. We couldn't believe our officers then.

"I don't know much about the Americans, but I guess it was the same with them—and likewise the French. We all changed our minds. Now, about this mutiny: we don't call it a mutiny. We just call it a cessation of hostilities. We figured we had fought the real war and won the real war, and this was just bloody murder, pardon the word."

Has His Medals

I asked the Australian when he was going home.

"Toot sweet," he replied. "And when I get home I won't have to keep my mouth shut, either. I've got four ribbons and a couple of medals and one wound stripe, and I am glad the Germans are licked. When the next war comes around they'll have to prove to me that I'm not fighting to restore payment to French and British interests of some czar's rotten old bonds."

The Australian soldier's buddy, a lad wearing the South African heavy artillery insignia, the Mons 1914 star, and two other decorations and a wound stripe, agreed with everything said. In addition he volunteered the information that:

"Every one who comes in real contact with the Bolos comes back spreading the Bolo idea."

—*Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 23, 1919.

KRONSTADT HARBOR BATTLE REWARDING THE "HEROES" OF THE "GLORIOUS" NAVY

THE King has approved of the award of the Victoria Cross to Commander Claude C. Dobson, D.S.O., R.N., and Lieutenant Gordon C. Steele, R.N., for their services during the attack on Kronstadt harbour on August 18, 1919, in which the Bolshevik battleships Andrei Pervozvannyi and Petropavlovsk were torpedoed.

Commander Dobson (the *London Gazette* states) organized and was in command of the coastal motor-boat *Butilla*. He led the flotilla through the chain of forts to the entrance of the harbour. Coastal motor-boat No. 31, from which he directed the general operations, then passed in, under a very heavy machine-gun fire, and torpedoed the Bolshevik battleship Andrei Pervozvannyi, subsequently returning through the heavy fire of the forts and batteries to the open sea.

Lieutenant Steele was second-in-command of coastal motor boat No. 82, and after she had entered the harbour the commanding officer, Lieutenant Dayrell-Reed, was shot through the head and the boat was thrown off her course. Lieutenant Steele took the wheel, steadied the boat, lifted Lieutenant Dayrell-Reed away from the steering and firing position, had torpedoed the Andrei Pervozvannyi at 100 yards range.

He had then a difficult manoeuvre to perform to get a clear view of the battleship Petropavlovsk, which was overlapped by the Andrei Pervozvannyi and obscured by smoke coming from that ship. The evolution, however, was skillfully carried out, and the Petropavlovsk torpedoed. This left Lieutenant Steele with only just room to turn in order to regain the entrance to the harbour, but he effected the movement with success and, firing his machine guns along the wall on his way passed under the line of forts through a heavy fire out of the harbour.

—*Manchester Guardian*, November 12, 1919.

"VOLUNTEERS" MEET ILL SUCCESS THE FINNS DECLINE ESTHONIA'S BRIGADIERS WITH THANKS

Telegraphed from Helsingfors:

The Swedes, Wahlgren and Hällén have been sent home to their own country by the authorities at Abo, on the regular steamer which left Tuesday. Their boat has been taken in charge by the police authorities, who made their report to the authorities in Sweden.

According to the report made by the celebrated runaways themselves they sailed from Sweden about two weeks ago and, according to their statement, endeavored to land in Esthonia with the intention of straightening out the mysterious affairs of the Swedish Volunteer Corps—a truly necessary enterprise.

Having arrived, as they believed, in the middle of the Finnish Gulf, they were wrecked and compelled to find their way back to Finland, where they landed at Högsar in the Abo archipelago. This happened September 18th. They spent a week there, repairing the damages on board their boat. After these repairs were completed they decided to return home, but they did not get any further than to Hanga in Rimito, before they were wrecked again. The people of Rimito, who discovered the sailors, notified the police in Abo, who considered they had a good reason for a closer observation of the two men. Both of the officers were taken, under heavy guard, to the police court

in Abo, where they were examined and their story investigated. They were finally, as mentioned before, brought back to Sweden, guarded by two Finnish detectives, but were immediately released on their arrival here. It is, however, open to doubt whether they are the happier for their freedom here. It is not impossible that circumstances here will sooner or later make them long for the police jail in Abo.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, October 4, 1919.

CHURCHILL'S "INTELLIGENCE" CAUGHT NAPPING

"CITIZEN" KEELING TRIED IN MOSCOW

A wireless message from Moscow reports that at a session of the People's Court the trial of the British citizen, Mr. Keeling, took place on Friday last. The proceedings of the People's Court are public, and accused persons have the advantage of public counsel.

Keeling was accused of having crossed the front without the permission of the Soviet authorities; of having afterwards attempted to escape; and of having attempted to bribe his guards. After his second attempt to escape he was sent to Moscow and kept under preventive arrest until his trial. During the proceedings it was shown that he had accompanied Mr. Appleton (?), one of the worst enemies of the Russian Revolution, who journeyed with the special purpose of doing harm to revolutionary Russia.

In view of the repeated breaches of the law of Soviet Russia committed by Citizen Keeling, he was condemned to be kept in prison until the end of the war with imperialist England.—*Wireless Press*.

A POST-WAR CENSORSHIP ON NEWS ABOUT RUSSIA

CENSORSHIP OF GUILDHALL SPEECH

IT may interest you to know that some sort of invisible censorship has been at work as a result of which the American people have not yet had the opportunity to read the full text of Mr. Lloyd George's speech on Russia. European Liberals cannot expect any help from America at the present time in the solution of the Russian problem; the reactionary propaganda has been too strong and too effective; but they can expect an acceptance of any sensible lead given by the British Government. There is just one phase of the Russian problem that interests the great bulk of the American people, and that is whether once peace were made the Bolsheviks would conduct a revolutionary propaganda in this country. If negotiations be undertaken and substantial guaranties obtained on this point America will almost certainly support a movement for peace with Russia.

Manchester Guardian, November 12, 1919

BRITISH POLICY IN RUSSIA DISCUSSED IN THE COMMONS

IN the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. Wedgwood (Lab.—Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked the Secretary for War whether he was aware of threats made by the British military mission with General Denikin to the insurgents against Denikin in the North Caucasus that unless they submitted British tanks and munitions would be used against them. Was this suppression of non-Russian and non-Bolshevik races part of the War Office policy in Russia, and did it apply also to the Kuban Cossacks and to Georgia?

Mr. Churchill (Secretary for War) said the answer was in the negative.

Mr. Wedgwood: Will the right hon. gentleman tell us what exactly is the policy of the Government towards the North Caucasian State, and whether we have a representative there at all?

Mr. Churchill: Yes, there is a representative in the North Caucasian State. One of the representatives of the British Government is with General Denikin, and an hon. member of this House (Mr. Mackinder) is going out as High Commissioner to cover the affairs of both the Denikin area and the North Caucasian State. The policy of the British Government may be summed up in trying to make sure there is no collision that may possibly be avoided by our good offices.

Mr. G. Lambert (L—South Molton) asked what powers the High Commissioner was invested with.

Mr. Churchill replied that that question did not now arise, but a full statement could be made on notice being given.

Mr. N. P. Billing (I.—Herts): May we take it that nothing that may have been said elsewhere has altered the policy of the War Office?

Mr. Churchill: There is no such thing as the policy of the War Office. It is the policy of the Government.

Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck (C.U.—Nottingham): Is there any such thing as the policy of the Government? (Laughter.)

Mr. Wedgwood Benn (L—Leith) asked how many wars we were supplying munitions for?—"Hear, hear," and cheers.)

Mr. Churchill replied that the newspapers would give the information.

Mr. J. Jones (Lab.—Silvertown): Seeing that all parties are equally interested in foreign policy, why should not a joint mission go to Russia instead of a supporter of the Government?

Mr. Churchill: The question of the appointment of a High Commissioner to look after British interests and policy in a particular part of the world is a matter which rests with the Executive Government.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (L—Hull) asked whether the policy of preventing collisions between the chief nationalities applied to the Ukrainians, and whether we were using our good offices in that case?

WHY WE WENT TO THE CAUCASUS

Mr. Churchill: I was speaking of the North Caucasus, to which we had to go when the Turks were driven out, and where consequently we acquired certain responsibilities which we are entitled to discharge.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy asked whether at-

tention had been drawn to the protest made by the Parliament of the North Caucasian Republic to the Allied representative, Colonel Haskell, against the invasion of their territory by the so-called Volunteer Army under the orders of General Denikin, K.C.B.; whether charges of murder, violation of women, and defiling of mosques had been brought against these Volunteer troops; and what steps it was proposed to take to test the truth of these allegations and to make certain that British munitions were not being used to maltreat the people of Northern Caucasia.

Mr. Harmsworth (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs): The attention of his Majesty's Government has been drawn, if not to this particular protest, at least to many others of a similar kind. I must add that we have received quite as many in the contrary sense alleging intrigue with the Bolsheviks, Germans, and Turks, and interference with General Denikin's communications on the part of some of the inhabitants of these regions. With the concurrence of General Denikin a British officer has been sent to the territory of the so-called North Caucasian Republic—the independence of which, I must remind the House, has not been recognized either by his Majesty's Government or by the Peace Conference—with a view to arranging a settlement.

POSITION OF BRITISH PRISONERS

In reply to Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy, Mr. Harmsworth (Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said there had been no declaration of war between H.M. Government and the Soviet Government. It would be difficult for him, he said, to define the position in international law of the sailors, soldiers, and airmen who had been captured by the Soviet forces, but they were, as far as he knew, considered by the Soviet Government to be prisoners of war.

Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy: Then by what international law or by what law of equity and justice are we carrying out the blockade?

Mr. Harmsworth replied that that was a legal question of which he would like notice.

In reply to a further question, Mr. Harmsworth said: There is no British representative attached to the Ukrainian Government, nor, in existing circumstances, do his Majesty's Government contemplate appointing one.

—*Manchester Guardian*, Nov. 15, 1919.

Kharkov and Yekaterinoslav Under Denikin

SOME weeks before the occupation of Kharkov by the Cosacks, Denikin addressed the proletariat of that city with a manifesto making the following declaration:

"I undertake to disperse your Sovdeps, Narkoms, Revkoms (i. e., your Soviets of Deputies, your Commissariats of the People, your revolutionary committees), and other revolutionary fermentations. In place of 'Youpins' and escaped convicts, I will put in power serious and experienced men; I will re-establish the right of private property. If this plan does not satisfy you, kindly come to chat with me on the battlefield; but be advised that General Denikin does not love pleasantries."

Such were the promises then made by the general of the White Guards. And one must do him the justice to observe that several weeks later the proletariat of Kharkoff had really been convinced that General Denikin did not love pleasantries.

On June 25th, Kharkoff was occupied by the Whites. It was General May-Maievsky, at the

head of the army of occupation, that took possession. The bourgeoisie received him with enthusiasm; a triumphal cortège, accompanied by the ringing of bells, passed through the streets of the city.

At the head of the procession marched the priests, the mayors, and bearers of standards, torches, and ikons. Behind them, seated in a litter, came the hero of the day, General May-Maievsky in person, followed by a military band and troops; all about the litter ladies and gentlemen in evening dress threw flowers to the general, crying "Hurrah!" The bourgeoisie exulted. (*Izvestia* of July 1st). The general smiled; but this triumph did not prevent his forgetting the promise that Denikin, his patron, had made to the workingmen of Kharkoff. By his orders, General Vitkovsky, commandant of the third division, began at once the horrible pogrom of Kharkoff, the massacre of hundreds and hundreds of workingmen, Jews and intellectuals.

First, a part of the Red garrison, which had

we been able to get rid of the military caps with the red stars, was set upon by the enraged mob. They were attacked on the forehead with stones and the Whites that taking revenge on the Reds had a special purpose in this act saying: "No mercant would employ them." The Jewish soldiers were carefully separated from the others and delivered into the hands of the volunteers. When they had thus taken revenge on the Reds, the Whites occupied themselves with the punishment of the workmen. In the center of the city, in the Rosa Luxemburg Square, four gibbets had been erected. The unfortunates were brought in by the White spies, who had infested Kharkoff since several days before the retreat of the Red Army.

Every workman suspected of sympathy for the communists was brought in by the denouncers; a high reward had been offered by the White Guards. Soon four gibbets were not enough. In default of gibbets, street lampposts began to be used. In this way, as a beginning, 200 workmen were executed. But all that was only the prelude to the pogrom of Kharkoff, a pogrom which was constantly assuming greater proportions, and attained its apogee on July 6th, i.e., eleven days after the occupation of the city.

On that day the Denikin supporters resolved to proceed to a great public execution. The public executions of the first days no longer satisfied them. They were getting too monotonous. On July 6th the executioners undertook to organize a "pretty spectacle" and to use new methods. The condemned men (34 in all) were divided into two groups, intended for different modes of death. Fifteen members of the professional union of metallurgists and two workmen from a military-equipment shop were hanged, the remaining seventeen condemned men, among whom were two "menshevik" leaders, well-known in the professional movement, Grossman and Bairo, were shot at the foot of one of the gallows.

With such a truly grandiose spectacle did the White Guards regale the horror-stricken inhabitants of Kharkoff.

Following these public executions, the terror abates somewhat but does not cease. The Russian Telegraphic Agency announces, in a telegram of July 19th, that "at Kharkoff terror continues to rage." Wholesale arrests are expected daily; detained suspects are bound for unknown destinations and never again seen. The White terror that the Denikin supporters have set up is such that entire workmen's families abandon their poor homes and flee from the city.

And this regime was continued after the occupation of Kharkoff by the Denikin bands.

Thus has General Denikin punished the proletariat of Kharkoff. The open battle to which he had invited the workmen became public executions; became rows of gibbets and lamp posts on which swayed the corpses of the sufferers.

After Kharkoff, the Denikinians succeeded in seizing another important point in the Donetz-

Ekaterinoslav basin. Denikin had not made the workers of Ekaterinoslav any promises, but that did not prevent him from mistreating them just as cruelly as he had the workers of Kharkoff. At Ekaterinoslav as well as at Kharkoff the White Guards were welcomed with enthusiasm by the bourgeoisie. The counter-revolutionary generals made the same "triumphant entry." They were showered with flowers and solemn banquets were arranged in their honor.

Made good-humored by the genial warmth of these banquets, the generals became generous and permitted their "valiant army" to "amuse itself." The amusement consisted of a pogrom of workers. Drunken Cossacks and "Ingouches" (these latter enlisted with the armies of Denikin solely for the purpose of pillage) scoured the city with cries of "Death to the Jews" and "to the intellectuals."

Fusillades and assassinations began. The pogrom lasted several days and several nights without a stop. The sick and the sleeping were torn from their beds and forthwith dispatched. Entire workmen's quarters fell a prey to the assassins. In the Tchetchelovka quarter alone and in a single night more than a thousand workmen were arrested. Not only men, but also women and little children were imprisoned.

