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The Organization of the Labor Market in Russia

THE history of the labor exchanges and the organization of the labor market in Russia begins with the March Revolution. The feeble attempts of the public organs (the Zemstvos and the cities), in pre-revolutionary times, to create the semblance of such an organization, cannot be taken into account, as they produced no results whatever. As there was a complete absence of any regulating organization, anarchy ruled in the labor market, a condition under which the workers as well as the national economy suffered and which benefited only the manufacturers as the unemployment produced by this anarchy made it possible for the contractor to dictate any terms that he pleased.

The March Revolution of 1917 also did not attack the problem of the organization of the labor market with determination. The newly formed Coalition Government concerned itself just as little about the needs of the broad masses of the people as the government which had just been overthrown. It therefore happened, that it was only in August, 1917, that the first law dealing with the Labor Exchanges appeared and that at the outbreak of the November Revolution, in the whole enormous country, with its hundreds of large cities, there existed only about fifteen or twenty labor exchanges. The law was not adapted to the situation. According to this law, labor exchanges were opened in cities of not less than 50,000 inhabitants. The direction of the exchanges was assigned to committees made up in equal parts of representatives of the employers and employes, with a neutral chairman at the head. In view of the small number of labor exchanges, it can be said positively that the problem of the organization of the labor market was not solved by this law in the least. The working-class disregarded

the law entirely. The unions simply ignored it, they did not send any representatives to the bipartisan committees, did not take the least part in organizing a network of labor exchanges, etc. This was the state of things when the November revolution broke out. The November revolution placed the government of the Workers' and Peasants' before unprecedented and difficult tasks: millions of workers, who became unemployed when war industries and the army were demobilized, had to receive employment or in some way be protected from poverty and degeneration. For this work a steady and well-functioning apparatus for the registering and distribution of the unemployed was necessary. On January 31, 1918, the Workers' and Peasants' Government issued its first law dealing with labor exchanges. According to this law, employers were excluded from the administration of the exchanges; it also decreed that workers and clerks could be employed only through the exchanges. The object of this decree was, on the one hand, to protect the workers from being exploited by the private employment bureaus, and on the other hand, to get control of the labor market. But its chief provision was the obligation to establish labor exchanges in places with 20,000 inhabitants, that is, to make an extension of the net of labor exchanges possible.

The task was to establish as large a number of labor exchanges as possible and to reorganize those which had been inherited from the old Labor Ministry. In this respect an important work was indeed accomplished. We will let the facts speak for themselves. In November, 1917, when the government came into the hands of the workers, there were about twenty-seven exchanges in existence; in January, 1918, their number had already almost doubled to fifty. And as time went on,

the activity for furthering the establishment of organs for the distribution of the unemployed became more and more feverish. The activities of these labor exchanges consisted chiefly in the registration of the unemployed, in obtaining work for the unemployed, and in satisfying the demand for labor. The statistics obtained by going over the figures of seventy-two exchanges for the time from January until April, 1918, gives the following picture of the general situation at the time: in all groups of production there were 342,448 applications for employment; there were 109,582 cases in which employment was offered, 85,782 unemployed obtained employment, of which 8,324 took work which was not in their own specialty. The percentage of the demand to the supply was thirty-two per cent, that is, for every hundred unemployed workers, thirty-two received employment. This characterizes the depressed condition of the labor market, which corresponded to the period of acute demobilization at the beginning of the year 1918, when as a consequence of the closing of a whole series of enterprises and the transition of part of them into production for peace, enormous masses of workers remained without work.

However that may be, we may say that the Soviet Government quickly passed through the initial stages of this work. Already at the beginning of 1918 it facilitated in every way the establishment of organs for the registration of the unemployed: in registering them it found also the most suitable means for the overcoming of unemployment. The larger part of the workers (seventy-eight per cent) who received no employment, began to be paid allowances for unemployment. This period in the activity of the labor exchanges gave rise to those funds for unemployment which have played such an important role in our struggle against unemployment, as the attempt to organize emergency works and other measures could not exercise any genuine influence in modifying the acute period of unemployment which the country went through at the beginning of 1918.

The organization of the labor market which was accomplished during this first period took definite shape, on an all-Russian scale, at the Second All-Russian Congress of the Commissars of Labor, the Insurance Organizations and the Labor Exchanges. At this Congress, the fundamental rules for the new organization of the labor exchanges which had been drawn up in Petrograd, and which had found their first practical expression at the Congress of the Moscow department, were confirmed. At this Congress, a universal procedure, valid for the entire Republic, and which had been elaborated from the statistics of the labor market of the department of Moscow, was adopted. And at this Congress, firm connections were also made with all the cities and towns of the provinces, and the position which the workers took as regards the organization of the labor market in all Russia, was made clear. And finally the Congress gave the first genuine impulse to the attack on the

problem of the real apportionment of labor power in the Republic. Only after this Second All-Russian Congress was the practical execution of the exchange of the superfluous labor hands, which had been discussed at the Congress, carried out. Since this time, a continually growing, important work of organization has been accomplished.

Let us present here only the most striking facts from these two years of labor exchange construction. The Section for Labor Market of the People's Commissariat for Labor during this period of time has written and distributed about fifty announcements and instructions. In these announcements numberless aspects and phases of the general organization of the labor market have been thoroughly discussed and rules for the activity of the Sections for the Distribution of Labor (the former labor exchanges) have been laid down. And besides, in the legislative field, some of the decrees and statutes written by the section have been published.

All this important work, which in a certain measure is equivalent to the creation of a new labor legislation in the field of the organizing of the labor market, has not been accomplished by expert educated lawyers, but by the responsible officials who are employed in the Section for the Labor Market. Out of all this formal, legislative work, the new law of November 1, 1918, dealing with the Section for the Distribution of Labor power must be considered more closely.

In the first place, we must point to the actual establishment of the unity of all organs for the organization of the labor market, which has been finally accomplished by this law. This unity has been achieved by the complete amalgamation of this branch of the union production-organizations of the workers, with the general government organs by means of the collegium of the central and local apparatus, which is made up of the organizations of production of the workers and the clerical workers. Even in the old labor exchanges, the basic principle was to concentrate the entire demand and supply of labor in the centralized labor exchanges of the workers. We have gradually brought about the creation of such an organ. When the labor exchange law of January 31 appeared, one of its chief functions was to point out the necessity of eliminating the employment bureaus as well as labor exchanges and employment agencies belonging to the separate unions. As regards the former, the Section for Labor Market had very little trouble because of the law making them legally accessible. But it was otherwise with the abrogation of the labor exchanges and the employment bureaus which belonged to the unions. The workers, during the obstinate struggle fought out during the revolution of 1905, had won the right to establish these exchanges and agencies. After the March revolution, these agencies developed quickly, for the government labor exchanges came into existence very slowly, and furthermore they were composed equally of employers and of employes, and it can be well understood that they

aroused the mistrust of the class organizations of the workers. This lack of confidence was transferred to the new labor exchanges after the November revolution. In the meantime, we have succeeded, by obstinate work and by the gradual transference of the entire employment business into the hands of the organized unionized workers' movement, in gradually breaking through the ice of this mistrust. At the head of the local labor exchanges there were representatives of the unions, and in this manner, the unions were enabled painlessly to transfer their exchanges and employment bureaus to the government. In practice, this took place either by means of their complete amalgamation with the general workers' labor exchanges, or by means of the establishment of special production-union sections. This process of the abrogating of the individual labor exchanges and employment bureaus belonging to the unions, was completed by consolidating the labor exchanges and employment bureaus of the railroad workers with the Section for the Distribution of Labor. The decree of November 17 was issued for this reason. In this respect, a considerable work has been accomplished, the gradual consolidation of all the individual agencies for the registering of unemployment into one central agency. This central agency has, in the future, only to work on in the direction of an intensification of its activities in registering and actually distributing labor. One of the organizing measures which simplified the carrying out of this work, was to extend the system as was decreed by the law of November 1, 1918. Contrary to the law passed by the Coalition Government dealing with the labor exchanges, which maintained that the establishment of labor exchanges was necessary only in towns of not less than 50,000 inhabitants, the first labor exchange law passed by the Soviet Government, January 31, 1918, reduced this number to 20,000. In view of the slight density of the working population and in view of the fact that ever larger circles of the working masses must be included, the new law has made another step forward and has reduced this number to 10,000 inhabitants. Besides this, the opening of sections or sub-sections in towns of less than 10,000 was made possible where the circumstances permitted. As a result, on the first anniversary of the November revolution, November 1, 1918, the apparatus for the registering and the distribution of labor displayed a really imposing, widely ramified net of agencies.

The activity of the apparatus for the registration and distribution of unemployed kept on broadening. According to reports which deal only with 203 sections, over one and a half million unemployed, almost one million positions, and three-quarters of a million of references, were handled by the organized apparatus. These figures speak for themselves and can stand comparison with every labor exchange apparatus in Western Europe and America. But now we must also consider the exchange of the superfluous labor power.

Already at the very beginning of an extended

activity the necessity of an exact organization became apparent, before the accomplishment of an exchange of the superfluous labor hands could be approached. This plan of organization was worked out after the second Congress and was as follows: The entire territory of the Republic was divided into a definite number of provinces for the exchange of labor, in accordance with the number of labor exchanges, and the provinces were again divided into districts for labor exchange, depending on the economic and geographical relations of the districts in question and on the means of transportation. The local labor exchange periodically informs its district exchange of any superfluity of demand or supply. The district exchange distributes this surplus in its district, and sends that which it is not able to distribute on to the provincial exchange; this last distributes all that it is able and hands the demand for labor which it cannot satisfy to the Central Sub-Section for Exchange which is a part of the Labor Market Section.

The last Congress of the Labor Sections which took place in Moscow in January, 1919, did nothing in regard to the organization of the Labor Market but develop further the provisions of the regulation of November 1. An amendment to this regulation was adopted which found its final expression in the order of the Council of People's Commissars on May 3, dealing with the organs for the registering and distribution of labor. Aside from laying down the basic principles more firmly, (particularly in the sense of dividing labor into economic districts), the changes made by this order consisted chiefly in extending the activities of these organs in the form already assumed. To the central apparatus "the practical realization, by means of its organs, of the registering, the distribution and re-distribution of the unemployed, as well as of the workers employed in all branches of industry on an all-Russian scale" was transferred. The local and district exchanges, for their part, aside from their general activity in registering the unemployed and in satisfying the demand for workers "shall register all those who are working for wages," "all those unemployed who are not seeking employment," as well as "all citizens, who are not doing work useful to the community and who are subject to the obligation to work."

What form the activity of the section for the registration and distribution of labor took in the year 1919, is shown by the following picture of the labor market in the months of January to September, 1919, according to the reports from 271 sub-sections for the registration and distribution of labor:

Applications for Employment	1,080,997
Help Wanted	1,202,196
Assignments	862,682
Of Which There Were Accepted.....	765,228

For every 100 unemployed there were:

Positions	111.2
Assignments to Positions	79.8
Of Which There Were Accepted	70.8

For every 100 positions there were:

Assignments	71.8
Accepted	63.7
For every 100 assignments there were accepted	88.7

Aside from the extensive range of general activity, this table shows how well adapted the apparatus is for the accomplishment of the tasks which arise in supplying the national economy with labor. With such a lack of working hands as exists in our country, the table proves that our organs already embrace a wide field of activity. This field is being constantly extended. The apparatus itself will in the future be better adapted to the newly-arising tasks.

At present, until the Republic is re-divided into economic districts, the organization system is based on the generally current system of the local apparatus and possesses sub-organs in the form of agencies, corresponding points or sections, which are connected with the central apparatus by means of the government centrals, which central apparatus directs the entire system through the intermediation of these government centrals. The whole system of the organs for the registering and distribution of labor in the governments, including the newly liberated districts in the Urals and in Siberia, comprised on November 1, 1919, altogether 320 sub-sections and 280 branches in 39 provinces.

In the organizing of the labor market the Soviet Government, consequently, in the course of its revolutionary construction, has passed through a great evolution. From the bourgeois employment bureaus—the labor exchanges in the Coalition period of the Revolution—the government passed gradually, by way of the purely workers' employment bureaus (Decree of January 31, 1918), to organs for the distribution of labor power.