The prisoners were brought to the Place d'Alexandre. There they were divided into groups, then dragged to the foot of the stairway of the monastery and shot.

Perquisitions, arrests, fusillades and massacres were carried on with equal fury in the other workmen's quarters.

Near the Alexander Hospital hundreds of corpses left unburied have been heaped up in the ditches.

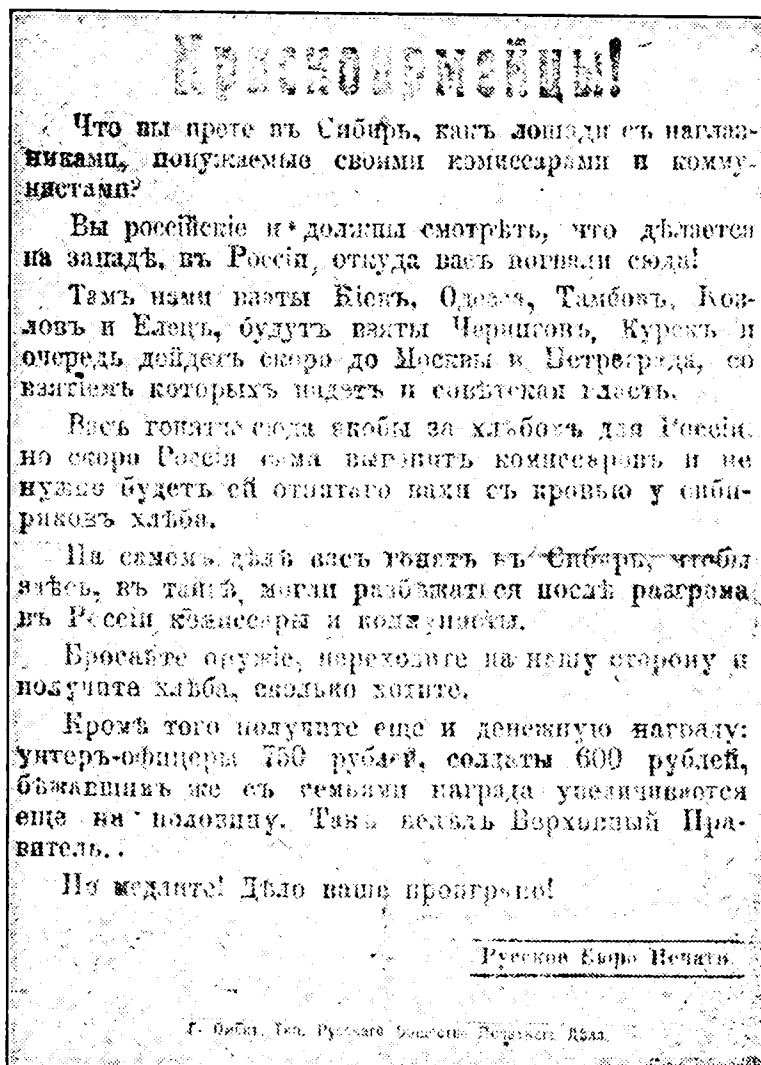
A physician of the hospital was shot for having ordered the corpses of the executed to be taken into the amphitheatre.

During the first three days alone more than three thousand workmen were killed. Among these unfortunates were Goureise, the commissioner of Hygiene and public health; Epstein, the "commissaire politique"; Troupoff, the "chef de regiment"; and N. Goulkoff, excise officer to the special section of the army.

Even the Mensheviks and the Socialist-revolutionists, only yesterday irreconcilable opponents of the Soviet Government, were not spared. Thus the former president of the Municipal Council of Ekaterinoslav, the Menshevik Paderusky was arrested and shot.

Such in brief is the news we receive of the acts of barbarism committed by the Denikinians at Kharkov and at Ekaterinoslav. The news was brought in by fugitives who have been able to witness only isolated episodes. Nevertheless these few details suffice to give an exact idea of the White Army of Cossacks and Ingouches and of Denikin their leader.

A SAMPLE OF THE KOLCHAK PROPAGANDA AMONG THE SOLDIERS OF THE RED ARMY



WE present above to our readers a sample of the Kolchak propaganda among the soldiers of the Red Army. The contents of the leaflet show that it was published at the time when the Soviet troops were advancing into Siberia. It is noteworthy that there is not even an attempt to try to convince the soldiers of the Red Army that the cause for which they are fighting does not deserve their sacrifices. The propagandists merely try to scare the soldiers into the belief that the cause of the Soviets is hopeless and to entice them to desert to Kolchak by a promise of food and of a money reward. The proclamation follows:

Red Army men!

Why do you push into Siberia, as horses with eyeshields on, forced by your commissars and communists?

You are Russians, and you ought to look to see what is going on in the West, in Russia, whence you were driven hither!

There we have taken Kiev, Odessa, Tambov, Kozlov, Yeletz, will take Chernigov and Kursk, and soon the turn will come for Moscow and Petrograd, which will mean the fall of the Soviet rule.

You are driven here ostensibly to get bread for Russia, but soon Russia herself will drive out the commissars and she will not be in need of the bread which they are taking from the Siberians with their blood.

In reality you are being driven into Siberia so that the commissars and the communists could scatter here, in the taiga (the primeval forests), after they will be crushed in Russia.

Throw away your arms, come over to our side, and you will get plenty of bread.

In addition you will also get a money reward: corporals, 750 rubles; privates, 600 rubles; and for those who will escape with their families the reward will be one and a half times as large. This is the order of the Supreme Ruler.

Do not delay! Your cause is lost!

RUSSIAN PRESS BUREAU.

Omak, Printing of the Russian Printing Association.

The Next Number (No. 30) of "SOVIET RUSSIA" will be out December 27th

and will contain, among other things, the following excellent features:

1. GENERAL GAIDA AT VLADIVOSTOK. Sadao Tanaka, Special Correspondent of a Japanese daily, assigned to Vladivostok, learns from General Gaida, in an interview, of the latter's disapproval of Kolchak's autocratic methods.
2. WHY THE TROOPS ARE BEING WITHDRAWN FROM SIBERIA. An interesting and authoritative article, specially translated for SOVIET RUSSIA from "The Oriental Economist," Japan's most important financial journal.
3. THE UNIFORM LABOR SCHOOL. An Official Account of the Educational Policy of the Commissariat of Education in Soviet Russia.
4. PEASANT COMMUNES. Also an Official Account. This is the story of an Inspection Trip through a number of small peasant communities in various parts of Russia, recording the wonderful progress made by the peasants thanks to the methods of organization introduced by the Soviet Government.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
THE KINGDOM OF THE CHILDREN	1	THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SEARCHES	11
PEASANT COMMUNES <i>By E. Yaroslavsky</i>	2	EDITORIALS	12-13
AN INTERVIEW WITH GENERAL GAIDA	4	THE UNIFORM LABOR SCHOOL	14
REASONS FOR SENDING THE ARMY TO SIBERIA	5	ALLIES OF THE SECOND RATE <i>By Baghira</i>	16
THE RUSSIAN LOANS <i>By F. Caussy</i>	7	THE BLACK STRUGGLE AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA	17
JEWS AND BOLSHEVISM	8	LIES ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA	21
DORPAT AND COPENHAGEN	9	AN INTERVIEW WITH LENIN	22

The Kingdom of the Children

Defamers and belittlers of the philosophy of the Russian Soviet Government have frequently represented the New Russia as a degradation of the Old Russia, as a foreign imposition contrary to the spirit of the best Russian thinkers. This little account of the forms taken by a children's welfare movement shows, on the contrary, that the real activity of the Soviets actually moves in the circle of Russia's noblest traditions—the traditions of her truest sons.

IN face of the extremely difficult political conditions under which Soviet Russia is forced to live, she is nevertheless creating and building up new forms of life.

Soviet Russia is building the future, for that reason her chief task lies in the care of children.

Count Tolstoi's estate, "Yassnaia Poliana," and all the adjoining buildings and farms have been transformed into a "kingdom of the children"—this with the consent of Tolstoi's daughters and his literary executor, V. Chertkov.

The great Russian writer was passionately fond of children. He loved them as only Leo Tolstoi could love children. 800 children of workmen and the poorer peasants are housed in Tolstoi's house and in the country seats of his daughter Tatiana and his bosom friend V. G. Chertkov.

Under the guidance, of course, of expert agriculturists, the children work on the land on the very soil which Tolstoi himself once ploughed.

Schools have been opened over which the spirit of Tolstoi the teacher hovers. The children's primers are written by Tolstoi. The teachers are his pupils. Everything taught in the schools is imbued with his spirit, his teachings and morals.

There are a children's theatre, museums, choir, orchestra, schools of different handicrafts (mechanics, carpentry, engineering, tailoring, etc.)

crèches, kindergarten, recreation grounds, a gymnasium, sporting grounds, etc.

All this is organized and supported by the People's Commissariat for Education. Such is the tribute the Soviet Government pays to the memory of the great writer and thinker.

Both Tatiana Tolstoi and V. G. Chertkov have given themselves whole-heartedly to the work. In an interview with a representative of *Izvestia*, Tatiana Tolstoi said: "By living and working among these children, I am best fulfilling my father's will. If my father had lived, I am sure he would have devoted all his energy to this work." "The most important of all is that all the time the children seem to be in living contact with the late Count Tolstoi," said V. Chertkov.

The children themselves manage this Kingdom of Children. It is a children's republic, a children's commune. They themselves have charge of their school work, prepare their own food, which by the way is exclusively vegetarian, and take care of all the relics and belongings of Tolstoi. The instructors and teachers do their best not to interfere with the children's order of life: they are given complete freedom.

This is the "Kingdom of Children"—it is one of the greatest achievements of the Soviet Government. It is the best proof that the ideal of Tolstoi and the ideal of Communism, on the whole, coincide.

Peasant Communes

By E. YAROSLAVSKY (*in Pravda*)

IT was about six o'clock p. m. when we arrived at the "Red Town," the name given to the labor agricultural commune organized by working men, and situated eight versts from Kalouga on Prince Golytzines' estate.

The "Manor" had been somewhat neglected; it is clear there had been no careful hand or eye for the last two years, but that "abomination of desolation" which I expected to meet with was absent. We were met by three girl communists neatly dressed in tidy khaki blouses and skirts and not without just a touch of coquettishness about them.

"Where is the commune?" I asked them. And smiling archly at my ignorance, one of the girls replied, with a touch of pride: "Why, the commune is everywhere round about here."

They went to call the chairman of the communal Soviet comrade Ratiouk, a man with a sunburnt, thin, energetic face. He approached us, limping. "I injured my leg through inexperience," he explained, "when trying to help my comrades wipe the lime off the floors after whitewashing the house. But the lime burnt into my leg, and now I can't succeed in curing it."

His simple, artless tale gave us in an accent a glimpse of the work in the commune: here is the chairman of the communal soviet (a sort of manager), who scrubs the floors together with his comrades in order to give the dining-room a bright, cozy aspect.

At the gates are the liens, on the front of the house the Golytzine coat-of-arms. On the upper floor of the "Manor" house a theatre and stage have been erected; common wooden benches and simple stage scenery.

In the room stands antique furniture, the varnish of which had lost its freshness, but there was no evidence of great disorder. In one of the rooms all the family portraits of the Golytzines' ancestors are carefully collected, in readiness for the museums. Had the communists not taken all this wealth into their hands, it would certainly have perished.

On the lower floor, the floors are pulled up; the chairman of the soviet said with conviction, "Let us only get the fieldwork off our hands, then we shall set to work here. I have already got parquet for the floor; we shall renew the plaster, white-wash, paint, so then the whole commune will come to live here—we shall do everything with our own hands." . . . And I feel his are not mere empty words, but that he will do as he says.

The commune was formed only lately. It comprises several families, but, for the most part, the youths from the Bobruisk Artillery Stores (Aplouga). Many of them are refugees from the western provinces, who are acquainted with their more improved systems of management. When they began to organize the commune, everything was in a state

of desolation. More than twenty Oldenburg cows could hardly drag themselves along for want of fodder, and gave not more than two or three pounds of milk.

Now, on the outskirts of the forest, those cows—fine and healthy—are grazing and give on the average twenty to thirty pounds of milk each.

At the beginning, the villagers were somewhat hostile and derisive, saying: "You've got a rich building, plenty of land, a good forest, orchards, cows, sheep, pigs, chicken, geese—how are you going to manage it all? You will eat everything up, and when spring comes, you will run away from work." . . . But the spring came, and the prophecy of the peasants did not come true. The commune did not run away; on the contrary, it became stronger. Easter came; they discussed how best to spend the holiday, and finally agreed to join forces and store wood.

I asked if the comrades did not grumble; did you not overdo it? One must rest a little, have some change and amusement.

"But we do take a change when possible. No one grumbled at having to work at Easter, everyone admitted it was to be done. You see, there are seventeen communists among us, the rest are sympathizers of the party."

I remembered that Com. Mitrophanov had told me of another commune—"The Organizer," where, seeing how the work made such progress, the local peasants whispered among each other that the devil himself helped the commune for having taken off their crosses.

But devil or not, the work prospers favorably. They sowed a huge field with oats and clover, also beet-roots and 100 poods of buckwheat. But best of all were the potatoes. The Department of Agriculture promised to give them potato seed, but did not fulfil their promise. Sowing time neared its end, but the 400 cartloads promised by the Kalouga government had not yet arrived. As if they had foreseen this, the commune saved their potato ration collecting over 100 poods for sowing time. And here they are, returning from the field where they have been harrowing, so happy and friendly. Com. Ratiouk introduces me; one of the members of the communal council sadly points to thirteen dessyatines of rye, sown by the later overseer of Golytzine's estate since last autumn; "thanks for such sowing," he said ironically; "we can do it better, our rye will not look like that."

Of course not; I only had to look at their work, listen to these lads and lasses singing merrily, to understand that they would till and manure the land, harrow it over and over again, and do all on earth to make a good harvest. In the vegetable gardens the work is in full swing. They are planting onions. There is a water piping not quite in order; it needs repair, but there is no one to do it.

Almost all the agricultural machines are out of order, many are broken, but they hope to be able to repair them soon. After the sowing, they are going to put the hot-houses in order, where plums and peaches are in full bloom; nothing will be allowed to perish; everything will be put straight.

The women leave us, to go and milk the cows; water is laid on in the cow sheds, which are kept very clean. The quantity of milk every cow gives is weighed and the amount recorded in order to follow up the work of each milk-maid and follow the improvement in the supply. Young girls help with the calves, feed them with new milk. The commune now supplies the town with three poods of milk daily. There will also be a children's colony, which the commune will also supply with milk.

"Time for supper," says one comrade, and we enter the common dining-room. On the way we are attracted by a tall, barefooted figure with a high forehead: this is the cultivator of wood, formerly a man of science. Fate led him to the commune and he now dreams of building an apiary in the lime thicket. The communes have already obtained beehives.

The clean supper table has plates in it, two dishes of cut bread. We eat salad with radishes and cream and sour milk with bread, the women serving and refilling our plates. The children partake of the meal with us. What a fine, friendly, large new family is this commune!

Now it is about time to be off, preparing for home. On the way, Comrade Ratiouk tells of their educational work and how the peasants are completely changing their attitude toward them. He and the other communards dream of justifying the expenditure made by the state this year, and in future they will have their own cloth, from their own sheep, for home-weaving—in short, they will have everything they want by their own labor, and the surplus will be given to their comrades at the loom.

Assistance must be given them, and it is not difficult to assist such communards. They live in friendship. Each one fulfils the work appointed him by the council of the commune, after it has been preliminarily discussed and agreed to at a general meeting. When mobilization was declared, they immediately gave brave communists for the east front. . . .

We drive through the village in the direction of Kalouga, amidst the silence of the night. And from out of the stillness, the deep sighs of our driver—a peasant—are borne to our ears, saying with conviction: "Yes, it is only a fool who would not go to such communes."

II.

A late journeyman, Oginsky by name, stands at the head of the laboring commune, "Red Town," and executes his work efficiently. But the organizer of another commune in the Trotzky volost, Kalouga ouyezd, Comrade Dolgov, is not less original. Comrade Ratiouk has told me that during the day he works as a journeyman on the estate, and in the

evening prepares himself for an examination as a cultivator of forests. Comrade Dolgov is a local peasant, joiner and sailor, on war service. Together with several other comrades, he organized the laboring commune which was afterwards called "The Organizer." I think it deserves its title, for it organizes into one group all the district villagers. In Kalouga and the government of Kalouga, all the streets, squares, volosts and villages have been renamed; near Kalouga there is a village called Verlen, Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg volosts. The Trotzky volost is considered one of the best organized. It is near Kalouga and can be better supplied. And here, among a peasantry which is disunited, such establishments as "Red Town" and "Organizer" may play an important role.

Comrade Mitrophanov, exchanging opinions with me with regard to the revenue of the communes and soviet estates, is right in saying that the groups could not be expected to realize all the expenses made by them in the first year. The only thing one can demand of them is efficient organization, to insure success in the following years, and not to allow the valuable plant of the estates to perish and become dilapidated.

This task the "Organizer" has already carried out. Towards the end of 1917, the Janovsky estate occupied by the commune was of comparatively small cultivational value. During the war and the first revolution, it fell into decay. The owner, as if foreseeing the end, made no repairs. The hot-beds were destroyed, the rail-fence rotted, the court-yard filled with dirt. The communards received good land, a handsome old birch-grove leading to the house, a good forest and a bad garden. This garden has to be rooted up, as on such a low-lying spot it will never be possible to make a good garden. The buildings remain whole, there were few cattle but there was sufficient agricultural machines. Amongst the communists there are several families; the principle of communal life is strictly adhered to, but this does not cause any misunderstanding between the communists with or without families. Ploughing and sowing is done with united forces in spite of scarcity of horses.

And when, side by side with these model fields and meadows are seen the narrow, badly-laid rows of peasant sowing, it becomes clear that the "Organizer" will be victorious; that one fine day, perhaps in a year or two, the peasants will gather together and organize a commune, unite these strips of land into one field, and till it together. The Organizer does everything in power to help the villagers towards this. Next to the ploughed land of the commune stretches the land of the peasants, and the difference is already noticeable. The Organizer organizes meetings for the villagers and discusses the question of the new order. In reality, the victory is with us, although the peasants do not form communes for themselves (there are some, however, who have done so), they have ceased being hostile towards us. The communes deprive them of nothing; on the contrary, they give them something.

The peasants readily organize co-operative artels. Several of those, however, are merely fictitious, as when seeds were distributed in these artels, the cunning moujiks thought to themselves: why should we not get seeds first? Everything was in order for the formation of the artel, and, after having received the seeds, they divided them, and each peasant took to sowing his own strip of land. But

this does not exist everywhere. There are many firmly established laboring artels. We are only at the beginning of the immense process of construction. We must be more thoughtful, more observant, pay more attention to the smaller needs of unity, and we shall master the instinct of ownership and build up a life on the basis of unity, collectives and communes.

An Interview with General Gaida

A MONTH ago, New York newspapers printed an account of an uprising in Vladivostok; at first the nature of the uprising was only hinted at mysteriously, but later it transpired that it had been an uprising on the part of certain disaffected sections of the non-Bolshevik portions of the Vladivostok population, against the tyranny of the occupying troops in that city. It was also learned that the leader of the mutiny was General Gaida, who had hitherto enjoyed a certain popularity in the counter-revolutionary press in America and other countries, because of the fact that he was the chief in command of the Checho-Slovak troops in Siberia, who had so long permitted themselves to be duped into the execution of an actively counter-revolutionary function. Since then we have learned that the Checho-Slovak troops are no longer permitting themselves to be misused for this purpose, and it is now less surprising that their chief officer, General Gaida, should have been the first to oppose the Kolchak domination and the Allied troops supporting that domination.

We are now in the fortunate position to be able to present to our readers an account of an interview with General Gaida, which appeared in the *Osaka Asahi*, a daily, in its issue of October 7, 1919. The interviewer is Mr. Sadao Tanaka, special correspondent of the above-mentioned Japanese daily. The text of the interview, as translated for SOVIET RUSSIA, follows herewith:

General Gaida was considered to be on his way back through Japan and it was rumored that when he returned from Siberia he would become the Minister of War in this new republic. But there now seems to be no possibility of his coming to Japan. A Chech soldier told me that the General was now imprisoned in one of the railroad cars at the Vladivostok station, and that his incarceration had been due to a telegraphic message from General Kolchak to Governor-General Sazonov, ordering the latter to arrest Gaida. I was also informed that General Gaida was very angry at this state of affairs, and this gave me the hope that he might be able to inform me as to the reasons why the Siberian army had been defeated and what plans Kolchak had for strengthening it. I finally succeeded in making an appointment with the General in his car at the Vladivostok station, on September 30, by arrangement with the headquarters of the Chechic army in the harbor.

In the Chechic army at present there are two parties, one desiring to go back home by way of the Urals, joining with the Ural army, and to establish connections with the Denikin army,—in other words through Siberian Russia!—while the other party would leave Siberia and travel home to Bohemia by the way of Japan and the sea route. The common characteristic of both parties is a desire to return home. I have this directly from one of General Gaida's immediate subordinates.

When I entered the car, I beheld a young officer who was waiting for me. I had expected to see an imposing old warrior, and thought this must be one of his officers, but as the conversation progressed, it dawned upon me that this was the General himself. My first question concerned the rumor of General Gaida's trip to Japan on his way home. He answered: "I have repeatedly planned a visit to Japan and am anxious to see that country, but various reasons will prevent me from realizing this desire at present. However, I am looking forward to the time when I shall carry out this plan."

When asked for his reason for abandoning the battle-front, he answered with some feeling:

"Lebedeff's battle-plan is no plan at all. I could not possibly obey his orders. It was not I who left the battle front. It was Lebedeff and Kolchak who prevented me from staying there. Kolchak and I are separated by an impassable gulf as far as fundamental principles are concerned. I shall never again remain in the lines in Siberia as long as Kolchak is dictator and his government continues to exist."

I asked the General whether it was true, as the public has been informed, that Kolchak himself is very democratic and liberal, but is surrounded by persons who have forced a militaristic policy and government upon him. The General smiled sardonically and flatly denied that this was the condition of affairs.

Asked as to any plan for rehabilitating his army that Kolchak might have formulated, the General said:

"Do you want me to say whether Kolchak has succeeded or failed in this work of rehabilitation—from a political standpoint, or from a military standpoint?"

I told him that I first would like to have the answer in the military field, and then, if possible,

also in the political field. His answer was as follows:

"I do not recognize any battle-front in Siberia. The Kolchak government has reported that the battle-line has advanced twenty Russian miles from Haum, but an advance of twenty Russian miles in Siberia is not so awfully difficult. I have no doubt that if the Bolshevik army should desire to advance, it could easily take Omsk in a single stroke. Such being the real condition of affairs in the military field, there is no possible chance that the Siberian (Kolchak) army will recover from its shock. Answering from the political standpoint,—as long as Kolchak's dictatorial and autocratic attitude continues, he will certainly lose the sympathies of all classes of the people of Siberia. At present, the association of municipalities in Siberia, as well as, of course, the co-operative unions and all other liberal organizations are extremely anti-Kolchak in their attitude. No others welcome Kolchak's autocracy, except a certain class of officers left over from the Czarism. General Sazonov, although I am still on some terms with him, is in principle a pure Czarist. The war has shifted into struggle between the Czarist party and the Bolsheviks, and the people's sympathies have consequently deserted Kolchak. The Kolchak Government is vigorously circulating tales of atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated by the Bolsheviks, and while it is true that the Bolshevik army in its first rather disorganized days was guilty of some irregularities, it must be admitted that this army in the recent past has been thoroughly in hand, its discipline exemplary, and its infractions of the rules much less frequent than on the part of the Siberian (Kolchak) army. In other words, these atrocity stories are merely to be regarded

as the propaganda of the Kolchak Government."

I asked Gaida whether the rumor of his arrest, which General Sazonov was said to have been ordered by Kolchak to carry out, was true. He said it was.

"If Kolchak arrests you here, is it not because he wants you again to take your place in the battle-front?"

"He may have such a desire, but I shall never again be in his battle-lines."

I then asked what were the principal reasons for the defeat of the Siberian army. This question was answered by the subordinate officer sitting near us, who said that the chief cause for the defeat had of course been Gaida's leaving the front. The interview ended here with my asking and receiving from the General a recent photograph of himself.

It is my opinion that General Gaida, being dissatisfied with Kolchak, really gave me a true account of the condition of the Kolchak Government. General Gaida's conversation bore traces of extreme indignation with Kolchak, which the General was unable to conceal. Is it conceivable that the Allies, after having sent their armies into Siberia for the purpose of aiding the Checho-Slovak armies there, have transferred their support, through the mysterious play of circumstances, to the Kolchak Government? The army that was first to be aided by the Allies, namely, the Czech army, has now become infected with the anti-Kolchak spirit, and is ready to take the lead in opposing Kolchak. An open rupture is possible at any moment. The situation in Siberia is in a condition of swift change and the next turn of the kaleidoscope may present entirely new conformations.

Reasons for Sending the Army to Siberia

THE following is an article that appeared in the Japanese financial magazine, *The Oriental Economist*, on October 25th, 1919.

The Russian policy of the Allies is becoming more and more shaky at last. The report that the Supreme Council had decided to withdraw the Allied troops from Russia seemed unbelievable, but it is now a fact that England and America have definitely decided to withdraw, and England has already withdrawn from Russia. In the latter part of September, America, having decided upon this step, undertook negotiations with the Japanese Government. Also the Baltic countries—Estonia and Lettonia—began peace negotiations with Bolshevik Russia. The difficulties in the way of these negotiations were many, and it seemed at one time that they would come to an end, but according to recent reports (October 28, 1919, Paris), there seem to be indications that these negotiations will be reopened.

On the other hand, it is reported that the Allied Supreme Council may undertake an economic

blockade against Soviet Russia in place of the armed intervention. But to carry this out successfully is impossible. In fact, the policy of pressure by the Allied powers against Bolshevik Russia is gradually and naturally being abandoned.

What then are they going to do with the situation? It seems almost as if there is no way out for a settlement. But the offensive exists only in appearance. The only hope left to the Allies to save themselves from their disgraceful situation is for them to compromise with the Russian Bolshevik Government, using the peace between the Baltic countries and the Bolshevik Government as a basis for such compromise.

And in fact, are not some of the Allies actually thinking of doing this very thing?

One reason why England and the United States have decided to withdraw their troops from Russia is the opposition of the people in these countries to this Russian intervention. Particularly has the British Labor Party shown its hostility to Brit-

ish intervention, even going so far as to appeal to a general strike.

As far as Japan's policy toward Russia is concerned, we do not yet hear any heated opposition to the Japanese army in Siberia. But the newspapers and periodicals of the entire country are filled with criticism and sentiments that clearly recognize the uselessness of the Siberian intervention. This being the case, the army authorities are sufficiently disturbed to occasionally make explanations, will never be oppressed by the Japanese their excuses and explanations only prove all the more the uselessness of Japanese troops in Siberia. They are so conflicting as to be laughable. For instance, on the 16th of September, or thereabouts, the army authorities gave an explanation of Japan's Siberian expedition to the press of the country. One paragraph of this explanation says the following: "For that reason, Japan's army in Siberia never looked upon any one Party or Section as an enemy; even the Bolsheviks, if they are not disorderly, and are satisfied with their conditions, will never be oppressed by the Japanese army. At the present time, the Bolsheviks fill the Vladivostok docks, and the railways and many factories, but they are all satisfied with their conditions. This being the case in Siberia, it is utterly impossible to even hope to sweep away the Bolsheviks with one stroke. Therefore in order to help Russia recover herself and to establish a government which meets with the wishes of the people, and also to restrain insurgents who may dare to cause disturbances, Japan will retain a small number of soldiers. . . ."

The most ludicrous part in this statement, is that at present there are many Bolshevik laborers at Vladivostok, but according to the report they do no cause disorder and are satisfied with their working conditions, therefore the Japanese troops are letting them alone. After saying this, the army authorities immediately add that such being the case, it is utterly impossible to even hope that our army will be able to sweep away the Bolsheviks. This would indicate that they wish to sweep the Bolsheviks away! Why then, do they let the Bolsheviks alone in Vladivostok? Their red lie about leaving the Bolsheviks alone, and "the Japanese army does not consider any one party or section as our enemy," is exposed clearly by the single phrase, "impossible to hope." It is also ludicrous when they offer the excuse of "helping Russia" or "the government that conforms to the wishes of the people," and "until the Russian army should be restored" using such words as "Russia," "wishes of the people" and the "Russian army," as words of broad meaning. According to those words, if the Bolshevik Government is still in power in Russia, it must pretty well suit a large part of the Russian people, and the Bolshevik army is also the Russian army, therefore Japan ought to give aid to the Bolsheviks, but no desire to give such aid has ever been shown. The reason they cannot admit straightforwardly that they helped only the anti-

Bolshevik party, or are in Russia only until the anti-Bolshevik army shall be restored, is that they know that the acts of the army authorities, as concerns Russia, are contrary to justice. They know that to dispatch troops to Siberia today is beyond words. Troops are being sent to Siberia today under the declaration made on the 2nd of August, 1918. But according to that declaration, the object of dispatching troops was only to help the Checho-Slovak army. Now that the problem of the Checho-Slovaks has disappeared, however, the Minister of War, Tanaka, declares that there is a new aim, that of sustaining peace and order in Siberia. And we pointed out at the very outset, interference ultimately will prove to be useless and unjust, and their inconsistency has been proved by their words.