This conditions was fixed for the first time by the decree of November 1, 1918, but since that time also further steps have been taken for the extension and intensification of the work. And if the legal order of January 31, 1918, only changed the forms of the organs, but allowed the essence of their function to remain that of an organized contract for the occupation of the workers, the legal order of November 1, 1918, signified a step forward in that it assigned to the Sections for the Distribution of Labor, the task of registering the

workers who are employed for wages. This task, however, can only be realized after exhaustive preparatory work. This preparatory work is, at present, almost completed, and the new amendment to the order dealing with the organs for the registering and distribution of labor, makes it clear that the government apparatus for the registration and distribution of labor is to have as its function not only the registration and distribution of the unemployed, but also the registering of the workers engaged in production, that it not only must register the unemployed who are seeking employment, but also those who are not seeking any work, as well as all citizens who are eligible for work, but are not busied with any work useful to the community.

It must be taken into consideration that we have accomplished this whole work of the construction of the national economy under unprecedented difficulties, without being prepared in any way and without any preparatory steps in this field. The registration of labor could be made easier in capitalistic countries because of the existence of more or less regulated industrial statistics, but we are compelled to begin from the beginning, we must create these statistics before we proceed to the registration. So although we had already in the order of a year ago, November 1, 1918, announced the transition to the registration of the occupied labor hands, we were, nevertheless, compelled to refrain from taking practical measures in this direction so long as we had not finished the preliminary work necessary for the regulation of the industrial statistics. In the new decree dealing with the organs for the registration and distribution of labor, May 3, 1919, the function of registering of the occupied working hands is treated more concretely. But we are now in a position to formulated concrete provisions for the carrying out of this registration. At the same time that we are approaching the solution of the problem of the registration of the occupied workers, we approach the carrying out of a number of measures which have for their object the providing of our national economy with labor. In this place belong the problems of mobilizing the workers, the registering of the entire unemployed labor forces on hand (mobilizing the non-working elements) etc.

The Polish Attack and England's Raw Materials

[The following article will be better understood if it is recalled that it was written about the time of the Polish advance in May, 1920.]

FROM London the Berlin *Rote Fahne* has received the following communication:

Anyone who has studied the labor movement in England during the past few weeks will have observed that the most intense question of the day is not only that of the rise in wages, but of the fall in prices. From all parts of England resolutions are addressed to the government by local groups

of labor parties, unanimously demanding immediate steps for a reduction in prices. Quite evidently a realization is beginning to grow within the ranks of the workers that the continuous increase in wages will never mean anything but the tugging on an endless chain, until the day when prices and profits of private capitalists are regulated. However, the English Government pro-

ceeds in an exactly opposite direction. The control exercised by the state over the prices and distribution of various foodstuffs is to be dropped in the course of the summer and, according to a statement recently made in the Lower House by Sir Robert Horne, the Minister of Labor, "the time has come when permission may again be granted to owners of coal mines to run their business independently."

It thus becomes clear that the representatives of the financial interests, standing behind the British world domain, are resorting to energetic measures to rid themselves of even a trace of public control over their operations in the world market. The critical financial condition of the French bourgeoisie has caused the latter to become at this moment nothing more than an economic appendix to London and New York, and while the French militarists are permitted a certain freedom in their activities in middle European matters, it may be taken for granted that they have ceased to play their role as a factor in world politics. At present the opponents in the battle raging in the capitalistic world are the trusts of Wall Street and the syndicates of London. British high finance has set itself the task of exercising unlimited control over raw materials in demand the world over, in order that it may successfully meet American competition and bring down prices in the English markets. For if a reduction in prices is not effected through large imports of cheap food supplies and fuel, the pressure of the English proletariat will presently reach a point where some form of state control over the operations of the trusts would be unavoidable.

Now the situation is this: at the moment the only necessities which could be brought into the local market cheaply are to be found in half-developed regions, where the proletariat lives under partly feudalistic, partly slave-like conditions, and where the cost of production may be reduced to a minimum. These regions are situated chiefly on the gateway between Europe and Asia—on the Russian plains and in various parts of the middle East, in Mesopotamia and in Persia. The importance of these regions for British financial interests is enhanced by the circumstance that if they do not soon pass under the control of London, they will no doubt come under that of American trusts. Thus we have the picture of three world powers at this moment, struggling on the threshold between Europe and Asia for the control of the raw materials in these regions—the financial capitalism of Great Britain, the American trusts and the Proletarian Republic of Russia, which latter desires these raw materials for the reconstruction of its industries on a communistic basis.

The offensive against the Russian Red Army, undertaken by the Polish bourgeoisie under the auspices of the British Ministry of War, is quite evidently the work of those financial interests in London whose mouthpiece is Winston Churchill. It differs from the offensive of Denikin and Kol-

chak against Soviet Russia only insofar as it does not, according to present appearances, seem to plan a blow against the heart of the Russian Workmen's Republic by means of the occupation of Moscow and Petrograd and the reestablishment of a great Russian czardom. The policy is evidently the same as that pursued by the German General Staff in the East after Brest-Litovsk and which aimed to isolate the industrial region of central Russia and to cut them off from the agricultural, coal, and oil districts in the southern and southeastern borderlands. The mere occupation of these districts by the Polish hirelings of the London banks has a twofold effect: first, it enlarges the territory wherein these banks may carry on their operations for the acquisition of raw materials and fuel, and thus participate in the efforts to bring down prices in England; and second, it makes the Soviet Republic economically dependent for its chief raw materials upon the good graces of the London financiers, without causing the latter any of the expenditures which a military expedition would entail.

It is a question if, in view of the difficulties of gathering and of transportation in this part of Russia, it will be possible for any length of time to bring large quantities of grain into the English market. On the other hand, Northern Caucasia is said to have one and one-half billion poods of grain, the reserve supply of several years' harvests, ready for export to Western Europe. Before the revolution seventy per cent of the capital invested in coal mines in the Donets basin was in the hands of French and Belgian banks. There is some foundation for the belief that a short time ago a part of this investment was taken over by a large English mining syndicate headed by Mr. Urquhart, as equivalent of English loans to France during the war as well as of financial concessions made to the French Government since the signing of the treaty of peace. This syndicate of Mr. Urquhart was one of the most influential English factors in the allied intervention in Russia. His syndicate owned the copper and iron mines of Bogoslov and Troitsky in the Ural and West Siberia, and was the main force behind Kolchak's great offensive in the spring of 1919.

But just now the London financial capitalist is not so much interested in coal, copper, and iron as he is in oil. It is even now the opinion of experts in the British admiralty that oil will in the future be the chief driving power in the navy, and this opinion seems to be shared by the English business world, insofar, at least, as it concerns the possibility of utilizing liquid fuel for industrial purposes. Lord Fisher, in a recent letter to the *Times*, expressed himself as follows: "Our policy should adopt for its guide the following words: 'If you don't succeed at first, dig, dig, dig again.'" The formation of the new "Shell" combine, embracing the Dutch oil interests in East India, as well as the recent organization of a company for the exploitation of the oil-fields of Mohammerah in southern Persia, is only one part of the scheme

to gain control of the world trade. After long conferences between London and Paris the French Government at last consented to relinquish the claims to Mosul and upper Mesopotamia which it had won by the secret treaty of 1916. It is not quite clear what the nature of this transaction was; but it is probable that France was persuaded to liquidate a part of her debt to the British financiers by giving up her claims granted to her under the terms of the secret treaty. This will enable the "Shell" group to exercise control over the immense oil fields of Mesopotamia, which are known to be very rich.

There remain, of course, the oil fields of Baku and northern Caucasia, large; but gradually becoming spent. It is not likely that possession of these by the British "Shell" syndicate is of vital importance for the needs of the domestic markets in England. But, as so often happens under a capitalistic regime, a source of supply is not grasped merely to satisfy a hungry market, but to prevent a competitor from obtaining control of this source of necessities. Thus it often happened that the capitalist, rather than permit natural wealth to fall into the hands of a competitor, destroyed it. One need only think of the destruction of the mines in the north of France by the Prussian militarists and the burning of the Galician and Rumanian oil fields in 1915 and 1916 by the czaristic armies and English engineers—and this at a time when the workers of Europe were freezing for lack of fuel. Many years before the war the "Nobel" syndicate of Baku bought up land in the neighborhood of Grozny and Maiko in the Cau-

casus in order to prevent the oil in these regions from reaching a market which, through a reduction in price, would have resulted in a curtailment of their profits.

The same thing happened recently in Baku. In a letter to the *Times*, dated May 12, a technical expert tells how in 1919 hundreds of thousands of tons of oil were poured into the Caspian Sea, because the pipe lines between Baku and Batum were too narrow to allow of oil being shipped to the west and because it was impossible, by reason of the allied blockade of Soviet Russia, to transport the oil to freezing Russia (the natural market for all oil from Baku) by ship. The same objective is maintained by the Polish offensive against South Russia. If it becomes possible to occupy Ukraine and to cut off communication with north Caucasia, Soviet Russia will not be able to obtain the oil which it needs for its industries. The consequences will be these: first, Soviet Russia will become dependent for its fuel needs upon the "Shell" company, and second, Soviet Russia will be unable to exchange a part of the oil from Baku for machines from America—a transaction, which, if it came to pass, would endanger the chances of a British monopoly of supplying Soviet Russia with certain technical articles, and would also place the Standard Oil Company of America (the only important rival of the "Shell" group) in possession of quantities of oil which would have the effect of breaking the monopoly-prices fixed by London. In the service of these interests the Polish army, led by the "socialist" Pilsudski, marches eastward into South Russia.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Pittsburgh, Pa., August 28, 1920.

IN SPITE of the fact that the armed intervention of the Allies was acknowledged by them to be a complete failure, leaving to history a series of the most shameful collapses of the Allied expeditionary forces and the armies of Russian usurpers, namely Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich, the capitalistic coalition of Europe, backed by Japan and America, is still continuing this intervention.

War on Russia exists *de facto*. Poland, the puppet state of France, has to fight the Soviet Army.

Under the cover of such useless and criminal warfare, which doubtless will be terminated in a general disaster for the Poles, and perhaps in a complete collapse of the Polish state, a new counter-revolutionary army in South Russia is gradually growing, nursed by the imperialistic coalition of the capitalistic Entente.

Now the Allies have Wrangel at their disposal, a young adventurer of the Kolchak type, but cheaper and less important. Wrangel, one of the captains of the Denikin band, is now to repeat

absolutely the same game which his defeated chief, Denikin, so brilliantly lost.

In order to support Wrangel's operations, France decided to sacrifice not only the Polish army, but also the whole Polish nation. According to the plan of Marshal Foch, elaborated together with General Weygand, the Poles have to divert, and divert vigorously on the Russian front, as long as they can, in order to attract as many as possible of the Red troops, thus preventing the Russians from directing a strong army against Wrangel's bands, and thus putting an end to the wanton adventure of the Russian traitor, who, for the price of French gold, is ready to sell the Russian people even to the Polish *shliakhta*. France does not care very much about what will become of Poland in the future. The main idea of the capitalist leaders of France is to overthrow the present Russian government and establish in Russia such a government as would agree to pay to France 30 billion francs, which reactionary Russia owed her. That is the real policy of France towards Russia, and French strategy is trying to support this policy with all its means, using for the tactical necessities the

governments of small nations, and a band of the ruined Russian bourgeoisie.

In reality, it is laughable to believe that France sincerely seeks the reconstruction of Poland. France knows perfectly well that it would be an impossibility; Napoleon knew it a hundred years ago. France is not afraid of a weakened Germany. It will be a long time before Germany will become once more dangerous for France. France knows also, that in case of the restoration of an independent, imperialistic Poland, with all her corridors and other means of communication with the outside world, Poland never will be able to repay all the debts incurred since she started to fight the Soviet Government in Russia. Pilsudski's "Socialists" openly declare that they will not consider valid the financial obligations towards America, France, or England, as national obligations, because these loans were offered by the Allies to Poland for the purpose of fighting the Russian Soviet Government, which is more dangerous to the Allied coalition than to the Polish people. We must not forget the fact that Poland was ready to make peace with Soviet Russia, but as the late President of the Polish Republic, Paderewski, has confessed, France rejected that project and forced Poland to fight.

Finally, Poland is fighting Soviet Russia neither for Poland's independence, which is in no way menaced by Moscow, nor for her alleged historical frontier of 1772, but she is fighting now only for the 30,000,000,000 francs which the Russian Czars borrowed from France, mostly for the purpose of fighting the Russian Revolution.