When we think of those soldiers who suffer, are wounded and die on the fields of Siberia on account of this useless and unjust intervention, we are forced to conclude that our people, who know these facts and are dumb, are indeed heartless and feelingless. Look at the number of those soldiers wounded and dead since their dispatch to Siberia. According to investigation, at the end of August last, there were already, in killed, 564; and in wounded, 499. Very many have died or been wounded since then.

We earnestly hope on account of these unfortunate soldiers that our people will at once start a great movement for the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Siberia.

THE RUSSIAN SCANDAL

By EVELYN SHARP

LONDON.—The announcement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the recent debate on Russia that the Russian venture is to be brought to a close with a final gift to Denikin of fifteen millions in money and stores, has outraged labor here, not only because they strenuously oppose this war, which is not a war since it has never been declared, and is merely an attempt to crush a people's government in another country, but also because, almost simultaneously with this announcement, has come the government's statement that it means to stop the civil unemployment benefit.

It certainly looks for the first time as though the Russian adventure were on the point of being abandoned (not from any change of heart in our rulers, but probably because the Soviet successes point to its hopelessness); for a meeting at Copenhagen between the Russian Red Cross and the Allied Red Cross organizations has been announced in the Danish papers, together with declarations that seem to "protest too much," that there is no political significance in the meeting! Certainly the prospect of the sudden cessation of the unemployment dole had a good deal to do with the disgust shown by the electors at the recent municipal elections for the party now in power.

—*The Forge*, Seattle, Wash., Dec. 13, 1919.

The Russian Loans

By F. CAUSSY

THE Bolsheviks have successively offered:

1. To reimburse small holders;
2. To recognize the debt as a whole.

Bolsheviks are not the only party that has refused to recognize the loans contracted by Czarism in foreign countries. *The Russians of all parties, including the Cadets and Miliukoff, on the occasion of the dissolution of the first Duma, have warned the world that they considered these loans to be not valid.* These loans were none the less later authorized by the French Government, which was desirous of procuring for the accredited establishments whose orders it was receiving, a commission estimated at ten per cent by M. Korkovtsev himself, Minister of Finance under the Czar. In declaring these loans void, the Bolsheviks have not neglected, however, to consider the situation of the small holders.

Article V of the nullification decree provides that "citizens of small means, holders of loan bonds in sum lower than or equal to ten thousand rubles of nominal value (26,666 francs), will receive in exchange an equal denomination, at face value, of the new loan of the Soviet Republic."

This means that for holders of less than ten thousand rubles, the nullification is simply equivalent to a conversion. This conversion has even been extended to include the holders of less than 25,000 rubles, as far as their first ten thousand were concerned.

AFTER THE NULLIFICATION DECREE, THE HOLDERS OF LESS THAN 26,666 FRANCS WERE COMPENSATED.

It may be stated that if these provisions had been applied to foreign holders, hardly any of the French holders would have lost anything, for the number of those who hold more than 26,666 francs in Russian Government bonds is very small.

And, besides, the Soviet Government has not neglected to offer to the French Government "an amicable examination" of the question. It made known its conditions in an article in *Izvestia*, February 2, 1918, which was immediately translated in the organ of the French embassy, *The Journal de Russie*, which was then under the management of M. Ludovic Naudeau. *The Soviet Government proposed that French holders be classed together with Russian holders as soon as the Russian workers who had been dismissed from French war factories because of their political opinions, and who on this account were in a rather critical situation, should be granted the right of suing the French Government for damages.*

The French Government turned a deaf ear to this proposition, and carefully concealed it moreover, from the French people.

One year later, on February 4, 1919, after the Russian Government finally received an envoy of President Wilson, it proposed "that the Soviet Government and the other Governments established on the territory of the former Russian Empire of Finland, recognize their responsibility in the matter of the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire towards foreign states, and toward the citizens of such states. The French Government ignored these proposals and concealed them once more. Fortunately they have been revealed by the envoy above mentioned, of President Wilson, who is Mr. Bullitt.

It is therefore the Government of M. Clemenceau alone which is responsible if the bond holders have been unable to cash their coupons during the last two years.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BETRAYED THE INTERESTS OF THE SMALL HOLDERS TO SERVE THE APPETITES OF THE BIG CAPITALISTS.

For what reason has the French Government therefore caused one and a half milliards of savings to be lost, after having encouraged the thrifty elements of the nation for twenty-five years to turn their attention to Russians loans?

The reason is that the Bolsheviks have nationalized industry in Russia; that they are refusing to relinquish to foreign capitalists the control of their immense national resources. Now, as a matter of fact, these foreign capitalists would not be satisfied with being compensated for the factories that have been expropriated; they wish to dominate Russia economically; they wish to hold the Government in their hands in order to impose on the Russian people the most severe conditions of labor. *Although the Frenchmen among these capitalists amount to only a few hundred, although their interests, including those of shareholders, represent less than five milliards, the Government has not hesitated to sacrifice to them all the small holders, whose investment represents fifteen milliards.*

THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO PUBLISH WHAT THE RUSSIAN EXPEDITION COSTS THE TAXPAYERS.

It has also not hesitated to continue to ruin France by sending to the enemies of the Bolsheviks military missions whose members, in addition to their salary, receive compensations of a hundred francs a day for furnishing arms, ammunition, supplies of every kind out of the expense of the French taxpayers.

In England, it has been shown that these expenses amount to about three milliard. In France, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, when questioned by the Socialist Deputy, Marcel Cachin, twice refused to indicate the amount of these expenses.

All the Government parties, Conservatives, Republicans, radicals, more or less openly sup-

port this ruinous policy, for none of them have any interest in the poor, and all of them are in the service of the great capitalists. Only the Socialist party has protested against the continuation of the war in Russia, which drags with it so many expenses and so much wretchedness. If

you wish to regain at last the benefits of peace, if you want these wastrel methods to cease, then let commercial interchanges once more take place, and vote for the Socialist party, the only party of world peace.

—*L'Humanité*, Nov. 3, 1919.

Jews and Bolshevism—A New Light

INTERVIEW FOR THE *Jewish Chronicle* WITH MR. W. T. GOODE

CONSIDERABLE sensation has been caused by the revelations in regard to Bolshevik Russia by the statements of Mr. W. T. Goode, who went to Moscow on behalf of the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Goode has for two decades been the principal of the Graystoke Day Training College for Teachers, an L.C.C. institution of high repute. He is a level-headed man of scientific training and one not easily to be deceived by manufactured evidence. He entered Bolshevik Russia at great personal risk, after a series of extraordinary adventures, and his return was accomplished at even greater hazard. He was arrested by the Estonian authorities at the instigation, as he alleges, of the British Government, and his voyage back to England was under guard on a British cruiser. He charges the Government with a conspiracy to prevent him from revealing the truth as he saw it, but he is determined to disclose the result of his observations, and a portion of his experiences and deductions has already been narrated in articles in the *Manchester Guardian*. Mr. Goode holds very strong views on the question of the association, in the popular mind, of the Jews with Bolshevism, and he intends to make this question a plank in his platform when he undertakes a series of public lectures which he is about to do. These views he has set forth in the course of an interview with a representative of the *Jewish Chronicle*.

Parliamentary "Truth"

Mr. Goode said that he wished to start out from a reference to recent statements in the House of Commons.

"Mr. Cecil Harmsworth," he said, "was recently asked in Parliament about the pogroms in Russia, and he replied that he did not believe the reports which had reached this country. If he is ignorant, which I find it difficult to credit, I will give him grounds for the removal of his disbelief. Sir Philip Magnus followed with an insinuation that the pogroms were the work of the Bolsheviks, while Mr. Churchill, in the course of the Russian debate, stated that the Allies would use their influence for the protection of the Jews. I should like to say at the outset that I am neither pro nor anti-Semite. I merely retail facts, shuddering at the while at the moral callousness of those who can close their eyes to their blood-guiltiness while supporting the men who are perpetrating or favoring these pogroms. For pogroms are taking place and have been taking place for a long time."

Sir Philip Magnus' Question

"Sir Philip Magnus' question," said Mr. Goode, "really surprises me. No Jew ought to have put such a question if he really sympathized with his people, because the effect of his insinuation was to divert attention from the real source of the pogroms and to prejudice the whole enquiry by an allegation that they were part of the activity of the bloodthirsty scoundrels which the Bolsheviks are represented to be, by those who are interested in throwing dust in the eyes of the British public. What are the facts? Where the Bolsheviks are in power there the Jews are decently treated, as are all nationalities. They have nothing to fear as long as they are good citizens. The Revolutionary Tribunal of the Bolsheviks has for one of the crimes of which it takes cognizance the making or instigation of pogroms."

The Part of the Jews

It is alleged, Mr. Goode, our representative said, that the whole Bolshevik movement is the work of the Jews. Is there any truth in this charge?

"One of the cries of the anti-Revolutionists," Mr. Goode replied, "is that 'Jew' and 'Bolshevik' are convertible terms, that Bolshevism is born of Jewish brains and led by Jews. The actual facts are these: Out of eighteen ministers, i. e., the Commissaries of the People, only one, Trotsky, is of Jewish blood. Out of 115 members of the Government, eight only are of Jewish blood. In regard to the part played by the Jews in the whole movement, the utmost that can be said is that among the leading spirits, the Jews are represented in a greater proportion than the Jewish race bears to the entire population, but that can be explained by the fact that the Jews are nearly all educated, whereas the great mass of the Russian population is illiterate. The proportion of Jews in the Russian Government is far less than that of the Jews in the British Government, and no one contends that the British Empire is in the hands of the Jews."

The Results

"The results of the 'Jew-Bolshevik' cry have been deplorable, Mr. Goode went on to say: 'I should explain that my information does not come from Bolshevik sources, but from the agents of the Bund, among them the President, who had been round the districts in the South and West of Russia on a tour of investigation. The armies of Denikin, Petlura and the Poles are operating

in the part which was the Jewish Pale, and is packed with a dense Jewish population. Orders of the day were issued in Denikin's army, repeating the charge about Jews and Bolsheviks, and recommending 'Death to the Jews!' The appeal once made, the effect may easily be imagined by those who know Russia. The pogroms began with plunder, rape, and the destruction of property. They soon went on to murder. Before I left Moscow, the massacres in the towns of the south and southwest had resulted in the death of 60 to 80,000 Jews (60,000 according to one observer in the south, 80,000 according to another who returned from the southwest). One town had been gone through in this way ten times, others again and again. Yet Mr. Harmsworth does not believe in the pogroms, and Mr. Churchill professes to be protecting the Jews. It is said that the army leaders have given orders forbidding pogroms. That may now be true, but once you have deliberately let loose a ravening beast, it is of little use afterwards to order him back to his cage. The conditions are such," Mr. Goode declared, "that not only should every Jew with decent feelings be out against the continuance of support to those who are responsible for them, but every Gentile who backs this support should also know that he shares the blood-guiltiness which has flowed from it, and settle it with his conscience whether he can continue to uphold these horrors."

The Bolsheviks and Zionism

Is there any truth in the report that the Bolsheviks are suppressing Zionism?

"None of the Jews with whom I conversed made any mention of such a thing, and it seems quite out of accord with general Bolshevik policy as I observed it in operation. The Bolsheviks oppose no nationalities, and would be just as sympathetically disposed towards the setting up of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as the Allies. The Bolshevik attitude towards religion is one of complete unconcern except that they have been out to remove popular superstitions. I admit that in thus undermining the simple faith of ignorant peasants they have done no good, but of any active suppression of religious institutions there can be no question. The churches were holding services as usual everywhere I went in Russia. There is, of course, now no established church, and the religious institutions have no connection with the State."

"A Devilish Business"

"Your readers may be assured," Mr. Goode said, in conclusion, "that I shall do my utmost to dispose of the allegation in regard to the connection between Jews and Bolshevism with its awful consequences. I am out to put a stop to the whole devilish business. If Bolshevism is to be fought at all it must be fought with clean hands unstained with the blood of martyred Jews."

Dorpat and Copenhagen

(By Our Paris Correspondent)

Paris, Dec. 4.—The continuance of the O'Grady-Litvinoff negotiations is creating consternation in the camp of the Allied and Russian reactionaries, whose headquarters is here at Paris. When the announcement came that these discussions were to begin, the entire reactionary press repeated to themselves the consolation that they would not and could not lead to any definite results. And now after they have already lasted seven or eight days, the friends of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich & Co. are showing genuine signs of alarm. Even if nothing definite comes of the pourparlers, which are nominally for the exchange of prisoners, they fear that they will have resulted in an interchange of views between the Soviet and English Governments which cannot but damage the reactionary cause.

"Now what policy," demands *Le Temps*, "are they pursuing in Russia? . . . A member of the British Parliament, Mr. O'Grady, is negotiating officially at Copenhagen with a Bolshevik envoy, Mr. Litvinoff. The British Government has declared in the most formal manner that the instructions given to Mr. O'Grady authorize him only to discuss the repatriation of prisoners. Moreover, we are assured that Mr. O'Grady is not the man to surpass his mission. . . ." And yet the negotiations have already passed the formal phase

of the question of prisoners, and are proceeding with more important issues—and are not broken off. This is what *Le Temps* cannot understand. It goes on to warn England of the wicked Bolshevik snares. It characterizes the demands of Litvinoff, that the Soviet Government be allowed to protect its subjects in foreign countries, and that these subjects be allowed to communicate with their relatives in Russia—a simple humanitarian demand—as "the economic and political means to organize their propaganda in the entire world."

But if the intentions of the Soviet Government are hostile to the rest of the world, what are we to make of the dispatch to the *Vossische Zeitung*, which outlines anew the basis upon which the Soviet Government would be willing to conclude peace? According to that dispatch, the Soviets ask the Allies to designate a free port in the Baltic through which food may be imported in Russia. The Soviet Government in its turn is ready to manifest its pacific intentions by not using its Baltic fleet during the period of negotiations. The Soviet Government also asks that no pressure be exercised upon the Baltic States to prevent them from making peace with Russia.

This Baltic question is the crucial one in the Allied Russian policy. It is apparent that the Allied Governments, on account of the obligations

they have entered into with the various Russian reactionary gangs, feel reluctant to conclude a frank and open peace with Soviet Russia. The train of events, the tremendous victories of the Soviet armies, the pressure on the part of the people at home, are dragging the Allies to the peace table. But this is likely to be a slow and cumbersome process. In the meantime, the tiny Baltic States are forced to keep up their warfare against the Soviet Government, are forced to maintain and equip armies in a country that has been ruined by five years of war and anarchy, and which must have a chance to recuperate. The Baltic States, despite Allied pressure, opened negotiations with the Soviet Government of Russia more than three months ago. But each time that they seemed to lead to something definite, England or France sent an ultimatum: "You must not conclude peace!"

Estonia, Lettonia and Lithuania are now threatening to disregard the Allied demands and sign a protocol with the government at Moscow. They are encouraged in this by the stand of Finland, which successfully resisted Allied pressure to make it take part in the ill-fated Yudenich adventure, and by the attitude of Poland, which is more and more favorable to the conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia. To circumvent the conclusion of peace between the border states and Russia, the Allies are now coming to realize that something more than threats of force is necessary. Accordingly there has been broached in the reactionary circles of London (I quote this upon the authority of *Le Temps*), a plan to suggest to the "patriotic" Russians, the partisans of Kolchak and Denikin, that they call a conference of all the border states, including the Baltic provinces, Poland, Finland and Ukraine. This conference should be under the patronage of the Allies. The Allied representatives will act as conciliators and will harmonize all the conflicting claims of territory, including those of Kolchak and Denikin themselves, who demand everything from Vladivostok to the Aurora Borealis.

The object of this conference is to reconstitute a common front against Bolshevism and to bring back into line the insurgent Baltic States. If such a conference is held—the project is as yet unofficial—and the attempt is made to restore harmony between the various conflicting claims, one of two things will happen. Either it will split upon the rock of the obstinacy of Kolchak and Denikin, or else these two worthies will yield and allow the boundaries to be settled by the right of self-determination. But if this happens, what will be left to the Denikin and Kolchak crowd—what will be left of their propaganda of Holy, Indivisible Russia? Their own leaders have recognized that from the moment they cease to stress the element of chauvinistic patriotism their cause is lost. And conversely if they should now be ready to make this sacrifice of their "principles," it is a tacit confession that their cause is lost.

This projected conference, even if it should be held, need not alarm the friends of Soviet Russia. It is interesting only in that it reveals the perplexities of the counter-revolutionaries. They are genuinely alarmed by the progress of events in the Baltic, by the negotiations at Dorpat and at Copenhagen, which are leading more and more to peace and recognition of Soviet Russia. But they can think of no other way to counter-act them than to talk again of "reconstituting a common front against Bolshevism." As if by belated boundary concessions they could make the Baltic States, so genuinely anxious for peace, renew the war with Russia!

And if the Baltic States cannot be kept in line, both the Allied and Russian counter-revolutionaries might as well resign themselves to admit that the jig is up. Whether or not the Litvinoff negotiations become the prelude to a general peace conference between Russia and the Allies, the moment the Baltic provinces sign an agreement with the Russian Soviet Government, the blockade ends—and the counter-revolution, too, comes to an end.

British Seek Trade with Russia

THE following is a literal copy of an advertisement appearing recently in *The Commercial Review*, of London, England. It is to be hoped that not only England, but other countries also may soon be engaged in profitable trade with Soviet Russia.

Russia and the Future

An analysis of the Trade Returns for the month of August shows that the export of British produce and manufacture—not including coal—to North Russian ports alone amounted to £1,973,873.

It may well be argued, therefore, that if such a volume of trade is possible under existing conditions and with so little of the vast territory open to commerce, the prospects for the future, when Russia's internal troubles are settled, are exceptionally good.

The best elements in Russia are scarcely likely to foster trade relationships with their late enemy, Germany; indeed, there are numerous indications that she is looking to Great Britain for her supplies of machinery and the thousand and one varieties of manufactured goods which we can furnish.

British manufacturers, merchants and exporters will be well advised to cultivate the Russian field—and to plan and prepare for future trade, even if the demand for the present is comparatively small. In this the

L. A. P. T.

(London Association for Protection of Trade)

will be glad to advise and assist. The services of its numerous foreign correspondents are at the disposal of its members—trade reports, status information, business openings, etc., in any part of the world are always available, whilst other exceptional advantages which it offers at this juncture in British commercial history are indispensable to business men.

Write: THE SECRETARY, 3, BERNERS STREET, W. 1.

Cut out this ad and send it to SOVIET RUSSIA, 110 West 40th St., New York, with a dollar pinned to it and your address in margin, and you will get the weekly for three months.

The Truth About the Searches in Swedish Diplomatic Offices

Legal Confiscation of Private Property of the
Bourgeoisie, says Chicherin

According to a communication from the Russian Peoples' Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to the Foreign Department, the Russian authorities have, at the office of the Swedish Consulate General in Moscow, seized great quantities of fur goods, linen, jewels, table-silver, furniture, gold and silver coins, Russian and foreign paper money, and shares and bonds to the amount of twelve million rubles. The Commissar asserts that the above enumerated effects were deposited with the Consul General to avoid nationalization and confiscation. It is further asserted that valuables found in the office of the Swedish Legation and consulate at Petrograd have been forwarded to Moscow under seal. The Foreign Department has now, probably after examining the indicted members of the Legation, made a statement.

As far as the shares and bonds amounting to twelve million rubles are concerned, they seem according to a statement of the Consul General at Moscow (Widerström), to be identical with the National City Bank of America. It was announced that the valuables taken away from the legation and the consulate were "stolen." We shall return later to the curious reply made.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken,
Stockholm, October 9, 1919.

Official investigation under strict supervision proves that Russian generals had money concealed with the "representatives of Sweden."

Politiken has already denied, from the best sources, that the buildings of the Swedish Legation in Petrograd and Moscow have been "plundered," and has proved that this "plundering" was in reality a well-motivated official investigation of the Swedish, as well as of other buildings housing foreign legations, an investigation which brought to light documents particularly compromising for those countries.

Politiken is now able to publish a story of the occurrence told us by a courier who arrived yesterday direct from Moscow. His description of the matter is much more authentic and valuable, since he himself was present when the "plundering" took place. We give the story in his own words:

"When it was discovered that espionage was being carried on by representatives of the Danish Red Cross and counter-revolutionary correspondence with counter-revolutionists abroad, a general investigation of all legations was ordered, with the exception of that of Mexico. From this it transpired, 1, that the foreign legations were the worst hotbeds of counter-revolution; 2, that representatives of foreign powers had received for safekeeping property from generals of the Czar

period, and other millionaires; 3, that supplies of absolutely new, unused arms were kept in several legations. In the houses occupied by the Swedish legations valuables were discovered which, according to notes on the envelopes and packages, mostly belonged to Russians, especially former Russian generals. As far as the investigation itself was concerned, it was conducted with the strictest correctness and care, so that such a word as "plunder" is absurd in connection with it. Special civil persons whose duty it was to carry on the investigation went through all the correspondence and papers, registered even the smallest piece of paper containing notes, and dealt in the same way with the money and valuables. Night and day, guards stood at the doors, both outside and inside, and it was impossible for strangers to enter. I have inspected these places myself, and found all the interior untouched, in the condition in which it was when the investigation was made. Papers, valuables, and money had, after being checked, been deposited with the Central Civil Department, at Moscow. The buildings were unoccupied and were guarded, except the one which is connected with the Swedish legation at Moscow, which is occupied by its former Swedish inhabitants."

Folkets Dagblad Politiken,
Stockholm, Oct. 14, 1919.

Lack of Work and Distress the Consequences of the Blockade of Russia

SVEDALA MECHANICAL FACTORY MUST CUT DOWN ITS WORK

At Svedala Foundry and Mechanical Factory in Skaone, which has hitherto carried on extensively exports to Russia, a number of younger workers have been discharged or granted leaves of absence on account of lack of work. The working time in the factory for those retained has been reduced to four days a week.

This is rather considerable, especially for supporters of families, who must tighten their belts still more in these days of the wolves, but the social patriots have one consolation, however, namely that they are fighting against the terrible Bolshevism, and no sacrifice can then be too great, even if one must leave the table hungry now and then, writes *Skaone's Folkblad*, which reports this news.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken,
Stockholm, Oct. 25, 1919.

A few hundred copies are still obtainable of our Special Anniversary Number of SOVIET RUSSIA (No. 22). Readers may obtain copies at ten cents each, or seven cents each in bundles of ten or more.

SOVIET RUSSIA

A Weekly Devoted to the Spread of Truth
About Russia

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Address:

"SOVIET RUSSIA"

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THERE was a "roar of approval," we are told, from Parliament when Lloyd George evaded a question about British policy towards Russia by asking rhetorically: "Who is Russia?"

Who, indeed, Mr. George? Is it your venerable henchman Chaikovsky, so aptly described by the *New York Tribune* as the "founder of the Chaikovsky Circle," which, "it is said," the *Tribune* ventures cautiously, "played an important part in the Russian revolutionary movement of the 70s"? Who is Russia Mr. George? Is it Yudenich whom your English tanks led forward to disaster under the defences of Petrograd? Is it your ally, Avaloff-Bermond, clasped in the arms of Noske at Berlin? Is it your English knight, Denikin, who has made a profitable business out of the sale of the supplies you so generously sent to him in what you once termed, in a confidential moment, his "little backyard near the Black Sea"? Or is it Kolchak, of whom you whispered in that same session on the Quai d'Orsay that he "had been collecting members of the old regime about him and would seem to be at heart a monarchist?"

Is Russia any of these, Mr. George, whom you have backed and deserted one after another? No wonder you remark despairingly, to another "roar of approval," that England "cannot undertake to set the whole world on its feet." You and Winston Churchill and all the king's horses and all the king's men, or as many of them as you dared force into the adventure, have not succeeded in setting up one of these Humpty-Dumptys into a recognizable semblance of Russia.

"Who is Russia?" So, we are told, you cleverly "brushed aside the demand that the Allies should make peace with Russia." You will regret that flippant Parliamentary victory. The question will rise again and again to plague you. Who is Russia? We know, Mr. George, and you know; and you will not be able to dodge the answer much longer.

THAT famous congerie known in propaganda parlance as the "All-Russian" government takes advantage of a momentary halt in its eastward flight to announce a decision to "enlarge the membership" of the forthcoming congress of municipalities and zemstvos. The necessity is obvious enough, since the municipal council of Irkutsk itself has refused to participate in the gathering. Forgetting all previous assurances of the completely democratic nature of the Omsk regime, there is even talk of an intention to "democratize the electoral law." Or at least it has been decided to do so, the official dispatches tell us, if the Admiral Dictator approves upon his arrival at Irkutsk. The proposed reforms, said to give representation to the "broad masses of the population," would seem to come a little late, inasmuch as the same dispatch asserts that the elections are in progress, without waiting for democracy. Perhaps the democratic reforms are being postponed for application in the Altai and Tomsk provinces, where the "elections are hindered by military operations," which is the press bureau's modest way of saying that Kolchak does not pretend to hold elections in regions already under Soviet rule.

The truth, of course, cannot be concealed from anyone who cares to consult a map and look up the available statistics. The total population of Siberia is 10,500,000, of which 9,000,000 lie west of Irkutsk in regions largely under Soviet control and completely out of reach of Kolchak's electoral machinery. The remainder, 1,500,000, are still to be rescued from his oppression. Allowing an ample 500,000 additional for counter-revolutionary emigres from the west, we behold the "All-Russian" government holding a precarious, despotic sway over a sparsely populated region containing not more than two million inhabitants, many of whom are in open revolt. In fairness, of course, there should be added to these vital statistics the occupants of the "All-Russian" embassies in Paris and Washington.

A PRIVATE English syndicate has just arranged a loan to Lithuania and Latvia, and probably, it is reported, to Esthonia. In return the syndicate gains a monopoly over the flax and timber output of these countries, and will invest further capital in sawmills, pulp factories and other enterprises in the Baltic region. According to reports current in Denmark several months ago, England was seeking railway concessions through Esthonia into Russia, and negotiations were in progress with a

view to leasing the islands of Dagoe and Oesel at the mouth of the Gulf of Riga for the construction of large commercial ports. One must study these facts carefully to understand just what Lloyd George means when he says, "The whole civilization of the world depends upon Britain recovering herself."

Peace is delayed and new states are incited to new wars, while Britain "recovers herself." Blockade and embargo throttle the economic life of Europe while Britain recovers. When Britain has finally recovered, a grateful world will pay tribute to the enterprise of British capital which has thus preserved civilization along the trade routes.

When Britain has completed the plans so necessary for her recovery in the Baltic, the peoples of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania may be permitted to make the peace they desire. When the ice melts out of the northern ports, the blockade, which, as we have repeatedly been assured, never really existed, will have been withdrawn. By that time Britain will be well on the road to recovery. The ice, it now appears, came on in the nick of time. The British sailors sickened of their work of starving and bombarding Russian workers. There is to be a superfluous Commission of Inquiry to inquire into the "discontent" in the fleet. "When one has congratulated this government on what looks like a humane act," comments the *London Nation*, "one invariably discovers that it had merely yielded to the inevitable. It has stopped this abuse of the fleet because the men were tired of the dirty work."

* * *

The article by Mr. Roger Lewis, "Something to Say to Lenin," from which we quoted last week, was credited by error to the *Saturday Evening Post*. It was published in *Colliers'*, December 6th.

The War in Russia

TO Frank M. Corse, former chairman of the Russo-American chamber of commerce, who is now in Paris, is credited the statement that in October Admiral Kolchak informed the United States government that unless the Allies gave him aid he would be obliged to cede a part of Siberia to Japan. This is more definite than previous rumors of the same sort, but not necessarily more true. Kolchak stands for the territorial integrity of the Russian empire, and has refused to make concessions even to the Baltic states and the Ukraine. But the cession of territory to Japan would be a different and more serious matter, and would violate the principle of self-determination, which Soviet Russia has adopted, as well as the principle of integrity. Such a step might lead to future wars in the Far East, no matter who rules Russia, and it certainly would not be taken except as a last resort.

It is evident, however, that Kolchak is in serious straits, and the capture of Novo-Nikolaievsk Sunday by the Soviet armies is of significance,

because it is in a region, including Tomsk to the north, where Bolshevism has never been thoroughly suppressed even during the Kolchak regime. It is 390 miles east of Omsk, which fell November 11, so that since then the revolutionists have been advanced at the rate of eleven miles a day. As much further to the east is Krasnoiarsk, another hotbed of revolution, so that the Soviet forces are likely to gain strength as they advance, which no doubt is one motive for the strategy adopted.

While in Siberia winter has ended large scale operations and the campaign has become a kind of Arctic expedition by the Bolsheviks in the rear of the unresisting remnants of Kolchak's army, the milder climate of South Russia still admits of vigorous fighting, and Denikin, Cossacks and "volunteers" are being driven back on a front of several hundred miles. At their maximum, attained in August, they passed beyond Orel, 400 miles from the Black Sea. They have now lost about half the ground gained, and their retreat seems to be accelerating. Moscow claims the capture of Kharkoff, more than 200 miles due south of Orel, and the Denikin bulletins admit that a stand is being made on the Kiev-Poltava railway, in the same general region but further west, after a retreat of from thirty to forty miles on a front of 300 miles.