Poland is not independent and cannot be independent, since she is fighting the battle of the imperialistic capitalistic coalition of the world; and in order to gain her independence, she has to turn her front to the opposite side.

The Polish army may be considered as nothing else than an auxiliary force of Wrangel's army, because it was not the Poles, but Wrangel, who signed an obligation to pay the old Russian debts to France, in case he should be able to overthrow the Soviets; only therefore he was recognized by the French Government.

So it becomes clear that France is openly waging a war against Russia, that America is supporting France in that war, and that England and Italy are vacillating, uncertain of the outcome of the new adventure. The British and Italian governments are certainly in sympathy with France, but they do not dare undertake the risk, being handicapped by their working people on the one hand, and by the terribly risky nature of the new enterprise on the other hand.

The alleged and exaggerated "great victories" of Poland over the Red Army encouraged Wrangel and his captains, and since the reactionary press has begun publishing these fables about the Russian "defeats", the usurper in Southern Russia has become very active, both in Northern Crimea as well as in Caucasia, where the military situation has assumed a serious character.

Therefore we must now consider the operations of Wrangel's hordes as a matter of considerable importance, because after Wrangel's recognition by France and the sympathy expressed for him by certain other states, his troops may be looked upon as the vanguard of the whole imperialistic-capitalistic Entente. When Wrangel debouched from Perekop and started his invasion of Southern Russia, penetrating even as far as Orekhov, he caused some annoyance to the Soviets, as a local counter-revolutionist; but since he has begun his landing operations in the Kuban district, thanks to the cooperation of Great Britain and chiefly of France, just at the time when the Russians were fiercely engaged with the Poles around Warsaw, he has become very dangerous.

Making use of the favorable moment when almost the whole male population of the Kuban Cossacks are fighting in Poland, together with the Circassian tribes, Wrangel begins his invasion of the Caucasus.

His first landing on the coast of the Black Sea, near Sochi, was made on August 14, just when the Russian cavalry was approaching the Vistula. Here a weak detachment of the Reds offered fierce resistance to the invaders, but was overpowered and defeated. Simultaneously, the landing of the counter-revolutionary forces took place north of Novorossyisk, at Taman, and, further north, at Eisk, with an unmasked movement towards Tikhoretskaya, the important railway junction of the Tsaritsyn-Novorossyisk and Rostov-Baku railway lines. Sochi was held as a base for future operations south of the Caucasian mountains, should the Azerbaijan Red Army attempt to support the Soviet forces, which are defending Tikhoretskaya. There cannot be any doubt that the railway connecting Yekaterinodar with Novorossyisk and Rostov is the present objective of Wrangel's expeditionary forces. Later on, Wrangel landed a detachment at Aktarask Liman, about seventy miles northwest of Yekaterinodar.

Under the command of General Ulagai, well-known as a captain under Denikin, the invaders swiftly approached Yekaterinodar, which it is alleged has fallen into Wrangel's hands.

The situation of the local Red Army became very critical. Timoshevskaya, a Cossack place north of Yekaterinodar, and southwest of Tikhoretskaya, was captured, and the railway line between Tikhoretskaya and Yekaterinodar very probably cut off, thus isolating both places from any possible relief.

About August 18 Wrangel troops were landed at Anapa, on the Black Sea, and established themselves at Rayevskaya, and at once cut the communication between Novorossyisk and Yekaterinodar.

It is reported that Novorossyisk was captured by the invaders on August 23. There is some reason to believe that the Russians were unable to send reinforcements to Tikhoretskaya from Rostov, because of the great importance of the latter, on the other hand we must not neglect the declar-

ation of Moscow that the doors for the Wrangel forces to enter Russia are wide open, and that he should be cut off from his rear and defeated by an attack on both of his flanks. The movements of the Red armies in the region of the lower Dnieper, as well as in Orekhov district, are proving this, and there is no doubt that the necessary measures will be taken in due time in Western Caucasia, where the enemy is in a most unfavorable condition, being forced to operate by basing his operations on the landing points, which is one of

the most difficult things in military art, and, in order successfully to accomplish this, there must be at Wrangel's disposal not 150,000 men, as he claims, but millions: and where could he collect them?

The Wrangel adventure is the last trump which the Allies have in their hand, but unfortunately for them, the trumps are too low—the aces and higher trumps are in the hands of the Moscow players and they certainly will win the game.

The Truth About Soviet Russia

By DR. BOHUMIR SMERAL

[A newspaper appearing in Czecho-Slovakia prints several interesting accounts, by Dr. Smeral, who has just returned to that country from Soviet Russia, of his impressions of travel. We print below, after giving the newspaper's comment on Dr. Smeral's account, the first instalment of his narrative.]

Dr. Smeral, a Czecho-Slovak Socialist, upon his return from Russia, writes about conditions there and about the people whom he learned to know in Russia; and since the word "Bolshevik" has been represented as on a par with "hordes of the bandits of old," we do not hesitate to print characteristic excerpts from Dr. Smeral's notes, so that we can ease the minds of those who, through the fear manufactured by the bourgeois Right, cannot recover from a certain painful consternation and, in addition, because we wish to contribute to the sobering-up of the many so-called radicals who, in their infantile naivete believe that under Bolshevism they can have an overflow of everything, like Adam in the Garden of Eden, without having any duties or responsibilities. To be a communist in Russia means self-discipline, and to impose duties upon oneself more strictly than upon others. Briefly, it is a different understanding of life than we are here accustomed to; it is a school in the knowledge of principles, for recognition of duties, and woe to the communist who is guilty of abandoning or neglecting his duties! Dr. Smeral learned that a communist is judged more severely than anyone else, if he is not loyal in his life and work to all the principles of Communism.

I

Notes of Travel in the Proletarian Country.
By Way of Introduction.

Prague, June 6.

I have returned from Soviet Russia. Everyone on meeting me fastens his eyes upon me with the serious question: "How are things there? What have you seen and experienced?"

My answer is brief and simple: I have come from a different world, I have returned a different man. What is happening in Russia is enormous, overwhelming, honest, sensible, necessary, indefatigable. *Novarum rerum nobis nascitur ordo.* A new order of things has been born! The cry of terrorism which is asserted as taking place in Russia for the past two years, is the work of the capitalist class with its henchmen and means, and it is a lie, the enormity of which has perhaps never been equalled in history.

I had free admission everywhere. I talked intimately with leaders and with simple laborers. I visited factories, barracks, meetings, organizations, soviets, and children's schools. It was impossible to show me Potemkin villages.* I laid special stress upon psychological observations and facts in unexpected situations. For instance, when our conveyance was detained in a village and we were compelled to remain over night as the guests

of a simple country family; or when after the unexpected declaration of war by the Poles, in the midst of mobilization of communists and workers, an explosion of an ammunition factory in Moscow tasked severely the nerves of the entire square. When I wished to learn about official machinery of the Soviet state administration, I did not put theoretical questions to one of the comrades in charge, but went to the square and acted in a conspicuous manner during the reading of military declarations, had myself arrested and brought to the "cherezvichayka", and submitted to an investigation among other prisoners and suspects—and only later showed my legitimation—and then received, in addition to another, a special permit from Lenin direct—and only then applied for theoretical, correct, general information to one of the comrades in charge of the local office. Those were my methods of observation.

I am not a phantast, and I made an effort to study Russia impartially. I cannot conceal, however, that the Russian Revolution had from its very beginning my love and confidence. I would also

* Potemkin (1736-1791) was a favorite of the Russian empress Catherine II (1729-1796). On one of her journeys, to impress her with the prosperity of the country, Potemkin caused villages and roads to be hastily constructed and filled with bustling crowds.

like to have it distinctly understood that during my six weeks' stay in Russia, it was impossible for me to see all. On the other side, however, I want it made public, that my observations will in every case be verified. Quite some time before me, two highly intelligent, critical Czech comrades had been in Russia for the special purpose of a systematic study: Ivan Olbracht, the writer, and Dr. E. M. Vajtauer, grandate of Paris University, young, but greatly honored in French scientific circles as a scientific student of experimental psychology. These two will remain in Russia for several months longer. The great laboratory of social construction offers them inexhaustible material. They work day and night. All places are open to them. Ivan Olbracht, who has been studying the cultural organization in Moscow, was preparing, at the time of my departure, to accompany the Commissar of National Economy, Rykov, through some of the districts of central Russia, where preparation is being made for electrization of the state, and then to remain alone for a few weeks in one of the villages for the purpose of studying the life and conditions there. Dr. Vajtauer was preparing for a prolonged tour into the Urals and Siberia to inspect the political and economic systems there. Whoever fears that my prejudice would not permit me to give correct information, because of my love for the country of Russia and its proletariat, let him read my lines merely as a foundation for what after a short time other eyewitnesses shall say about Soviet Russia.

In what form shall I put down my impressions for the benefit of those who have the interest to listen to me? On this occasion I wish to request comrades not to ask me to meetings or to lectures. In a lecture, even though it might last for several hours, only opinions, deductions, and general outlines are possible. The fundamental gist of the Russian overthrow lies in its details, concreteness, genuineness. Only the aggregation of details, in which an isolated one would perhaps seem trifling, makes it possible to form a picture of what is happening in Russia. It would be my desire, while my brain still teems with the history-making atmosphere through which I have just passed, to publish a book of my impressions. It would of necessity have to be a book, rather large, for which, considering the high cost of production, it would be difficult to find a publisher, and the price of which would also hardly be within the reach of the poor, among whom, above anyone else I should like to find readers. It would also not be an artistic book, because I have neither the talent nor the time to do more than to state mechanically and adjust the notes which I jotted down during my nightly hours, without any regard to artistic construction, striving merely to reproduce everything photographically and with truthful reality. The material, however, is valuable partly because some of it is the first available to Western Europe, so that it would be a pity, if under pressure of work and everyday cares, it should be forgotten.

The first part of the material, therefore, I shall report journalistically in the *Svoboda* and the second part in the *Social Democrat*.

I dedicate these lines to the proletariat of Red Kladno. The name of this district is well-known in Russia. In a large meeting in Petrograd, from the midst of the audience, a note was handed to me on the platform from the Smolensk youth, requesting me to convey their greetings to the young comrades of Kladno. I was entrusted with the same message by the Pan-Russian Central Committee of Young People. Upon my departure all the representative members of the Moscow Soviet pressed my hand and sent their greetings to their Kladno comrades. There were crucial months when the fate of the socialistic republic hung in the balance, and the heads of not of tens but of hundreds of thousands of the Russian proletariat in Siberia and all Russia were at stake. At that time, terror-stricken, unable to grasp the situation, the entire working people of Russia looked upon us as the merciless, bloody gendarmes of the capitalistic world. At that time, Red Kladno saved the honor of our nation. While in Moscow I received proof that today the working masses of our legion in Siberia realized the truth and that the Russian struggle has their warmest sympathy—and they are grateful to the Kladno proletariat.

II

In the Secretariat of the Party

Moscow, April 15, 1920.

AFTER an interview at the International, I commenced with a visit to the Secretariat of the Communist Party. The Secretariat is situated in the Fourth House of the Soviet, in Moskovskaya Street, in the building of the former Hotel Peterhof. My guide and informant is Comrade Nevsky.

The first impression: The Secretariat has at its disposal twenty-six rooms, in which there are 120 employes. The walls are hung with diagrams (very complete), with maps of all Russian *gubernias*, with indicated places showing organization. In the largest hall there is a huge map showing organization in all of Russia. There are placards, slogans. Portraits of leaders of the Russian Revolution. And everywhere, in the most conspicuous places, as impressive as in life, are the likenesses of the dead leader and of the martyrs: Marx, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. There is something inexpressibly touching in this everpresent testimony of reverence and love.