The line is now where it was in June, before the gains which led to the report that Denikin would soon be at Moscow. At the present rate of retreat he will soon be back at the line of May 5, running from Rostoff east by south to the Caspian Sea. But if compelled to retire so far, his position would become even more dangerous because of the hostility of the peoples of the Caucasus in the rear of that line. It is not at all impossible, therefore, that Denikin may share the fate of Kolchak, and for a like reason—the opposition of the people of the occupied territory.

—*Springfield Republican*, Dec. 17

* * *

The taking of Kieff since the above was written, makes it clear how favorable is the military situation of Soviet Russia at the opening of the new year. We shall not dwell upon this for the present, however, as our regular military contributor will write an article for our next issue, entitled: "The Military Year in Russia."

It is reported that KOLCHAK is to cede land to Japan. Unfortunately he has been ceding land to the Bolsheviks for some time. *The Evening Sun*, New York, Dec. 18, '19.

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.

The Uniform Labor School in Soviet Russia

"It is necessary to combine school work with production, it will then have great educational significance. Only a close contact between education and socially productive labor can abolish the class character of the modern school."

This principle, proclaimed by Karl Marx, became the basis of all the reforms introduced by the Soviet Government in the sphere of education.

After the October Revolution, school reform, first of all, assumed the character of a struggle of the masses for knowledge, for education, and the Commissariat for Education, with the greatest speed possible, had to destroy the old school based upon class privileges.

In the pre-revolutionary period the school was greatly neglected. The "elementary," "common" school was pushed to the background. The attitude towards it was not even indifference, but sheer ill-will. It was attempted to convert it into a medium through which the people's mind could be poisoned and blind allegiance developed. The high school was not simply a school of higher standards, but a school where loyal overseers of the enslaved people were trained. This old school was destroyed after the October revolution, and in its place was created a new school. The new school of Soviet Russia is closely connected with the masses, it is near to its life and labor. The new school is free in all its grades, and it is not only accessible but obligatory for all. There will not be such an almost incredible percentage of illiterate people amongst the next generation as there was hitherto.

Further, the modern Russian school is a uniform and labor school. The former indicates that the whole system of normal schools, from the kindergarten up to the university represents a unit, a continuous set of ascending steps. All children join the same type of school and begin their education on equal terms. They all have equal rights to pass from standard to standard until they reach the highest. Moreover, the Russian school is "uniform," because apart from giving purely scientific knowledge, it brings up the child to work and develops in it the habit of work. A child who has finished the uniform school is quite prepared to take an active part in social life.

The uniform school does not strive at a uniformity of type. The state requires specialists and youths who usually have different inclinations and are endowed with different gifts, therefore in the school attended by children at the age of about 14, all subjects are divided into several courses or groups; many fundamental subjects, however, remain the integral part of all courses. These groups are not interlocked until the pupils join a special high school.

The new school is a labor school. This is particularly indicated by its present organization, as Soviet Russia requires people who were brought up in the atmosphere of labor.

In Russia, the demand to introduce labor as an integral part of education is based upon two quite opposite principles, the result of which, however, is the same. The first principle is the proposition that real absorption of knowledge can only be achieved by active absorption. A child acquires knowledge very easily if it is introduced to him in the form of play or work (if the latter is skillfully arranged). From that point of view, this principle leads to an active mobile acquaintance with the external world. The next source stimulating the striving of the modern Russian school towards labor is the immediate desire to acquaint the pupils with what they will most need in life, — particularly with agricultural and industrial labor in all its forms.

The uniform labor school based upon these principles is divided into two grades, according to the age of the pupils: the first grade is attended by pupils between the ages of 8 and 13, the second from 13 to 17. (The next step is special high schools or universities).

In the first grade school, tuition is based upon work which has more or less an artisan character, conformably to the strength of the children. In the second grade school, industrial and agricultural labor, in all its modern forms, is undertaken, and machinery becomes of paramount importance. But on the whole, the aim of the labor school is not to prepare skilled workers for this or that branch of industry (that must be the aim of trade schools), its aim is to give the children a comprehensive education which will give them a practical knowledge of the methods of the most important forms of production.

Thus, in Soviet Russia, the child, on the one hand, studies different subjects, making collections, drawings, lessons in photography, modelling, pasting, observing and cultivating plants and animals. Languages, mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, botany and zoology are now taught in the new school according to a new active method. On the other hand the school acquaints the pupils with the principal methods of labor in the sphere of cabinet-making and carpentry, wood-engraving, moulding, forging, casting, alloying, welding of metals, hardening of metals, boring-work, working on leather, printing, with various branches of agricultural work (in the village), etc.

From the kindergarten the children pass directly into the first grade school. In the kindergarten, the aim of the studies is to acquaint the child with nature and society. The teacher, without applying the least constraint to the child, systematizes and directs its inquisitiveness and desire for movement so as to attain the best possible results. The idea is to go through a sort of children's "encyclopedia."

In the higher standards of the first grade uniform labor school, systematic work in a certain

cycle of subjects becomes of paramount importance. The same "encyclopedia" which now acquires the character of a study of human culture in connection with nature, is preserved here as well. The study of this subject is divided into two cycles (for children from 8 to 13). In the first period the children's attention is directed to a series of selected materials. The pupils are given a certain article of production or cultivation to study. This article is thoroughly examined from two points of view: as the product yielded by nature and as a result of production, and at the same time its physical and chemical nature and origin are also examined, etc. In connection with it, reference is made to the history of labor (the means of production in the past) and the process of work necessary for the production of that article in modern industry. In the study of encyclopedia the greatest importance is attached to experiment. The object of study is selected with the view of conducting the study of it, actual observations and independent performance of acts mentioned while the object was examined.

The second cycle includes almost the same subjects as the previous, but the latter are studied more in detail and in chronological order. In vivid sketches and always with the aid of their own work the children become acquainted with the history of labor and together with it with the history of human society. The evolution of culture in connection with the change of labor conditions is studied by the children not only from books or the teacher's narrations, but partly by their own experiments.

The same subject of the "encyclopedia," transformed into a course of sociology (on the basis of evolution of labor and change in economic forms as the result of it) becomes the subject of the "encyclopedia" of the second grade school. In the second grade school the study of sociology goes on parallel with the study of other subjects.

At the same time the pupils of both schools are encouraged to make personal researches, to write essays, to do modelling, collecting, etc., in their leisure time.

The higher the standard the pupil passes into, the more serious and profound becomes the study of his native language, history, biology, physics, chemistry, etc., which subjects are taught by specialists. The study of these subjects is also based upon the labor method. Great care is taken that the labor upon which tuition is based should be productive labor and real, and the pupils should actually participate in the economic life of the country.

Subjects of aesthetic value, such as modelling, singing and music, are of no less importance in the uniform labor school. Particularly great attention is paid to drawing-modelling. At the beginning, drawing is taught according to a method giving wide scope to the child's creative powers; imaginative drawing, memory drawing and so on. Later on the pupils begin to draw didactically selected articles from nature, and at last drawing

branches into drawing and painting. Theory is taught only in the final stage.

Obligatory music courses are introduced in the school. Aesthetic education in general is introduced on such a wide scale that one can expect that complete development of all the senses and of the creative powers of the young Russian generation, which is so necessary for their later development.

The labor principle in school assists the physical development of the children. For the same reason, rythmical gymnastics, individual development of muscles under the supervision of a doctor, and games, have been introduced into the school.

The academic year in the uniform labor school is divided into the winter, middle, and summer terms; during the latter term, work is conducted in the open air.

Only a part of the school day (4 hours in the first grade school, and 5-6 in the second) is devoted to studies according to the program. The rest is partly at the disposal of the pupils who, remaining in school, are allowed to take advantage of all school resources, and partly is devoted to recreation. The school time-table is so arranged as to avoid monotony.

The extremely important principle of the regenerated school is individual tuition. It is an analysis on the part of the teachers of the inclinations and particular traits of character of every pupil so as more completely to satisfy the requirements of each pupil. This is done so as not to hinder the development of particularly gifted pupils.

On the other hand, the important aim of a democratic school is to pay great attention to backward pupils. At every school special classes for all backward pupils with a special course of studies must be introduced.

Finally, the difference between the uniform labor school and the pre-reform school is that the former is a secular school (for the first time the Soviet Government has liberated the school from the influence of the church) and a mixed school for both sexes.

The relation between the pupils and the teachers is one of comradeship. The teacher is not an official, but an elder comrade of the pupil. Obligatory work is introduced into the school and the pupils, together with the teachers, perform various functions on the premises, in the kitchen where breakfasts and dinners are prepared, and so on.

The children take an active part in the life of the school. They are permitted to manage all school affairs and to exercise mutual aid. While preparing to become the citizens of the state, the children get accustomed to be the citizens of their school.

The school autonomy of the pupils can be divided into three parts: firstly, the participation of the pupils in the leading school councils (these councils consist of: *a* all school workers, *b* the representatives of workers residing in the school district (about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the number of school workers), *c* pupils belonging to the groups composed of pupils

from the age of 12, in the same proportion as above, and one representative of the department of the Commissariat of Education at the local Soviet of worker's deputies. Secondly, the autonomy of purely pupils' groups. A class or any other group of pupils is quite autonomous. In view of that a whole series (possible more) of posts duties are introduced. These posts are occupied by pupils temporary, from one day up to two weeks. The children are on duty in turn or according to lot. Thirdly, the pupils are given full scope as regards organization of various societies, permanent and temporary. They organize circles, edit various journals, open clubs, sporting societies, societies for arranging evenings, performances, orchestras and so on.

Huge sums of money are spent on the organization of the new school; during the year 1918 the organization and maintenance of the uniform labor school cost 10,000,000,000 roubles, a sum which was never before spent on education in Russia. The general disorganization inherited by the Soviet Government is keenly felt in the sphere of

education owing to the lack of school books and appliances. In Moscow, Petrograd and the provinces, a series of committees have been set up in whose jurisdiction are all school appliances, and owing to the strenuous efforts of these committees it was possible to get the necessary minimum of school appliances.

A series of pedagogic courses has been arranged, preparing the necessary workers for the new school, who are continually swelling the ranks of the school workers, bringing fresh energy and forces.

Two Supreme Pedagogic Academies exist, which develop various educational problems on a scientific basis, and prepare professors for the pedagogic courses.

Last year, the Commissariat of Education was faced with a task of colossal dimensions: to break the deeply rooted old school and to organize a new school. It was realized owing to very intensive work and now the strengthened uniform labor school is on the path of further progressive work.

Allies of the Second Rate

By BAGHIRA

The "Allies" are simply fleeing from Odessa.

In their stead the scene is occupied by the "Allies of the Russian People." The picture remains the same though.

The "ally" Fed'ka Shkvorin sits in a tea room of the club in company with the darkie zouave. They have been friends. And now comes the time of parting.

The negro is rejoicing.

Shkvorin is mournful.

—We are both black, he says sighing, and we understand each other well. Let us take a drink for that.

They drank. Again and again.

Shkvorin is saddened still more:

—And why do you leave me so? Oh, the white ship on the Black Sea. . . .

But the emotions of a drunkard change quickly.

—Don't be blue—Shkvorin claps the negro on the shoulder—we shan't back down. We will hold the banner high. We will make a pogrom. They won't make out who is a true "ally" and who not. . . . The workmen are chuckling: the Allies lost their game and are making off. N-o-o-o. my darlings, the "Allies" are yet in Odessa. We will show them, this here proletariat. . . . You hanged and I will do the same. What then is an "ally" for?

After a moment's pause:

—Stay here, by jingo. What is the use of your going to your Africa? Barbarism, ignorance. Can you compare Africa to Odessa? Why, there we won't even have enough people to make a pogrom on them. We will make you at once the chief of an armed guard band, and later on you could become a station gendarme—when we win. A car-

eer! . . . Hey, who is there? Start the phonograph! Put on *Bozhe Czarya Khrani*, let the black monkey-face feel. . . .

The negro does not want to hear it:

—France. . . . Africa! . . .

—You—to go to Africa and I should stay in Odessa, surrounded by the Bolsheviks? I should stay alone? Oh, no! . . .

He catches the negro under the arm:

—I shall go with you. A complete evacuation of Odessa by the "Allies." We will make in your country, in Africa, an "Alliance of the Russian people. . . ."

The port of Odessa.

The Allied armies are embarking on transport ships.

Tossing, the negro walks up the trap-ladder.

Fed'ka Shkvorin is following him.

—I am also an "ally." Let me in, too. Away from the Bolsheviks. . . . Let me hide even in Africa.

He is stopped.

The trap-ladder is lifted.

Shkvorin threatens with his fist:

—Curses on you, Allies. I am forsaken by the "Allies!" Perhaps I should, at the end, make a little pogrom and loot what was spared by these Allies?

—*Svobodnaya Rossiya*,
Chicago, December 3, 1919.

Next Week!

Our new volume begins with the new year. Special features of the next issue include 3 letters from Jaques Sadoul, and full-page photographs of Lunacharsky and Zinoviev.

The Black Struggle Against Soviet Russia

ELUCIDATED BY AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS FROM THEIR OWN CAMP

This article can best be understood by rereading the article of the same title in No. 26 of SOVIET RUSSIA.

IN THE supplement to our last Saturday number we published a survey of the underground political organization of Black Russia, "Asbuka"; and the French and White Russian intrigue in South Russia for the restoration of the Tsarist regime. We now continue to publish some letters sent from prominent persons at the Denikin front in South Russia to persons of similar importance on the Kolchak front in the Ural region. The letters were written in April, 1919, at the time when Kolchak with apparent success was pressing towards the Volga. It seems, from the letters, that on the Denikin front all their hopes were placed upon Kolchak and his success—this hope later being routed by his ignominious defeat—and that they considered everything lost in South Russia on account of the rottenness which existed in that region.

The letters also give some startling disclosures of the relation between the Black Russians and the Entente, which they will depend upon only if forced to do so, and which they will rid themselves of at the earliest possible moment. We let the letters speak for themselves.

*The Hopeless Situation on the Denikin Front—
The Allies, Especially the French, are
Severely Criticized*

Yekaterinodar, April 6, 1919.

MY DEAR DMITRI ANTONOVITCH:

Soon General Grishin-Almazoff will leave for Omsk and will bring this letter to you. I write to you as I would write to a friend, without concealing either my joy or my sorrow. Your army, which has penetrated almost to the Volga, gives us assurance that the Bolsheviks will soon be driven out of Russia. Your victory has already begun to ease the situation of our army, which was particularly bad in the fight against the enormous (comparatively speaking, of course) forces of the Bolsheviks. There are about ten or twelve of them against every volunteer in our army. But even this would not have been so important if it had not been for the dissension among the Don troops, of which I already informed you in a previous letter. On account of this

Dissension in the Don Army

the Bolsheviks have pressed forward twenty versts from Bogayevski station towards Novotcherkask. The volunteers, the Kubans, and the Kirgis, fought extraordinarily well, but they are worn out from continuous fighting. There is also unrest in the Caucasus. The Georgian (Grusian) has begun hostilities against us. In spite of this disadvan-

tageous situation, however, we hope for final victory.

In the Don region, which is occupied by the Bolsheviks, the population has begun to revolt and battles have already taken place against the punitive expeditions of the Bolsheviks. The advancement of our troops towards Saratoff have made the chiefs of the Bolsheviks at the front nervous also. Recently we destroyed the Bakhmut detachment of our enemies; six regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry have been broken up by us and brought back to Mariupol. North of Novotcherkask, in the region of Repnay-Kamenskaya station, a heavy blow was given to the 23rd Infantry of the Bolsheviks and the brigade of Komyschins who went over to the Donets. We took forty cannon and one hundred machine guns and a great many prisoners. This is the positive result. The front outside the Donish is good, but

*Conditions Behind the Front are Absolutely
Hopeless*

Rottenness and bureaucracy reign to a still greater degree than under the old regime. It kills and stifles everything. A considerable number of former generals are assembled here, who obstruct the work to an impossible extent. There is not that thing which is most needed, a strong power. A leading and guiding hand is missing, the present policy is unsafe. Grishin may tell you about it himself. It is inconvenient to write it. Envy and covetousness play a big part. Men whom you will remember from the time we were at headquarters are behaving as before. They have not learned anything from the horrible destruction of Russia. R. is considered to be a very poor army commander, and there are reasons for it. The old regime is being established in every sense. Old worn-out parts are being repaired in a hurry and in one way and another old worn-out motives are being supported, which have already outlived their time. They do not concern themselves about anything new, they are even afraid to think of new things. As far as the "heroic Allies" are concerned, only the English have proved themselves faithful up to the present.

The French, those Jewish hordes, have only practiced speculation and in every way hindered the rebuilding of Russia.

The French troop detachments which were in Russia have been entirely scattered.

The shameful flight of the French from Odessa and Sebastopol will be related to you verbally by General Grishin-Almazoff.

When we study carefully the reports of the Bolsheviks about the movements of our troops we find something grandiose in your strategical plans and measures. We presume that your first and

main task will be to occupy the Volga and the towns of Kazan, Samara, and Saratoff. We fear, however, that our army may not remain very long at the Volga. You ought to cross the Volga with all haste and penetrate into the very heart of the Bolsheviks. You will thus facilitate the position of our General Yudenitch and the Polacks. Russia has suffered so much that you do not have to be troubled about the rear. It only needs a strong power, and not, as with us, a playing with phrases.

Politically We Are as Sphinxes

Do we go with the people or against them? Do we fight for the monarchy or for a republic? Will we have a dictatorship or a national assembly? God knows. We are a riddle not only to Russians but also to foreigners, yes, even to ourselves.

I hope you will capture Penza and Saratoff as soon as possible. That will stir up the Dons so that we can go forward with ease, hand in hand with you.

I feel and am deeply assured that the light which will shine over the liberated Russia *will not come from the south but from you in the east*. I know that you do not have such rottenness, bureaucracy, and other plagues of the old regime as we have here. That is your good fortune. Do not take any old men. Let the young forces step forward in the military as well as in the civil spheres. The majority of those with whom I come in contact greet Admiral Kolchak as the coming ruler of Russia, and rely upon him.

The leaders here can never save Russia. Denikin recognizes without doubt the power of Kolchak, but there are powerful natures which are at the same time base and low.

I write to you, dear Dmitri Antonovitch, in secret, and trust that it will be only between us two. Write to me twice a month. Couriers will travel to you. Hoping to see you again, I press your hand. Yours, PRONIN.

* * *

CONDITIONS BACK OF THE FRONT
DESCRIPTION

JOBBER (PROFITEER) MULTIPLY LIKE VERMIN

The City of Yekasar, April 9, 1919.

DEAR COLONEL:

It put gladness in my heart when I received word of your safe arrival and was told of your high promotion, this because of our mutual interest. In regard to the latter, I deem it my duty to inform you of the observations and conclusions I have made lately. But I must add that I have not got absolutely exact information, and that my disappointment over the present situation is to a great extent a personal disappointment.

Our greatest grief is the battle against the Bolsheviks and the Red Army, although not against its root—the Bolshevik ideas—and not even against the plundering which follows Bolshevism as soon as it begins to arise amongst us, and that

to a scarcely less extent than among the Bolsheviks themselves. This takes people away from us, people who before almost knelt before the Volunteer Army and hoped to be released from Bolshevism and to obtain an orderly state power. These people now turn in the opposite direction, and we cannot under any circumstances count upon them as our adherents. One thing has happened that has made it very sad for us—we could not make use of the wealth of support of the public which has fallen to our lot. This has caused hostilities from the side of the Rada. One may be against it in general, but we ought to follow the rule to increase the troops for the struggle. Here in the government they follow the principle of scattering, for the sake of convenience, instead of concentrating. I presume that all this separatism, federalism, and independence which flourishes here is the same disease as Bolshevism, and just as irresistible, once one has swallowed a Bolshevik microbe. But this can be cured through the influence of economic conditions and through giving still stronger ideas as an antidote. They are a very dangerous toy, without doubt, but the children of the present time must tire of them, it seems. It is only because the nurse is too weak. All that remains is to be as careful and sensible a nurse as possible, and force the child to try to help itself by and by. It is necessary to use a sane policy, not one of mere words, without any force behind it. Our prestige disappears at present, day by day. They who would accomplish anything must have behind them more than a strong voice and perplexing phrases. Everything is contrariwise here. This had an especially bad effect on our relation to the Tchetchans at Grosnin. It caused a premature war and our failure, which was later remedied, however. We have to be kind, for the present, at least, until we receive help, much needed troops; but after we have received those, we can demand everything. The different classes of society, even those who could easily work together, work separately. For others than the local population life is a punishment and not a human life. The life of society is quiet, but that does not mean that the people who were awakened by the revolution have stopped thinking now. They either keep quiet or speak secretly.

Nobody is satisfied except the robbers, who multiply like vermin

The people wonder why they did not exist under the time of the Bolsheviks and from where they have come now, and come to the conclusion that the Volunteer Army is not strong enough to restrain them, and for that reason—what follows in the chain of reasoning is dependent upon the temperament of the reasoners. Further, the active struggle against the Bolsheviks is not carried on behind the front any longer, and for this reason they are multiplying again. We have the same situation here as before in Rostoff. But, what is worse for us, we have bigger forces and they

are not being used. No propaganda is carried on, although a board of propaganda has been appointed. No trace of the wonderful constructive work which it still pays to fight for can be noticed. Much, especially much paper, can be found, but there is no real improvement. A realm is not yet discernible, but a special council has been formed for the minds. Unfortunately there is a great lack of statesmen, and there is no experienced organizer.

Everything is as before, "in accordance with the laws and constitutions in force."

All the victims have died, all the blood has been spilled, all efforts have been spent in vain. And it continues like this. It has been forgotten that the war is carried on not only by heroic deeds upon the battlefield, but also through organizing and uniting everybody. Wastefulness is everywhere. Mobilization has failed. People do not come voluntarily; only slight attempts are being made at recruiting them, and punishments are rare. At the same time, one cannot move on the Red streets on account of the big crowd of officers. The many cabarets and entertainments make one think of the revelry during the time of the plague, and if not of the plague, then of the time of typhus epidemics. We have not been able to get rid of that disease in spite of the fact that we long ago appointed a central committee for the struggle against typhus. The sanitary department is on a very low plane, and in spite of the heroic efforts of private persons, we die. . . . Well, this is only in passing. Discipline has weakened among the people and also morale, and on account of this a panic is easy to produce. Power is lacking. In one word, everything is in a state of decomposition here, and we endure it only because of the heroism at the front (with all its faults), and the laziness of the masses.

Our Relation to the Allies

has seen two phases: first, when the Allies promised everything as soon as they could send it (exactly like the Nekrasov gentleman), and, second, when we received only what they chose to give. It has been good to get even that, however, although we had to pay a high price for it. We do not think of emancipation from the Allies, though it is possible. We save pennies and spend millions—and time. Our relation to the foreign people in Russia is as if we had never had a revolution. Unnecessary discords occur. I received the regiment of Prince Avaloff-Grusin yesterday. He said we had acted in such a way in the Trans-Caucasus that we will lose it. This happens in spite of the fact that all conditions there are favorable to us. Moral support and help was requested by the Adsyaris, but without any result. The English informed us that they had given the Georgians orders to begin to co-operate with us, but so far the Georgians have been attacking us around Sotsyini and have driven us to the opposite shore of the river Mzimta. Avaloff has not lost connection with Georgia, and I be-

lieve he can be relied upon when he says that they will not be able to escape Bolshevism as long as the matters are being attended to as they are now, and that we will finally lose all of the Trans-Caucasus. And then our military situation! Fortunes change at the front and defeats bring about a loss of soldiers. There is not enough reinforcement. There are reserves, but no trained and disciplined troops. We must admit that the war has demoralized the soldiers. They are constantly making mistakes which have been impossible to retrieve, organization and battle, fire and water, have been mixed together, as at Novocherkassk, as at Ekaterinodar. God forbid that it be repeated in Siberia also. In addition to these radical faults there are others, also, such as the fact that we have learned nothing. We have masses of organizations behind the front and

Lack of military talent at the front.

According to hearsay there are 700 men in the staff at Crim, and as many at the front. Moreover, everybody wants to be a general, to get away from actual hardships. The afflux of newly trained regiments and detachments of seventy men have been reduced somewhat. The equipment is improving, but it is impossible to work according to the English system. Once more I state that it is necessary for our dignity that we free ourselves from the Entente. Nobody here pays any attention to this, however.

May God permit that Kolchak will receive admittance to the factories on the banks of the Volga, otherwise we will be solely dependent upon the Allies. It is necessary to make plans at present for the starting of factories and the use of supplies. Besides, Sergei Sergeivitch will save a lot from the Don district. That district is in need of organization, especially purified by cane and death sentences, which ought to be openly proclaimed and not concealed. As I said before, the morale has fallen very low, and we have been infected very widely in the struggle against the Reds. This is partly due to the insufficient protection of the officers, but mostly it rests with the demoralization. There is a scarcity of officers, but a still greater lack of people with ideas. They are all only an excited crowd, and the result is that there is no material left for a regular reconstruction. There is only drunkenness and hooliganism. The soldiers consist mostly of Cossacks. In my opinion there is no real understanding between the soldiers and the officers. The influence of the officers upon the soldiers is very weak. There is no discipline among the men. Officers and men alike have broken laws. There is no regard for law.

The Law Department and the Council of Justice do still exist, however, and also the Court Martials.

It seems to me that we use our forces without results, that we scatter our efforts when we ought to concentrate on the single aim—to obtain connections with Siberia at once.

The spirit is almost hopeless, however, not at the front, but behind it, where victory or defeat

is decided. Only one hope is left, to get connections with Siberia as soon as possible. Perhaps a sound policy would come from there, and not only men—a policy which would enable us to collect the people. We need a strong hand, something that is missing here, and not only a strong one, but a single one. It should not be allowed that men who have done nothing should come into power. They ought to be put in the position of subjects now, and should not be considered at the elections. We must build upon the majority of the people, and if we cannot make life easy for all, we ought to make it equally hard for everyone—the same for everyone. There are plenty of cackling geese already. A regular organization behind the front is necessary.

We need not only the stock, but also the nagaiika of Peter the Great.

We need the improvement of society, even if it has to come through penal servitude.

I send you my warmest regards.

Yours sincerely, N. SCHOKOL.

P. S.—We are in ecstasy over General Hanzhin here. He would be fit for the chief of staff of Denikin.

—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*,
Stockholm, Oct. 11, 1919.

Denikin and Company

M. A. F. Hérold, Vice-President of the League for the Rights of Man, recently contributed to the *Cri du Nord* an article in which, protesting vigorously against the Russian policy of the Entente, he recalled the following fact, which we are tempted to reprint by reason of the authority which is rightly attached to any testimony of M. Hérold.

He confirms numerous facts of similar nature which have come to our knowledge within the last few months.

On August 24th, three officers were passing through an Odessa street. They catch sight of a cab standing before a house and are about to take it. The cabby tells them that it is not free, that he is waiting for a Commissaire. The officers immediately enter the house, they find there M. Bernfeld, Municipal Councillor of Odessa, and arrest him. M. Bernfeld protests in vain that he has never sat with the People's Commissaires, that he has never been a Bolshevik; the officers will not release him. M. Bernfeld asks to be taken to the Municipal Council: he will there easily prove his identity. The officers still refuse. They arrive at the station. There, a lawyer of Mr. Bernfeld's acquaintance catches sight of him: he intercedes in his favor; he says that M. Bernfeld is indeed a municipal councillor; that he has never been a Bolshevik Commissaire; but the officers will not listen; they order the lawyer not to bother them any more, and proceed to beat their prisoner.

The Municipal Council learns of the arrest of M. Bernfeld; it sends a delegation to free him. But the delegation arrives too late. M. Bernfeld was found with his head smashed. He had been struck by several bullets. His shoes, his watch, and his portfolio had been stolen.

If Lenin's adherents should commit so cowardly an assassination we should not cease to hear of it. But M. Bernfeld's assassins are officers serving in Denikin's army and therefore there is silence.

Such are the officers of the adventurer Denikin, who, together with the French officers in Odessa,

in March 1919, committed the cowardly assassination of the French teacher Jeanne Labourbe.

And as we write the name of this woman, let us ask M. Pichon when he will make up his mind to answer the written question which our comrade Bracke put to him:

"Is it true," asks Bracke, "that French officers took part in the assassination of Jeanne Labourbe, a teacher of French birth?"

That was six weeks ago. Pichon has not answered.

L'Humanité, November 3d.

Men Sentenced to Death in the Orient

A Petition to the League for the Rights of Man

In the month of March, 1919, the Sixth Battery of the Nineteenth Artillery was in Roumania. After being sent to Odessa, the Battery was ordered, on April 5, to take part in the combat against the Bolsheviks. The artillery men—who had received from their officers the assurance that they would be employed for police duty only—protested to the commandant of the group. After the colonel had given them orders to return to their pieces, they obeyed and executed the firing which they were commanded to do.