A first glance falls upon the nearest diagrams. "Sostav Moskovskoy gorodskoy organizatsii R.K.P. po professii do partiynoy nedeli na octabr 1919 goda." During the most critical situation in Russia, last October, when Denikin was nearing Moscow, and when Yudenich advanced upon Petrograd, Moscow comrades organized a week for obtaining new members. Prior to this, an investigation of the old members was made, and those who were found unreliable were expelled en masse, and could not be reinstated. The most dependable ones were sent to the front. In Moscow there were at the time

only 13,287 party members, and as a result of the "party week" this number grew to 30,000. So large a number applied for membership, though they knew well that just as soon as they joined the organization, they could, after a period of training and after instruction in the principles, be sent to the front, though their terms did not fall into general mobilization, and that in the event of Denikin's entry into Moscow, certain death awaited each communist. The diagram shows the increase in the different categorical occupations: Among laborers the increase was from 5,122 to 11,036, former servants (waiters, etc.), from 2,078 to 4,165, among soldiers stationed in Moscow as a garrison, from 4,957 to 12,448, and among the intelligentsia from 443 to 1,569. Another diagram indicates the standing of membership in thirty-eight provinces (outside of Siberia, Ukraine and Turkestan). In all these provinces, propaganda-weeks were set aside for obtaining new members, from October, 1919, to January, 1920. After re-registration of members and elimination of those unreliable, there remained in this section but 120,000. After completion of the propaganda, this number was increased to 320,000. In October, the membership was lowest, not merely as a result of the process of elimination, but also because in the terrific battles on all fronts in 1919, a great number of the best comrades had fallen. Now the number of members is constantly increasing; with the liberation of Siberia and the Ukraine, the Secretariat showed to the present Party Congress a membership roll of 600,000. Among the members, fifty-two per cent are workers, twenty-five per cent soldiers, the rest are small agriculturists, intelligentsia and other various occupations. The standing of membership is made public and is strictly accurate, a falling-off is never concealed, diagrams are reproduced in the newspapers and given to organizations. I continue to examine diagrams of meetings, campaigns, diagrams of volunteer workers (party members) during their hours of leisure—Saturdays and Sundays. The newest diagram, still damp, shows the composition of the latest Ninth Party Congress just completed. This diagram has just been attached to the diagrams of all the other congresses.

Comrade Nevsky explains. The Secretariat has no special secretaries at its head, but its administration is entrusted to three members of the Central Committee (central executive body) of the party. At present Comrades Krestinsky, Serebryakov, Preobrazhensky, are in charge. The Secretariat has the following departments: 1. Agitation and Propaganda; 2. Registration of competent workers and their assignments all over the country; 3. Organization and Instruction; 4. Information and Statistics; 5. Work in the Villages; 6. Work among Laborers and Women in the Country; 7. For Minority Nationalities; 8. Office of the Directorate combined with the Department of Finance. Just at this time the Central Committee decided that the Department of Registration was to be enlarged so that each of the 600,000 mem-

bers in all Russia should have his own special card, upon which should be entered the chief data in his life, activity and possible offenses, etc. Further, there is now in press a general legitimation-book for the entire bulk of the party. The Communist Party of Russia is the only political party in the world which, not only in its tactics, but also in its organization, is guided by scientific principles. To attain the greatest success with the feeblest forces—only science can accomplish this. This is the secret of the success of the Russian Revolution. It is now twenty years since the party proved the possibility of overpowering Czarism with small circles. Today we are trying to become a strong machine in the struggle to change the private-capitalistic order into a socialistic one. For this reason we must combine the highest degree of knowledge with the practical experience of the working classes. We are led by tried, strong authorities. We are held together by iron discipline. According to present statutes (rules of organization) of the party, whoever wishes to become a member, must be recommended by two old members. He does not immediately become a member, merely a "sympathetic candidate" at first. Only after six months can the Executive Committee accept him as a member. As a candidate, he has the right to be present at all meetings (except secret ones), but he cannot vote. The workers and landless peasants, may, upon special recommendation, have this term shortened. Also during special propaganda "party weeks" members are accepted without these formalities. The greatest cooperation is offered by the All-Russian Congress, then comes the Central Executive Committee, after that the Executive Committee of the provinces, districts, and cities. The chief nucleus of the organization is then a village, a factory, an industrial enterprise, or a military division. In each of these units are communists, whose duty it is to form organizations. Even though there are but three, they are obliged to form a "yacheyka" (a group) to meet for consultation, to study all questions and to act in union. Discussions are entirely free. But once a decision is reached, everyone must work along the same plan. The decision of the highest institution must be carried out, without any protest.

Lately, Comrades Kalinin and Lisitsin have been added to the Secretariat. Each of them contributes something to the milieu of activity of organization and agitation. Moscow is divided into thirteen organized districts (parts), and in them there are altogether 680 groups, trade and local. Each district holds a meeting each Friday regularly. Ordinarily there are held at Moscow, in one month, 300 lectures and 500 meetings. In the event, however, of special campaigns (such as against Denikin) many more meetings are called. The propaganda must touch each and every inhabitant personally. The Executive Committee, for psychological reasons, lays great stress upon having the masses constantly occupied with some important idea. For that reason, nearly every

week some concrete slogan is sent into the party lines. "To arms against Denikin," "Yudenich must be defeated," "Front-week," "Week of the Wounded," "Week of Cleaning, General Bathing, Shaving and Hair-Cutting," "Week of Fight Against Spotted Typhoid and of Cleaning of Dwellings," "Week of Kindling-Wood," "Week of Transportation," "Week of Disabled Locomotives." Important slogans these; for the fulfillment of their text all forces must unite, and for their accomplishment the last session of the Party Congress has just devised the means. They are wholly designed for one purpose—to create a solid block of work, which is necessary for the construction of economic life.

In Moscow there are thirty-five party schools and thirty-nine schools directed by Soviets, which educate workers for Soviet functions. Both of these types of schools are combined, like two faculties in one university. Further, there is also here a Central School of the Party and a Central School of the Soviet. These institutions are a kind of Workers' University and bear the name of the dead Comrade Sverdlov. The students in these universities are selected and are the especially able and competent workers from Soviet organizations, from the country and from the army. They receive lodgings in Moscow, maintenance and stipendia. They attend six months' courses (a part three months) and then they are sent to responsible posts. At present there are 1,200 pupils in the central school. The teachers there are Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, Bukharin and other first-class men. Should I have time, this afternoon, I shall look in to see their life and work. Comrade Nevsky offers to be my guide.

Correspondence between the central and the organization is huge. The Provincial and the District Executive Committees (not the local organizations) are obliged, after each meeting, to send a copy of the protocols to the Central Secretariat, so that their activity may be followed and controlled. In this work of control alone, there are a large number of comrades employed in the Secretariat. In individual districts, appointed agitators are always active. With them, too, regular and accurate correspondence is necessary. We examine more minutely the department for work in the rural districts, which is supervised by our guide Comrade Nevsky. He is about forty, smooth-shaven, has rather long hair, wears a white starched collar, is well dressed, and of a quiet cheerful expression. He spent eight years in the different prisons of the Czar. In answer to a question as to what actually is his occupation, he says with a smile: "Revolutionist". Otherwise, he had for three years been in his youth a *privatdozent* of mathematics in a university. He springs from a bourgeois merchant family. He spent but three months away from Russia (in Geneva). In 1917 he was President of the military organization in Petrograd, where, in Kalinov's rooms, with the cooperation of Podvoisky and Trotsky, all the military dispositions for the overthrow were worked out. When

he recalls those October days, he becomes animated and narrates in detail, and only after a while returns to his present agendum. In order to give us direct proofs, he reads to us several letters which he has just received. An organizer in one of the districts writes that the small local peasants are complaining that in requisitions they are exploited as compared with the large peasants, and that he has taken advantage of this and had organized them. A student in the Moscow University who was sent out to agitate in the villages describes his experiences, acquired by contact with the people, experiences still unknown in Moscow. Inasmuch as other agitators have had their experiences, he suggests that a conference of agitators be called. Nevsky expedites his answer, makes a memorandum of the suggestion for the Central Committee to the effect that a conference be called for the first Sunday in June. A Petrograd comrade, a metal worker, reports with what results he is organizing the most obscure village elements in Tula Province. The Caucasian region requests to be supplied with a propaganda automobile, with good men and literature. Comrade Nevsky says that in dealing with simple country folk, personal contact is necessary. They come here to Moscow from the villages, usually to ask for intervention with the different Soviet organs. We receive them, act for them, talk with them personally, and people who had come to Moscow indifferent, very often return home with at least a spark of interest for the principle, and supplied with literature. It requires a good deal of effort and patience of course, but it bears fruit. I myself, according to my memorandum, have received, in the past five and a half months, 5,500 country people.

To investigate other departments so minutely, was not possible because of lack of time. I am taking away with me about thirty pamphlets, brochures and diagrams designed for the organization and agitation work of the secretariat. Among this literature there are especially careful suggestions, resembling military service hints, for the organization of the rural districts, women and young people. At parting, Comrade Lisitsin reminds himself to say that the political education in the army is not directed by the Secretariat—for that purpose a large, independent institution has been established.

LONDON REPRESENTATIVE ON WRANGEL

"Anti-Bolshevik forces landed in the province of Kuban, east of the Sea of Azov, by General Baron Wrangel have been completely annihilated," says a statement issued on August 31 at London, by M. Kamenev, head of the Russian Soviet Trade Delegation.

"After defeating General Wrangel's forces Soviet troops cut their communications, surrounded them, and by a night raid destroyed their headquarters. In the northern part of Taurida province, General Wrangel's army is completely beaten. He now holds only Crimea."

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the
RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
 110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



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

LYING has always been the chief weapon of the opponents of the Soviet Government, both in Russia and abroad, and we are once more about to behold a resort to this weapon that will produce a general, almost epidemic expression of the wish that neither the art of printing, nor those of paper-making and newsfaking, had ever been invented. For the Soviet Government has now regrouped its army, after the setback at Warsaw a month ago, and is again advancing, after having retaken Grodno and Bialostok. It will be difficult to disprove the actual advances of the Soviet armies in this territory, and the capitalist news agencies are therefore resorting to other fields of "conquests." As yet they have left uncultivated the possibilities of an overthrow of the Soviets in Murmansk and Archangel, but have already served us with a huge uprising all over Siberia. Omsk, Tomsk, Novo-Nikolayevsk—to mention only a few of the names as we recall them from the New York newspaper reports of Sunday morning, August 29—are the scenes of revolutionary uprisings of the "maltreated" peasantry, against the "tyranny" of the Soviets. Only a year ago, by the way, all Siberia was groaning under the iron heel of Kolchak and his associates, and hundreds of revolutionary uprisings were breaking up the continuity of the great Trans-Siberian Railroad line, and clearing the ground for Kolchak's four thousand mile retreat across the face of Asia. These rebellions were carried out by poorly-armed peasants and deserters against trained troops of many nationalities, armed and equipped with the best products of European and American factories. Evidently the Siberian population must have been animated by the feeling that it was in the Soviet Government that it had a friend, and not in the hirelings of the Entente Governments. Is not the population of these regions the same? Does it not still know what it means to be under the control of the hangmen hired by Western Capitalism? The news agencies should use better discretion in selecting the news offered them for transmission, or should instruct their correspondents to choose more plausible scenes for insurrections against the authority of the Soviets.

ON ANOTHER page the reader will find a letter written last week to Mr. F. P. Keppel, at present head of the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. The subject of the letter is the reported proposal to send the children from New York, where they now are, to France, instead of to their homes near Petrograd, and its intention is to protest emphatically against this violation of the most rudimentary right of the children to a consideration of their actual family status. Nothing could be more hypocritical than the suggestion, in the reports concerning the reason for this deflection from the proper aim of the journey on which the children are about to set forth, that it will be possible in France to take steps to determine the present whereabouts of the parents or guardians of the children, none of whom have seen their relatives for two years (in some cases the period is even longer). As a matter of fact, there is no possibility of getting more reliable information concerning addresses in Russia than through the instrumentality of the Soviet Government, and, in the case of local matters, the self-governing administrations of its cities. To hope to get information concerning the children's parents in France is about as sensible as to hope to get it in Japan or in New York. The American Red Cross knows the addresses of the children; at least it has the addresses at which they were living when they left their homes in Petrograd two years ago; it has even printed an extensive list of these addresses, a copy of which is in our possession. What can it hope to add to this list by sending the children and the accompanying officials to France? France has much less direct communication with Soviet Russia than any other country in Europe: in England the Soviet Government has duly appointed representatives in their offices at 128 New Bond Street, London, who would be glad to do anything they could to get information from Petrograd or Moscow on this subject; Italy, Austria, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, have regular offices in their capital cities where Soviet representatives do business, and all of them have some sort of facilities for obtaining the forwarding of communications to and from Russia. It would be far more reasonable, therefore, to send the children to any one of these countries than to France, for France is openly at war with Soviet Russia, and what communication she has with Soviet Russia is concerned only with the recovery of money loaned to former Russian governments, and not with works of charity and humanity. It may be said without exaggeration that, owing to its selfish pursuit of this money which was lent to destroy the Russian Revolution, even before its birth, France has succeeded in outheroing Herod—in practicing more savage cruelties against citizens of Soviet Russia than any other country in the world, in addition to maintaining, in concert with the other "civilized" powers, a blockade against Soviet Russia that has had the cruel results that are well-known to the world. But to France has been reserved the dishonorable distinction of excelling

in direct physical brutalities against groups and individuals wherever she had anything to do with citizens of Soviet Russia.