Eleven days later, without any further incident having intervened, twenty-one gunners of the Battery were sent to Constantinople, where, at the end of two months, seven of them were placed before a court-martial. Two of them were acquitted, two sentenced to five years of hard labor, and the other three, Le Scan, Minet, and Lafargue, were sentenced to death for insubordination.

All three had received citations for wounds and had no previous police records, either civil or military. In a letter to the League for the Rights of Man they complained that they were condemned on the basis of false testimony, without having received permission to defend themselves.

The League for the Rights of Man has asked the minister to inaugurate an inquiry into the matter.

—*Le Populaire*, December 1.

Bound Volumes of "Soviet Russia" for 1919

At the end of December, after No. 30 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.

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LIES ABOUT RUSSIA DENIED BY A DANISH PHYSICIAN

A FEW days ago a very interesting lecture was given at Copenhagen, in the lecture hall of the Danish newspaper *Politiken*, about "The Russia of the Bolsheviks." The speaker was the leader of a Danish Red Cross expedition to Russia, Dr. Martiny.

The expedition had been in Russia for a long time, having had its headquarters at Petrograd and Moscow, with free access to the various fronts, where they conducted their work.

On account of the present attitude of the bourgeois press and the Copenhagen *Socialdemokraten* towards the Bolsheviks, to whom they have attributed the most horrible crimes, not even hesitating to assert that the Bolsheviks had fallen back to cannibalism and were devouring their enemies as they killed them, and describing conditions in Russia as being completely chaotic, the bourgeoisie flocked to this meeting to get a verbal confirmation of these stories from an eye-witness.

The tickets to the first lecture were sold so promptly and there was such a demand for them that another lecture had to be arranged.

But the poor Danish bourgeoisie who had gladly paid 1.25 crowns to hear about the bloody atrocities and the rapidly approaching bankruptcy of the Bolsheviks were painfully deceived.

"That which made the deepest impression on me," said the young doctor, who evidently, unlike other travelers in Russia of the bourgeois class, had endeavored to get an actual insight into affairs, "is the strict order and organization which has taken the place of the chaos which prevailed during the Kerensky period. One can now walk the streets in complete safety, even late at night."

He reports that extraordinary consideration was shown by the government towards foreigners. This was true to the degree that toleration was even shown to the false "protectors" of private property. (Foreigners were named as "owners" of property, and then this property was not appropriated by the government.)

The Red Cross had the full support and co-operation of the government at all times.

There had been, the lecturer said, periods of terror, but they were induced by the conspiracies and counter-revolutionary activities. The police, who were admirably organized in Moscow, had during those periods formidable power, in that they could execute sentences on the spot, and during such times it naturally happened that a few innocent persons suffered also. But during quiet times hardly any executions were carried out, and the court proceedings were absolutely satisfactory and just to those accused.

It was Lenin, Trotsky, and Chicherin who held back the terrorists at all times. Dr. Martiny admitted, besides, that the bourgeois element, especially former officers, had formed themselves into robber bands who plundered at every opportunity. Towards these bands he admitted the justice of no pardons being given.

"I must regret," he said further, "that the papers of Western Europe describe the Bolsheviks so one-sidedly and so untruthfully. As a Red Cross expedition we declare that we never had a single substantiated instance of a Bolshevik torturing any prisoner. On the other hand, there were many examples of the White Guard torturing their prisoners; yes, even the French troops at Odessa tried to force their prisoners to confess by torture—usually by driving splinters of wood under their nails."

As Dr. Martiny belongs to the bourgeois class, he quite naturally finished his lecture by wishing that the Bolsheviks may be crushed; but he said: "I tremble at what will happen thereafter. The bourgeois class in Russia has not a trace of organization or discipline. It has not even been able to organize an aviation system outside Russia, still less a counter-revolution in Russia itself. If the strong orderly hand of the Bolsheviks disappears, I see everything dissolved into anarchy and disorder."

I was interested in noting the effect of the lecture upon the audience. Whispered remarks could be heard here and there: "Such an idiot. He does not know what he is talking about." "What does he know about the matter? He is probably bought by Lenin." One man got up ostentatiously and left the room, asking noisily for his overcoat. Then another well-to-do bourgeois grabbed his plump wife and left the place quietly, but with eyes flashing with rage. A short time later there was a general departure of stock brokers and other speculators, who could not bear to hear how the Soviet government fought exploitation and speculation. The majority of the audience remained, however, to the end of the lecture, though anger and disappointment could be seen in their faces, and the lecturer was met with icy silence. Only a small group of Danish Communists applauded rapturously in their appreciation of the truth.

Folkets Dagblad Politiken,

Oct. 13, 1919.

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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An Interview with Lenin

(Reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor*, December 17th.)

A LITTLE over two months ago, Mr. Isaac McBride came out of Soviet Russia, or, to be precise, on October 10. Before leaving Moscow for Petrograd, in the latter part of September, he went to the Kremlin to interview Nicholas Lenin, the Premier of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. He had secured the necessary papers to admit him to the Kremlin inclosure which is guarded, naturally, as the seat of the executive government. He was to meet Mr. Lenin at 3 p. m., and he had been informed by the Foreign Office that the Premier was a busy man and that if there were any specific questions to put to him it would be better to write them out beforehand, in order to cover as much ground as possible during the fifteen minutes' time which had been allotted for the interview. However, the conversation proved of such interest, certainly to Mr. McBride, and presumably to Mr. Lenin, that the time was extended to one hour and twenty minutes.

"I approached the Kremlin inclosure," says Mr. McBride. "It was guarded by two Russian soldiers who inspected my pass, and proceeded to a small frame office beyond the bridge, where a civilian grants passes to enter the Kremlin buildings and return to the outside. It has been said many times that Mr. Lenin is guarded by Chinese soldiers. It is true that he is well guarded, for while I looked very carefully for Chinese soldiers, I found none inside the Kremlin walls. In fact, I could find none in all Moscow and Petrograd.

In Lenin's Office

"I mounted the hills and walked toward the building where Mr. Lenin lives and has his office. I was met at the outer door by two more soldiers, young Russians. My pass was again inspected and I was directed up a long staircase, at the top of which were two more Russian soldiers. I passed down a long corridor and ap-

proached a door in front of which another Russian soldier was sitting. My pass was again examined, and I was told to enter the room.

"In this room many clerks were at work, both men and women. Everybody was busy over a desk or typewriter, and there was a general atmosphere of energy and accomplishment. I was asked to go into the next room (Russian rooms are en suite), and found myself in the presence of Mr. Lenin's secretary, who informed me that 'Comrade Lenin will be at liberty in a few minutes.' I looked at the clock on the wall. It still lacked five minutes of three. I sat down, and one of the clerks handed me a copy of the *Times* of London."

While reading an editorial, Mr. McBride was addressed by the secretary, who told him to go into the next room. His back was toward the door of this room, and as he turned, the door opened and Mr. Lenin stood there, smiling.

"It was then twelve minutes past three," says Mr. McBride, "and the first words he uttered were, 'I am glad to meet you, and I want to apologize for keeping you waiting.'"

Lenin Described

"Mr. Lenin is a man of middle height, close to fifty years of age. He is well proportioned and very active, physically, in spite of the fact that he carries in his body two bullets fired at him one year ago last August. His head is rather large, massive in outline, and is set close to his shoulders. The forehead is broad and high, the mouth large, the eyes wide apart, and there appears in them at times a very infectious twinkle. His hair, pointed beard, and mustache, have a brown tinge.

"In conversation his eyes never leave those of the person to whom he is speaking. In replying to questions he does not hesitate, but goes straight to the point. He pushed a chair over near his

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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.

desk for me, and turned his own chair in my direction. After we had been talking for some time about conditions throughout the world, he said that he would be glad to answer any questions.

Not a Minority Dictatorship

"On being informed that newspapers, periodicals, and magazines in the various countries had been stating for the past twenty-two months that Soviet Russia was a dictatorship of a small minority, led by himself and Mr. Trotzky, Mr. Lenin replied: 'That, of course, is not true! Let those who believe that silly tale come here and mingle with the rank and file and learn the truth. The vast majority of industrial workers, and at least one-half of the articulate peasantry are for Soviet rule and are defending it.' He continued, 'You say you have been along the western front. You admit that you have been allowed to mingle with the soldiers of Soviet Russia; that you have been unhampered, as a journalist, in making your investigation. You have also visited factories and workshops. You have had a very good opportunity to understand the temper of the rank and file. You have seen thousands of men living from day to day on black bread and tea. You have probably seen more suffering in Soviet Russia than you had ever deemed possible, and all this because of the unjust war being made upon us, including the economic blockade, in all of which your own country is playing a large part. Now I ask what is your opinion about this being a dictatorship of the minority?'"

"In answer to the question: 'What have you to say at this time about peace and foreign concessions?' Mr. Lenin said, 'I am often asked whether those American opponents of the war against Russia—as in the first place bourgeois—are right, who expect from us, after peace is concluded, not only resumption of trade relations but also the possibility of securing concessions in Russia. I repeat once more that they are right. A durable peace would be such a relief to the toiling masses of Russia that these masses would undoubtedly agree to certain concessions being granted. The granting of concessions under reasonable terms is also desirable for us, as one of the means of attracting into Russia the technical help of the countries which are more advanced in this respect, during the co-existence side by side of Socialist and capitalist states.'

Predicts That Soviets Will Win

"Continuing, he said: 'As for the Soviet power, it has become familiar to the minds and hearts of the laboring masses of the whole world which clearly grasped its meaning. Everywhere the laboring masses—in spite of the influence of the old leaders with their chauvinism and opportunism which permeates them through and through—became aware of the rottenness of the bourgeois parliaments and of the necessity of the Soviet power, the power of the toiling masses, the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the sake of the emancipation of humanity from the yoke of

Capital. And the Soviet power will win in the whole world, however furiously, however frantically, the bourgeoisie of all countries may rage and storm.

"The bourgeoisie inundates Russia with war, and by inciting against us the counter-revolutionaries, those who wish the yoke of Capital to be restored. The bourgeoisie inflicts upon the working masses of Russia unprecedented sufferings, through the blockade, and through their help given to the counter-revolutionaries, but we have already defeated Koltchak and we are carrying on the war against Denikin with the firm assurance of our coming victory.'

"How simple and plain he was," Mr. McBride states. "He wore workman's shoes, a frayed pair of trousers, a soft shirt with a black four-in-hand tie, and a cheap office coat. The man works from fifteen to eighteen hours a day, receiving reports and keeping in touch with the situation over the whole country of Russia; attending committee meetings, delivering lectures, ready to give anyone the benefit of his knowledge, no matter who it may be. He lives with his wife in the same building where he has his office, in two modestly furnished rooms."

Don Cossacks Refuse to Fight Against the Soviet Army

The Warsaw *Lebens-Fragen* of November 19 contains the following dispatch from Vienna:

"A dispatch of the 'Correspondenz Bureau' from Moscow, dated November 14, says: It is reported from Rostov that the Don Cossacks sent a note to the Soviet troops, proposing an immediate armistice."

Two Billiards for Preparatory School Training

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

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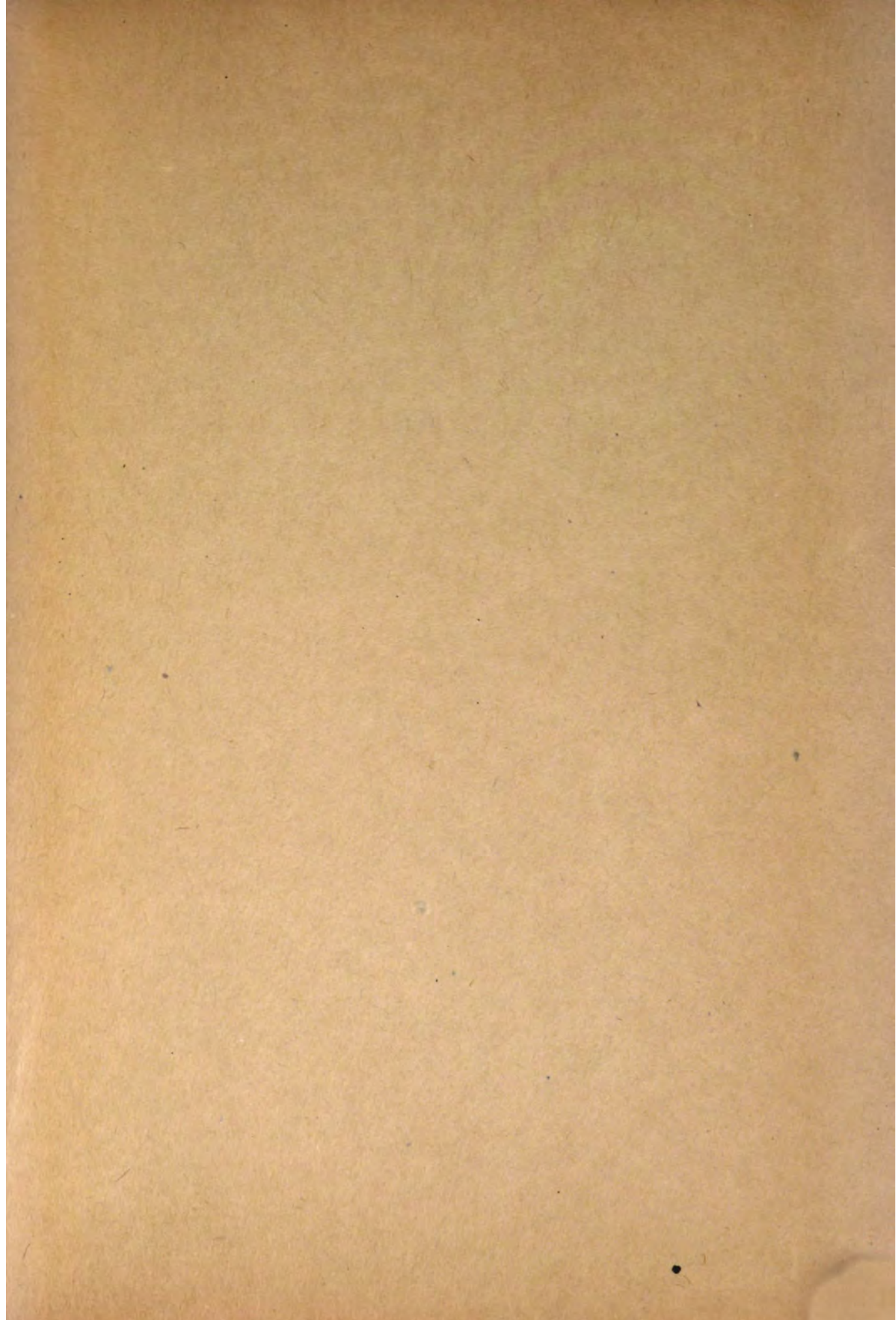
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