The worst illustration of how brutal the French Government can be in dealing with its "enemies" is afforded by its treatment of the Russians in France. Perhaps 300,000 Russian soldiers were sent to France during the early stages of the World War, to aid in holding the Western Front against the German armies. They were treated, from the very outset, as "colonials", who must be exploited, very much as the East Indian troops were exploited by their English masters, but with this difference, that while the East Indian troops were sent home to India when they became disaffected, the Russians were retained in France even after two successive revolutions in their home country, in 1917, had made it impossible for them to continue fighting with conviction in an imperialistic war. Their refusals to fight had, however, begun even before the revolution. Mutinies had frequently broken out in their regiments, and it was in connection with one of these that Leon Trotsky, who was then editor of a Socialist paper appearing in Paris (*Nashe Slovo*), was expelled from France. Long after Russia had ceased to be an ally of France in the World War, the French military authority continued to demand service and obedience from these soldiers whom Czarism had delivered into their clutches. Refusals to do the bidding of the French tyrant resulted in individual executions and mass machine-gun massacres. The columns of this weekly, particularly in its second volume (January-June, 1920), have frequently told of these cruelties which continued long after the World War had ended. To this day, although some of the former Russian soldiers were returned to Russia after having consented to forcible enrolment in counter-revolutionary armies, many of these men are being held in France against their will, by the government of the nation that was the light of the world in 1790.

And the Russian children, who are in a peculiar sense the children of the Revolution—since they were among the first to benefit by its generous provisions for their welfare—are to be sent to the home of world reaction!

MAXIM GORKY was found by Mr. Bertrand Russell in bed, seriously ill. Mr. Russell, in his article "Soviet Russia—1920", reprinted in *The Nation*, New York, July 31, 1920, describes his meeting with Gorky in a manner calculated to produce the greatest possible discouragement among friends of Maxim Gorky and Soviet Russia. How Mr. Russell could say that "Gorky is dying," which he *said* chiefly in order to be able to add that intellectual life in Russia is also dying, seems more surprising now than ever, for the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* last week received a letter, dated Petrograd, July 7, 1920, and forwarded by way of Berlin, in which the writer, the German proletarian poet, Max Barthel, says among other things:

"And whom should I see, but Maxim Gorky, walking along, big, brown, hale and hearty, broadshouldered and wholesome. We press each other's hands. He urges me to come to see him."

Of course, neither Mr. Russell nor Mr. Barthel is telling an untruth. When Russell visited Gorky, he was sick in bed; when Barthel saw Gorky, he looked healthy and was walking around. Gorky's illness has had these ups and downs for years; it is unfortunate that Mr. Russell should have seized so eagerly an opportunity to discourage all those who see more in the possibilities of the new era than he does.

Perhaps Mr. Russell jumps at conclusions. Did he not tell us in his second article that he saw in the environs of Moscow enough cows to feed all the babies in Moscow? Let us hope his knowledge of cows and milk is better than his power of medical diagnosis.

* * *

MAXIM GORKY has himself passed through an experience not unlike what Mr. Bertrand Russell is now having. In 1917, Gorky, who was temporarily estranged from the leading elements of the Bolshevik party, published a number of articles, attacking them, in his paper *Novaya Zhizn*, then appearing at Petrograd. Gorky, as is well-known, is no longer an opponent of the Soviet Government, in fact, he is one of its most useful workers, but not a day has passed in all the three years since those articles appeared, but it has seen the republication of at least one of these articles, as an alleged indication that Gorky was *still* an opponent of the Soviet authority. The *New York Tribune* was particularly active last year in putting such misrepresentations before its readers. And, by the way, it is possible that a new flood of Gorky "propaganda" of this sort may be about to issue forth, for the *Tribune* has again reprinted one of his sharpest rebukes of the Soviet Government, dating from 1917, but with the insinuation that Gorky wrote it very recently. Probably, if Gorky should some day become President of the Council of People's Commissars, he would still continue to be quoted in the *Tribune* as an "Anti-Bolshevik." Already Mr. Russell has withdrawn some of his casual strictures on the Soviet Government (for instance, the one in which he suggested that the Soviet Government did not encourage the arts: see letter to *The Nation*, New York, August 14), but he might now write the most glowing laudation of its work, and he will yet go down in history, at least in the yellow press, as an opponent of the Soviet Government. In attempting to be "fair", it is well for the liberal to remember which of his delicately balanced half-truths will be most efficiently press-agented by the side that has at present all the money and all the newspapers.

* * *

THE *Index for Volume II of SOVIET RUSSIA (January to June, 1920)* is now ready. It will be sent to all subscribers; those who buy it on the stands may obtain the *Index* by sending in a written request for it.

A Letter to the American Red Cross

[On August 30, Mr. L. Martens, Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, sent the following letter to the American Red Cross, of which copies were sent to the principal New York newspapers. We are reprinting the letter here, as not all of the newspapers to which it was sent have printed it.]

Mr. F. P. Keppel,
Vice-Chairman, American Red Cross,
National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Dear sir:

I learn from New York newspapers of Saturday morning, August 26, that the Russian children who have arrived in New York on board the Japanese steamer, *Yomei Maru*, and who, I had understood, were to be returned to Petrograd, their home, are to be sent to France instead, and that steps are there to be taken to learn the present addresses of their parents or other relatives.

This news must arouse the indignation of every fair-minded person. These children have not seen their parents for more than two years. All of them were living, in 1918, in the vicinity of Petrograd and were sent by the Soviet Government in the summer of that year to the Urals, in order that they might enjoy a care and a diet such as could not then be provided in Petrograd. The Soviet Government has always been eager to give to children the best opportunity to grow into healthy manhood and womanhood. But the children of these colonies, unfortunately, have not remained under the care of the Soviet Government. When the Czecho-Slovaks began their campaign against Soviet Russia, late in 1918, their operations cut off these colonies of children from communication with European Russia, and as Kolchak and his Czecho-Slovak allies were then already beginning their retreat, the children were moved along with the retreating armies across Siberia in the great military migration that was to result in the restoration of almost all Siberia to the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Government, as well as committees of the parents of the children, during this retreat, frequently demanded of the Kolchak generals that the children be returned to Petrograd instead of being dragged away across the entire breadth of Siberia, but all was of no avail. They were shifted about in the vicinity of Vladivostok and finally the remnants of the party, after disease and death had decimated their ranks, were interned on Russki Island, opposite Vladivostok, whence 780 have been brought to New York by the American Red Cross, on the Japanese steamer *Yomei Maru*.

Now that they have literally encircled the globe, and have been hoping that after two years of separation they might again see their parents and homes, I am informed that these children are to be sent, not to Petrograd—and all of them lived at addresses in the vicinity of Petrograd, as the American Red Cross indicates in its list of the addresses of the children's relatives—but to the port of Bordeaux, France. It is a cruelty to the children and to their parents not to return them

to their homes, and it is an indication of the grossest neglect of the interests of the children, and of the utmost indifference to their fate, to undertake to forward them to France, the last country in the world that will pay any attention to the needs of children who are citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic.

France has shown what is her attitude to Soviet Russia. The France which is egging on the Poles to crush the Soviet Republic is not a country that will show much solicitude for the welfare of Russian children who are eager to reach their homes in Soviet Russia.

I know very well that these children are anxious to go home. I know, from many conversations with the children that have been reported to me, that none of them want to go to France. It is the duty of the American Red Cross to send them to their home in Russia and not to a country which is in fact at war with Soviet Russia.

I am ready to make every effort to get in touch with the Russian Soviet Government without delay, in order to arrange for the return of the children to their homes in Petrograd, in which the Russian Soviet Government, ever solicitous of the welfare of the rising generation, will be more than anxious to aid me. And I demand that these children be sent, not to France, but to Russia, and that if the American Red Cross cannot immediately decide to seek contact with the Russian Soviet Government through me for this purpose, the children be allowed to remain in New York rather than forwarded to France, until the question of a suitable method of their return to Petrograd may be properly solved.

Yours truly, L. C. A. K. MARTENS,
*Representative in the United States of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

ITALY AND RUSSIA

Moscow, July 26.—Two Italian steamers arrived yesterday at Odessa, bringing medicaments and surgical instruments for Soviet Russia, valued at 2,000,000 lire. A portion of this material is donated by the Italian Red Cross. Red Cross Missions from Italy will depart for Soviet Russia in the near future in order to fight epidemics.

Among the passengers on the steamer were a reporter of the Roman newspaper *Tempo*, and the delegate of the Italian Socialist Party, Rondoni, who will leave for Moscow in a day or so. Rondoni is to deliver a congratulatory message from the Italian Government to negotiate at Moscow both in the matter of the exchange of prisoners of war, and in that of establishing maritime traffic between Odessa and Naples, thus resuming commercial relations with the Soviet Government.

A Logician's Report

By WILLIAM MARIAS MALISSOV

MR. BERTRAND RUSSELL'S hell is formal logic. And he has but himself to blame. Were he to retranslate his observations of Soviet Russia into the original symbolic postulates of his fertile mind, there would really result a work shorn both of fact and of hope, a work that would appeal to neither scientist nor optimist.

It has occurred to me to point out some few of the leading propositions that transcend fact and inquiry:

- Prop. 1. Revolutions are exchanges of power largely and merely due to boldness and violence.
- Prop. 2. There is nothing new under the sun. (Analogies are the basis of conviction.)
- Prop. 3. There is no progress.
- Prop. 4. There is no evolution, just change. (To hope for a change is futile; better not hope.)
- Prop. 5. Men are fundamentally bad. Corollary: Men's faults will spoil a system. Their virtues, although they may be mentioned for the sake of fairness, have no results at all.
- Prop. 6. All action is narrow. (How else would it be action?)
- Prop. 7. Sincerity exists only on the ideal plane. (In action it is bound to be fanaticism.)
- Prop. 8. All men are deluded. (It might follow that one is not. At any rate a psychic weakness is detectable in the greatest.)
- Prop. 9. Nationalism is natural and instinctive.
- Prop. 10. Ordinary men, like peasants, understand practically nothing. (Aristocracy is bad.)

With this decalogue, reader, all sailing becomes easy. No squalls need affright the five-week-old explorer.

Before we proceed, however,—and the “before we proceed’s” are characteristic of logistic—let us mention “principles”:

1. It is necessary to start with an analysis, but apparently not necessary to follow it.
2. It is necessary to be aware of the other side, because all ideas are divisible in two, viz. those I approve of and those I do not. Synthetic observation is for poets.
3. It is not necessary to use statistical knowledge if plausibility is assured. Deduction is more fundamental than induction.
4. A consciousness of lack of information will make up for that lack. All Anglo-Saxons should admire the poise of mind that confesses ignorance while it dogmatizes ad libitum.
5. Most people will accept innuendo for argument—it is well to remember.

Well, then. At analysis Mr. Russell is quite a mind. Soon enough he realizes that Russia should not be compared to England or France, but to Germany and Hungary. Now see principle 1. It is not necessary to sustain one's honest analysis . . . Of course there are evils in Russia. Analysis, again, shows them to be principally due to the war and to the blockade, therefore . . . again see principle 1. It is not necessary to sustain one's honest analysis, not at least till the second article.

We might now collect some careless phrases that are innuendo—see principle 5. “Everything was done to make us feel like the Prince of Wales” is malicious cleverness for the idea of hospitality; “propaganda meetings” antedates 1688 because it is hardly tolerant, although it is stated, “we were all allowed complete freedom to see politicians of opposition parties.” These, later, degenerate into hostile generalizations about Russian laziness and activity, Communist internationalism and nationalism, Communist self-denial and parasitism, Communist sincerity and insincerity, this and that, yes and no. Indeed, so far, Mr. Russell has already gone on record as retracting his own grossly exaggerated statements about the status of art in Russia.

An illustrative example of Mr. Russell's consistency of thought must be emphasized. The Communist: “In spite of his position of power and his control of supplies, he lives an austere life. He is not pursuing personal ends, but aiming at the creation of a new social order.” . . . A moment later, “In a thousand ways the Communists have a life which is happier than the rest of the community.” Yes, the older Commun-

ists are “honest men” yet “their own materialistic theory should persuade them that under such a system corruption must be rampant.” Another class of Communists is “working for success and power, not for money,” and “the harsh discipline to which they are subjecting the workers is calculated, if anything can, to give them the habits of industry and honesty which have hitherto been lacking.” And finally, deductive logic wins, “With success would come increased opportunities of corruption, and of exploitation of undeveloped countries, I cannot believe that these temptations would be permanently resisted.” The cat is out of the bag—IT WAS ALL DEDUCED!

Many more drifts of reasoning like that, from assumed propositions—and not a particle of evidence! Most of the pseudo-facts—Mr. Russell ought to be challenged—are further apparent parrotings of complaints of disgruntled partisans, as talk of “friends”, “permits”, the reactionary version of Russian skepticism about the Allies being really the insincerity of the Bolsheviki; vague fears for the “heritage of civilization” and shuddering at an alleged “death of culture”—one feels that it was proper for Lenin to wave them aside as bourgeois prejudices—indicate clearly that at least four of the five weeks Mr. Russell spent with partisan opponents of the government, or . . . despair! Indeed there is no distinct indication in most cases of any personal observation. Mr. Russell really refutes his own facts.

Unfortunately at one point in particular this unscientific gossip degenerates into a shameful charge and a nasty innuendo—without semblance of proof or understanding of the seriousness of the presentation of such a charge in vacuo—(about the Extraordinary Commission)—“it has shot thousands without trial, and though now it has nominally lost the power of inflicting the death penalty, it is by no means certain that it has altogether lost it in fact.” There is hardly any use presenting counter-evidence to mere allegation that is clearly bad-natured.

Mr. Russell throughout seems to be unaware of how weak his demonstrations are from an inductive point of view. Entirely unaccustomed to the discipline of observation of the natural scientist, he does not hesitate to estimate the relative fatness of the populace of Petrograd and that of Moscow! It is astonishing what even a cautious man will see once he has convinced himself by deduction as to what he ought to see. It is similarly possible to avoid seeing. What! Has Mr. Russell not a single word to say about the program of education in Soviet Russia? How is science faring? What of the standards of living, hygiene? Are there no practical attempts to cure inherited and new evils? Has literacy gone up, is Communism being explained, any happiness?

It is something of a relief to find Mr. Russell in his second article confessing the motives underlying his selective presentation. He fears Lenin's Ironsides, wants quiet and none of that horrible emotionalism. It is not unnatural then to speak of Russia's being “not yet ready,” that is, practically to present the old Czarist argument, which we have recently heard from Baron Rosen. Ah well, aristocratic Mr. Russell does not know Russia, especially a proletarian Russia. He even finds it necessary to repudiate his statement that nationalism is natural and instinctive when he states that the “peasants are too ignorant to have any national consciousness.” This is entirely the proper tremolo in which to end an opinionated piece of work. Clever as it is and seductive as it is in its sweep and stand-me-up-before-the-Lord judiciousness, it must be condemned as unscientific, since it preordains observation by deduction; and as sullenly, squeakily pessimistic, since it is hostile to action and life-giving hope.

Claims on the Russian Gold

By PROF. A. YASHCHENKO

[The following is an almost complete translation of an article which appeared on June 12 in "Golos Rossyi", a decidedly anti-Bolshevik newspaper, printed in Berlin.]

IN REGARD to the London negotiations with People's Commissar Krassin concerning the resumption of trade relations with Russia, and in connection with the question of gold payments for the first deliveries to Russia, energetic opposition has been voiced in the European press, and is, apparently, also entertained in certain official (particularly French) circles against the right of the Russian Government to dispose of the Russian gold reserve.

Numerous claims have been made on this gold reserve by creditors and "heirs". Of the latter (various border states) it is yet too early to speak. Russia, thank Heavens! is not yet dead, and the too hasty "heirs" may be committing a very grave mistake in their rash calculations on a speedy demise and on a rich inheritance. But the question of the countless creditors presenting their loan claims to Russia is becoming a matter of immediate interest, and it is quite timely to analyze the legal basis of these claims.

The leading place among Russia's creditors belongs to France. France supplied Russia with money almost from the very beginning of the Franco-Russian alliance. Russia's foreign loans were placed almost exclusively on the Paris stock-exchange. The total debt is considerably higher than the whole Russian gold reserve. The Russian loans in France were given a patriotic character and were placed among small subscribers, and quite often the Russian bonds made their way into the hands of prosperous workmen and peasants. France is aroused against the Soviet regime most of all by the latter's refusal to pay the loans made by the Czarist government. The stubborn hostility of France to Soviet Russia arises, in the last analysis, not so much from the aversion of the French bourgeoisie to the political principles of Bolshevism as from her fears of losing the money which she loaned to Russia.

Then comes the debt to England, consisting of England's charges for the military supplies furnished to Russia during the war.

Thirdly, Roumania demands her gold reserve, about 100 million rubles, which was removed to Russia at the time of the German invasion and remained there.

Finally, there are the claims by nationals of different countries—allied and neutral—for indemnification for the losses which they suffered owing to 1, expropriations based on Soviet decrees, and 2, destruction, seizures and looting during the revolution and the civil war.

From the standpoint of jurisprudence the question of foreign loans has not been solved by the decree of the Soviet Government simply annulling

them. A loan must be paid. An internal revolution does not affect this at all. The new revolutionary government may abolish vested rights only within the country, within its jurisdiction, but it cannot alone repudiate the obligations undertaken by the former government. Otherwise, the overthrow of a government would provide a convenient way to get rid of obligations. International loans can be annulled only in the case of a world revolution. Since there was no world revolution the decree of the Soviet Government repudiating its debts has no legal force with respect to other nations.

It would be unjust, however, to accuse the Soviet Government of completely ignoring this elementary legal principle. During the negotiations of 1918 in Berlin, with regard to the application of the Brest-Litovsk treaty it recognized the debt claims of Germany and determined their size by a definitely fixed total amount—*Pauschalsumme*. In the peace offer addressed in February, 1919, to all the Entente countries the Soviet Government agreed to recognize in principle the old debts of Russia.

It should not, however, be inferred from this that France can, without much ado, demand that Russia pay the full amount of the Russian debt. We should not overlook the counter-claims of Russia on France.

The principal part of these claims would be based on the losses which Russia suffered owing to the fact that France (together with England) intervened in (if they did not cause) the civil war in Russia.

France and England openly took sides in Russia with one of the belligerents in the civil war. In 1918 the Allied missions were the centers of counter-revolutionary conspiracies. Later France, England and Japan helped to organize the civil war. They sent troops and ammunition to North Russia, to Kolchak in Siberia, to Denikin in South Russia,—and loaned them money. Soviet Russia was subjected to a blockade. The civil war in Russia caused immeasurable destruction, and it is impossible at present to estimate it even approximately: the loss of men who perished in the battles or from disease and starvation, financial expenditures, destruction of goods, loss of human labor, destruction of buildings and of all kinds of constructions.

The essential feature, from the legal standpoint, is the fact that France and England, in this case, openly violated the neutrality with respect to one of the contending sides. Russia should be indemnified for the losses which she suffered thanks to this violation of neutrality. These counter-claims of Russia on her creditors are so vast that they

can hardly be covered by merely canceling the old debts of Russia.

During the Civil War in the United States England allowed the arming in her territory of the privateer ships of the southern states which were attacking the ships of the northern states, and when the Civil War ended in a victory for the North, the United States demanded of England reimbursement for the losses caused by this violation of neutrality. England had to satisfy this demand, and by the decision of the Alabama arbitration court was forced to pay a considerable compensation.

From the legal standpoint, the situation in the present case is not different, with this exception, of course,—that the losses are much greater and the violation of neutrality more obvious, having reached actual warfare, though without a declaration of war. The French and the English have no reason to raise the legal question of Russia's debts. From the standpoint of international law this case would not end to the advantage of these countries.

As to the loans and supplies which England furnished to Russia during the common war against Germany and which she apparently calculates at 600 million pounds,—these loans were given for the needs of the war in which England fought against Germany. During the first years of the war, while Russia and France were bleeding to death, England—feeling more secure on her islands—contented herself with loaning money and munitions to her allies, on the pretext that she had no compulsory military service. This alone was immoral—that while some countries were giving their manhood, others should only give their pounds. After the war, England grabbed the lion's share in the division of the war booty. And now it turns out that Russia, who, Thank God! has taken no part in this feast—is yet to pay over six billion rubles in gold for the English cannon and rifles which were meant, first of all, to save England herself, and which enabled her to seize all the German colonies, the whole German fleet, and the Turkish petroleum wells.

The next among Russia's old debt obligations is the Roumanian gold which was removed to Russia during the war. However, it is usually overlooked that when Germany signed the armistice with the Allies in November, 1918, she bound herself, according to one of the armistice conditions, to turn over to the Allies the gold which she received from Russia, amounting to about 100 millions. This gold was described in the armistice terms as the Roumanian gold, and the Allies bound themselves to return it to its owner. We do not know what has become of this gold. Apparently it is held at Paris. At any rate the Roumanians ought to direct their inquiries, first of all, to Paris and London. Besides, among the Russian-Roumanian reciprocal claims there is the question of Bessarabia,—a rather ticklish question for Roumania.

Finally, there still remains the question regarding the indemnification of nationals of different countries—Allied and neutral—who suffered in the course of the revolution and the civil war.

These losses belong to two main categories.

Some of them were caused by the decrees of the Soviet Government which aimed at the expropriation and socialization of different kinds of capitalist property. Is Russia obliged to reimburse these losses? It is a debatable question. On the one hand, these confiscations were of a general legislative character, were directed at all persons residing on the territory of the Russian state, and did not separate foreigners into a special category. Every government of a sovereign state has a right to pass within its territory any laws which it deems just and expedient. Foreigners may only demand that they should not be placed in a worse position than the natives, but no more than this. They cannot claim special privileges.

The other losses of foreigners in Russia belong to the loss of property owing to the civil war, looting, destruction, etc.

According to the principles of international law, with regard to the indemnification of those who suffered through the actions of private persons the state is only obliged, if possible, to punish the responsible persons and to make them pay for the harm caused by them. Beyond this the state has no responsibility for the actions of private persons, and, in particular, the state is not obliged to indemnify for these losses if the responsible persons are unable to do so. The same principle applies in the case of violations during insurrection or civil strife. Private persons entering a foreign country assume the risk of possible insurrections or riots, just as they assume the risk of other misfortunes—earthquakes, epidemics, floods, etc.

As to the losses suffered by foreigners through the action of the governmental agencies or troops during the suppression of an insurrection or riots, the prevailing practice of international law recognizes no obligation on the part of the state in which civil war occurred to reimburse the losses of private persons. If now and then states must such reimbursements, it was only as voluntary contribution to the victim and not as a legal obligation. This principle was promulgated in a number of international treaties which we cannot cite here.

The whole question of the reciprocal claims of Russia and of the foreign nations is very complicated and will probably require a special conference at the proper time. At any rate, the claims which are advanced at the present time by the Allies are one sided and do not at all reflect the real position of this question. The representatives of the Russian nation should remember this and should defend with all their energy their indisputable right.

The Polish Advance

By N. A. GREDESKUL

(Professor of the University of Petrograd and Kharkov, and former Vice-Chairman of the First Imperial Duma. He is a member of the Constitutional Democratic Party.)

The Polish attack has totally altered our internal position and external relations.

Internally we have just put an end to the civil war. This war has resulted in a complete victory for the Soviet Power. Its result brought the complete solution of our internal quarrel after the assaults on the present regime by Kolchak and Denikin, who opposed it, not as individuals, but claimed to be representatives of governments of an all-Russian importance.

The solution of our internal dispute has given us the possibility of passing from war and destructive conditions to constructive and creative work. This constructive work must be on Socialist lines. On the ruins of the former life and culture, a new life and culture must be built. We can and must go in this direction because it is now our right, bought at a heavy historical price. The whole price has been paid, all obstacles done away with—we can begin with the realization of the big social revolution, in the name of which we must give the necessary organization and power to liberated labor, we must accomplish that which is of enormous importance not only to Russia, but to the whole world.

And now we are suddenly confronted with an alien external force, which is again dragging us into war—which prevents us from building our Socialist state and compels us to divert our whole activity to the business of war.

And what is the pretext under which it is being carried on?

In order to destroy Bolshevism; in order to prevent the accomplishment of the Social Revolution in Russia; in order not to allow the Russian people to live and manage as they choose.

But this is not all. There is still another reason, and that reason is simply plunder and conquest.

The Soviet Power, having for its aim the solution of internal problems, is prepared for all sorts of concessions. It is prepared to make peace, sacrificing, of its own desire, nothing that belongs to anyone else. The peace with Esthonia has sufficiently proved this. But Poland is not satisfied with such conditions. She simply thirsts for plunder—territorial, ethnographic and economic. And there is no limit to her appetite.

Brussilov is absolutely right when he says in his appeal to the Russian officers that the attack means not only the plundering of Russia, but its total destruction.

In case of Polish victory, Russia will undoubtedly be torn to pieces under the pretext of fighting Bolshevism, and will be subject to the domination of foreign powers, which will exploit her and take away from her everything they can carry with them.

And they will come to make order and will mock us physically and morally . . . "Know, barbarians, what it means to rise against 'Culture' and 'Freedom'."

But as we said before the Polish attack has altered our relations with the Entente, or at least with their governments. As long as our civil war lasted they were able to wear the mask of friends of Russia, and to help Kolchak and Denikin at the same time. They were able to say that they preferred only that particular government and only from it can they expect the restoration of Russia. What can they say now? Can they say they are helping Russia? Or that they wish to restore Russia with Polish arms? No, they do not say such things now. They say that they are saving Poland from an attack by Bolshevik Russia. The hypocrisy remains, but one mask has been thrown off and exchanged for a new one. What is then our position, those of us who are in Russia, no matter who we are?

We have to go voluntarily, with complete self-denial, wherever the government of the Russia of the workers and peasants instructs us to go, to serve not through fear but conscientiously.

The Russian officers will do all that they can at the front, and we—the Russian Intelligentsia—will help them at home, on the labor front. Without a strong, a comradely, energetic, and productive rear the officers cannot fulfill their duty. Their efforts to save Russia would then be vain. Thus there is but one duty.

We must have complete unity, we must have concerted action against the attack undertaken against us by European Capitalism. This complete unity and concerted action internally depends mostly upon the intelligentsia.

The intelligentsia must understand this and take the credit or the responsibility for their policy.

The Russian officers have determined their position in the Soviet Government; so must the Intelligentsia.—*Izvestia*, June 5, 1920.

A POLISH COMMUNIST APPEAL

To the workers of all countries:

The crushing victory of the Red Army, the precipitate retreat of the Polish forces sent to conquer Ukraine, has caused violent repercussion in the interior politics of Poland.

The two conceptions of Polish imperialism, the one of annexation pure and simple (Dmowsky), and the other disguised under the formula of the "liberation" of Ukraine and White Russia, are in harmony. Both of them are equally evil. There are no longer any differences in the bourgeois camp of Poland.

All the privileged classes, all the profiteers of the present regime form nothing but one reactionary block against all the workers. The counter-revolution,

ashamed of defeat, incited by the fear of its consequences, is blind, ferocious, and is ready for anything.

We, adherents of the party which alone is capable, through fraternal collaboration with the proletariat of our neighboring countries, of putting an end to war, famine and epidemics, which alone will be able to bring about, with the Socialist order, the peace so much desired in this unfortunate country, we, Polish Communists, appeal to the world.

It is necessary that you should know under what conditions we pursue our work for the safety and emancipation of the working class.

A state of siege is proclaimed throughout the entire country. The legal press of the workers, even of the pure and simple trade unions, is suppressed, at least those that do not bear the protective label of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party). The troops and detachments of gendarmes invade trade union meetings, demolishing the interior and arresting all the officials. In certain localities, such as at the works of Starachowice, the workers have replied to the provocations of the soldiers with a general strike and have retaken arrested comrades by physical force. The resistance of the workers is often paralyzed by the National Socialists of the P. P. S., whose leaders forestall the governmental repression as a means of freeing themselves from revolutionary opponents and recovering their waning influence over the working class.

At the trade union meetings, all those who dare raise their voices against the patriotic propositions of the partisans of the P. P. S. are arrested, either on leaving the meeting, or some hours later, by the agents of "law and order" (military gendarmes) and disappear in the infected prisons of the bourgeois republic. The prisoners are always beaten, insulted and often subjected to tortures.

Since the formation of the volunteer army, the streets have been in the possession of armed bands of the young bourgeois, school-boys, students, who, in company with outcasts of society of all kinds, are organized for civil war. Patriotism is extorted from the passers-by at the point of the bayonet. It is sufficient for one not to manifest chauvinistic sentiments before one of the ribald placards against the Soviets, covering the walls at each step, to be treated as a "Bolshevik."

Rumors are circulating that French colonial troops will soon arrive to reinforce the Polish army. These black troops will be utilized, without the least doubt, to keep in awe the Polish working class. It is for our French comrades to take effective measures to prevent such a disgrace.

Lately there has begun the transportation of hundreds of Communist prisoners from the overcrowded prisons and fortresses to an unknown destination. To the relatives of the prisoners all information about their new destination was refused. It appears that one party of prisoners has been transferred to the detention camp where the prisoners of the Red Army are detained. The typhoid fever there made such ravages that to stay in that place amounts to being condemned to death. Besides, the gendarmes and the military openly declare that at the first sign of a revolution all the notorious Communists that are found in their hands will immediately be executed.

Comrades! Socialist opinion throughout the world is already a power. Do not wait until there are repeated at home the unheard of scenes of barbarism of Hungary. In nearby regions at the front the blood of the workers and peasants flows ever and anon. Some thousands of prisoners of the class struggle are at the mercy of the reactionary brutes who do not spare them.

The white terror rules our country.
Proletarians of the world, raise your voice!
Act, act, without delay!

*The Central Committee of the Polish Communist
Labor Party.*

Warsaw, July 14, 1920.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND PERSIA

An Order of the Day Issued by Trotsky

The revolutionary council of the Persian Red Army, which is now fighting foreign and internal oppressors, has sent the following greeting to our Red Army:

"The Revolutionary War Council of the Persian Republic, organized upon the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of Persia, sends its sincere greetings to the Red Army and Red Navy. After passing through great hardships, and undergoing all kinds of privations, we succeeded in crushing our internal counter-revolution, which was merely a hireling of international capitalism. By the will of the toiling people there was organized in Persia a soviet power which began the creating of a Persian Red Army, built upon the principles of the Russian Red Army, with the purpose of destroying the enslavers of the Persian people.

"Long live the fraternal union between the Russian Red Army and the young Persian Army! Long live the union of the toilers of the world, the Third International!"

Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council,

KUCHUK-MIRZA.

Commander of the Armed Forces,

ESKHANULA.

Member of the Revolutionary War Council,

MUZA-FORZADE.

The following reply to this was sent in the name of the Russian Red Army:

"The news of the creation of the Persian Red Army has filled our hearts with joy. During the last decade and a half the toiling people of Persia has been struggling hard for its freedom. It has thus proved to all the world its right to this freedom. In the name of the workers' Red Army of Russia I express my firm conviction that, under the guidance of your Revolutionary War Council, Persia will conquer for itself the right to freedom, independence and fraternal toil.

"Long live the free toiling people of Persia as well as the families of free peoples of Asia and the whole world!"

In bringing to the knowledge of the Red soldiers this exchange of fraternal greetings, I express my firm belief that from now on the bonds between the revolutionary armies of Persia and Russia will grow and become stronger, to the great advantage of the toiling masses of all countries.

*Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council
of the Republic,*

L. TROTSKY.

WOMEN OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

(From Memoirs of the Czech Legionary M. . . .)

. . . We were advancing, everything was peaceful, no signs of the Bolsheviks. Suddenly we were surprised by shooting from a machine-gun. Bullets flew too high, the gun firing was unsteady, and we knew that it was being handled by a novice. I saw that it was a woman. I made a

side-attack upon her and called to her to surrender. She did not obey, but continued to fire. I did not want to bayonet a woman, and, therefore, struck her with the butt of my rifle. She shuddered, but continued to fire. I, therefore, struck her harder and took her prisoner. When later we became engaged in a battle, she nursed our wounded. After the battle, the boys held a consultation as to what to do with her. They suggested something too horrible to express in words. I shuddered and said to them: No, boys, only over my dead body! She was with us a few days, but I feared for her safety as I could not always stand guard over her. I, therefore, brought her before the commanding officer, and reported that this woman wanted to take care of our wounded. I received orders to do away with her at once, no matter in what manner. I took with me two boys and ordered them to be prepared, that we would lead her through the woods; they were to walk behind and in a favorable place they were to fire the shots so that she should suspect nothing. I told the woman to get ready, that she was to go with me. "I know where you are taking me," she said with a calm smile, "you are going to kill me." I denied this and told her that we were going to an investigation. I led her through the woods and chatted with her so that she should not suspect anything. Suddenly we heard a faint sound of the pulling of triggers. She turned around and said calmly with a smile: "Do you see, I knew very well that you were bringing me to my death." She turned to the boys and, uncovering her bosom said: "Fire, you will kill me but you cannot kill my ideal!" I was mortified and could not give the order to shoot. Here before me stood an illiterate Russian woman, of whom the strength of her conviction made a saint and I—I am supposed to be helping the Russian people? . . . Turn back, boys, I shall not do it! When we returned, I turned her over to my comrade of another division and told him everything. He was able to smuggle her away—into the city.

After a time, we were retreating—the communists were victorious. By chance, while retreating, I met the same woman in the city. She recognized me immediately and said with her calm smile: "Did I not tell you, that time in the woods, that our ideal would be victorious?" Tears dimmed my eyes. We continued to retreat.

COMPOSITION OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET

The *Communist Toil* of June 7 quotes the following figures as to the composition of the Moscow Soviet: 1,339 men and 133 women. Of the total membership, 1,220 are communists, forty-six belong to various socialist parties, and 156 are non-partisan. According to their occupations the members of the Soviet are grouped as follows: sixty-seven office employes, fifteen physicians, eight students; the other members are mostly workmen.

DYING FOR THE CZAR

The Sebastopol *Velikaya Rossia* of May 22 printed the following obituary notice:

"On the eve of the regimental holiday of the horse-guard regiment of the life guard, on May 23, a requiem mass will be held in the Cathedral of St. Vladimir in honor of the officers and soldiers of the regiment who had died for the Faith, Czar, and Country."

The Simferopol *Yuzhniye Viedomosti* took editorial note of this announcement, wondering for which czar the horse guards have died.

In reply to this the officers of the above regiment sent the following brief but explicit letter to the editors of the *Yuzhniye Viedomosti*:

"The horse-guards always died and are dying for that Russian Czar who was and who some day will again be."

FINNISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS DEMANDS PEACE WITH RUSSIA

HELSINGFORS, May 31 (Rosta).—The Congress of the Finnish Trade Union Organizations adopted the following resolution on peace with Soviet Russia, which was proposed by the Organization Commission:

"Whereas, a state of war between Finland and Russia is still maintained, despite the resulting economic disturbance and uncertainty in the country; and

"Whereas, the peace offers made by Russia were not received sympathetically by the Finnish Government, which seemed to be watching for a convenient opportunity to attack Soviet Russia;

"Therefore, The Congress of the Trade Union Organizations demands that all procrastinations definitely cease and that steps be immediately taken for the conclusion of a real peace, for only this will open the way for the improvement of the economic life of the country and of the conditions of the workers. After the conclusion of a sound and lasting peace the military fortifications will become superfluous, the force of the army should be immediately reduced, reducing at the same time the expenditures for military purposes, and gradually the useless expenditure of labor energy for the manufacturing of military equipment should be done away with."—*Pravda*, June 6, 1920.

THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN
of the Commissariat of Labor

This pamphlet, reprinted for the first time from an English translation that appeared in Petrograd this year, is an authoritative study of the actual operation of the Code of Labor Laws, which has already been reprinted by us in pamphlet form.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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

The First Workers' Commune in Moscow

AMONG our proletariat, especially among the women, there is still to be found a deep-rooted dislike of social housekeeping. For this reason it is interesting to observe how there developed in the workers' communes of Russia new forms of social organizations which are intended to replace our primitive, old fashioned ways of keeping house. The following article will give the reader a picture of the first workers' commune in Moscow:

In the heart of the city is located Moscow's first residence commune. It comprises a group of about twenty houses, four to five stories in height; this block of houses was well-known as the "Bakhru Houses" (so named after the former owner). Today they bear the proud title "First Moscow Workers' Commune."

At the beginning of the Revolution these houses were socialized by the city and turned over to the bakers' union for their use. They in turn established the commune. All apartments, even those which were vacated by former tenants, are completely furnished. Tenants remaining in the building were assigned only as many rooms as they actually needed for their families. All superfluous rooms had to be vacated, together with all their furniture.

These vacant apartments and rooms were turned over to the bakers and other workers, as well as to Soviet officials and their families. The rent is proportionately low and evenly divided among all tenants; in fact, only enough is collected to cover the necessary expenses for the maintenance of the houses.

The commune is supervised by a house committee which is elected every six months at a meeting participated in by all the tenants. (Excepted are workers in technical branches.) Included in the house committee are an engineer, whose duty it is to see that the houses are properly maintained, and a physician who watches over sanitary conditions in the commune. A few men to make necessary repairs in the houses are also employed: mechanics, roofers, carpenters, etc., but no one receives pay.

In the commune are located a bakery and a store for the sale of foodstuffs, conducted in conjunction with the municipal consumers' league. The house committee is represented in both organizations. The members of the commune also receive cards through the committee, which enable them to obtain various textile goods. These manufactured goods, clothing, shoes, hats, etc., are distributed through the warehouses of the municipal consumers' league. Members are also entitled to written orders for the repair of shoes and clothing, as well as for the supply of fuel. Moreover all rooms have heat from a central heating plant, electric light, and gas.

There was also installed in the commune a large

laundry, in which linen is carefully washed at very low cost. A community kitchen, too, was established and is used in connection with a large dining room. If desired, families can call for their meals and carry them to their apartments. Needless to say the comfort of the commune's children has not been overlooked; there are cribs for infants and little tots, and kindergartens for the bigger children. The women workers, away at their tasks during the day, need have no worry on account of their little ones; they know they are well taken care of.

The houses are placed in the center of a beautiful, scrupulously well kept garden. Every Sunday a concert is given there, and occasionally lawn parties are arranged. Adjoining the garden is a theatre (in memory of a martyr of the Revolution called the "House of Peter Alexinsky") in which plays are frequently given for the members of the commune, sometimes, too, performances for children, or lectures with and without stereopticon views; the weekly meetings likewise take place in this theatre.

The commune has established a comfortable reading room, and maintains a well stocked library. A dramatic and musical club is busily at work. The soul of the whole commune is of course the communist element, which has established it all and brought it to its present high standard, and which always calls on everybody for solidarity and a spirit of mutual assistance.

All members are obliged to maintain strict cleanliness and order. In the spring of the year, when the great masses of snow which have accumulated during the winter, begin to melt, all members are requested to lend a hand in the cleaning of yards and sidewalks. Cheerfully everybody grasps spade and broom, and it is a veritable pleasure to see how gaily and quickly the work is completed. All these people, performing their unaccustomed work in a spirit of so much cheerfulness, have the elevating consciousness that even these little tasks contribute to the common weal.

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY (1917—1919)

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News Items

NEGOTIATIONS WITH FINLAND

(Session of June 14)

REVAL, June 15.—Chairman Paasikivi informs the Russian delegation that he had communicated to the Finnish Government the proposition to conclude an armistice, and that a reply is expected every moment. Furthermore, Paasikivi proposes to discuss the question of the Pechenga region. Venola, a member of the Finnish delegation, makes known the following territorial demands of Finland:

The infringements upon the rights of Finland to the Arctic coast and its utilization should from now on be removed, and the Finnish population be accorded the access to the Arctic Ocean which is necessary for its existence.

The Finnish population of Karelia, which bounds on Finland, should be given a possibility—in accordance with the principle of self-determination of peoples—to decide whether it wishes to belong to Finland or Russia.

In regulating the boundaries, attention must be paid to making the boundary line between Finland and Russia form, as far as possible, a natural boundary line, guaranteeing a durable peace between the two states.

In his further remarks, Venola endeavors to offer reasons for the demands advanced by him by referring to historical and natural rights, particularly to the conditions of life of the Finnish population in the north, for whom navigation and fisheries in the Arctic Ocean present a problem of extraordinary importance, as well as by reference to the promises made by Emperor Alexander the Second.

In view of the complexity of the problems touched upon in Venola's speech, the Russian delegation proposes to postpone further discussion to the next session. Comrade Bersin proposes the following draft of the formula which is to reaffirm in the treaty the fundamental act of Finnish independence, which up to now has not yet received its juridical and diplomatic affirmation.

Based upon the principle proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of all peoples to a free self-determination even to the point of their full separation from the state of which they are a part, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence, self-determination, and sovereignty of the Finnish state, and renounces of its own free will all her supreme rights which had been vested in Russia with regard to the Finnish people and soil, and existing by virtue of the former constitutional order or by virtue of international treaties which in the sense indicated lose all their strength for the future.

Paasikivi promises to reply in this matter at the next day's session, and proposes to take up the discussion of the questions relating to the self-determination of Eastern Karelia. M. Venola expresses the hope that the population of Eastern

Karelia will be accorded the right to decide by means of a general vote whether they wish to belong to Russia or Finland. "The principle of right," says Venola, "demands that the present Finnish border should not divide two populations of the same stock between two states." Venola also calls attention to the fact that in a part of the Petrograd province Finnish tribes are living, and asks some concessions of a cultural character for the Finnish population in the province of Petrograd. Comrade Bersin says that all the questions raised will receive a general reply.—From *Krasnaya Gazeta*, June 17, 1920.

A RUSSIAN CZARIST WARSHIP IN KIEL

The following is communicated by the Chemnitz (Germany) newspaper *Kaempfer*:

KIEL, July 13.—A Russian warship with the old flag and a Czarist crew entered the port of Kiel, in order to proceed by the way of the Baltic-North Sea canal to the Black Sea. After it was ascertained that it was a case of military support for the Russian General Wrangel, the captain of the ship was notified that the passage through the canal would not be permitted for reasons of neutrality.

Where was the ship up to now? Apparently in a Finnish port. Where does it get coal? It will be the task of the dock workers not to allow this ship to get even one ton of coal. The mad destruction of values in the Russian civil war must finally be stopped, in order that the Communist reconstruction of the Russian economy may be carried out.

FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST POLISH AGGRESSION

Sacrificing Their Day of Rest

TULA, June 4.—The workers and employees at the Tula station of the Tykhvin railway line replied to the aggression of the Polish magnates by intensifying the struggle on the labor front. On June 2 they decided to give up their Sunday rest for a month and to work every Sunday six hours.

JEWISH POGROMS

It is reported from Stockholm: Delegations sent by the Jewish inhabitants of various localities which have been occupied by the Poles, are arriving in Kiev. They are soliciting aid for the victims of the pogroms which the Poles organized before they retreated.

RUSSIAN WAR PRISONERS

Moscow, July 27.—The last contingent of Russian prisoners of war that has arrived in Odessa brings five former Galician officers who are applying for commissions in the Red Army.

LITHUANIAN-POLISH ENCOUNTERS

KOVNO, July 16 (Lithuanian Telegraph Agency).—Yesterday a train with Lithuanian soldiers was proceeding from here to Vilna. At Landvarovo the train was stopped by Polish partisans. The Lithuanians resisted, whereupon a three hours' struggle developed, which ended with the retreat of the Poles in the direction of Vilna. South of Meishapals, the Lithuanian troops during their forward march came across a Polish brigade which was retreating from the front. The Poles were disarmed and a large amount of war booty fell into the hands of the Lithuanians. The Lithuanian troops stand before the gates of Vilna. It is reported further that the Bolsheviks, east of Vilna, are marching on the city. Vilna itself has been completely evacuated by the Poles.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN LITHUANIA AND RUSSIA

KOVNO, July 16.— The peace treaty between Russia and Lithuania sets forth approximately the following boundary line: from the Dvina through the Crivista lake, Narosh lake, and Molodechno, along the Beresina west of Memel, along the Memel through Grodno up to the region of Austerov, then in a northerly direction to the German border. Lithuania gets also Grodno and Lida.

We hope soon to be able to present the full text of the treaty between Soviet Russia and Lithuania to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA.

TRADE RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

STOCKHOLM, July 8 (A telegram to the Berlin *Rote Fahne*).—Since the opening of the Esthonian border on May 8 to June 19 the following merchandise passed through the Yamburg boundary station to Soviet Russia: 269 cars with agricultural machinery, 117 car-loads of paper, 8 car-loads of leather, 3 car-loads of saws, 11 car-loads of tanning extract, 827 car-loads of potato seeds, altogether 1,235 cars weighing over 1,000,000 poods. Besides there were transported 2,400 poods of sole leather, over 5,000 barrels of herrings, and many other goods.

PRAGUE, July 4.—*Narodni Listy* reports that the trade mission of Krassin has placed a large order for shoes in a Czech shoe factory, the payment for which will be made in gold.

EXPORTS TO RUSSIA

COPENHAGEN, June 22.—The *Berlinske Tidende* reports from Kovno the following news item taken from the official Bolshevik paper *Pravda* concerning the resumption of exports to Russia. The exports are forwarded partly by way of Reval and partly by way of Petrograd. In both cities large quantities of goods have arrived. Contracts have been made for locomotives, scythes, threshing machines, mowing machines, etc. From the first of July, a train will leave Reval daily for

Petrograd and Moscow. In the near future many deliveries are expected from Scandinavia and America.

CONTROL OF FOREIGN TRADE

PARIS, June 29. (Havas).—According to a telegram of the *Petit Parisien* from Helsingfors, Lenin has signed a decree by which the People's Commissariat for Industry is transformed into a Commissariat for Foreign Trade. In the future, no one will have the right to undertake business transactions without being empowered to do so by this Commissariat. The result of this decree will be the unconditional control of foreign exchange of goods by the Soviets.

THE FOREIGN DEBT

The *Izvestia* writes as follows:

In January, 1919, we offered peace to the Entente and asked the Allies what sum they demanded of us for the debts made by the Czarist government. In reply there came the offensive of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. Today they want to present us with a bill. But, we, too, have a bill to present. The bill for the destruction of Borisov, Kiev, Balta, for the devastations made by the White generals in the pay of the Entente, for the executions of Russian workers and peasants by the English, French, and American officers. We shall see who will remain in debt, who has something to pay.

IN THE REAR OF THE POLISH ARMY

LVOV (Lemberg), June 2 (Via Belo-Ostrov).—In the rear of the Polish front there is a growing wave of insurrection against the Polish usurpers. Reports of this come not only from White Russia, but also from other localities. In Galicia a strong nationalist movement is expected. There were already numerous cases of encounters between the populace and the Polish gendarmerie, with killed and wounded on both sides. The Poles are sending punitive expeditions, but their activities are obstructed.

AN ARMENIAN EMBASSY ON ITS WAY TO MOSCOW

STOCKHOLM, July 1.—A delegation of the Armenian Republic, consisting of Leon Schandt, the Chairman of the Armenian Parliament, and other members, has arrived in Rostov on the Don on its way to Moscow. The delegation is authorized to discuss the conditions of a peace treaty between Armenia and Russia.

KAHIL PASHA IN MOSCOW

STOCKHOLM, July 1, 1920.—The well-known Turkish statesmen, Kahil Pasha, Fuad Pasha, and Gemse Pasha have arrived in Moscow. Two of the above-mentioned gentlemen are representatives of the Government of Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

TWO DECREES OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

[The following abstract of two official Soviet Government decrees is taken from a recent number of "Politiken", of Stockholm. We cannot vouch for the correctness of the details given, as we have not seen the originals of the decrees.]

On the 5th of May of this year, the Russian Soviet Government published two decrees of extraordinary significance for the industry and agriculture of Russia.

I

Supplementary to the decree dealing with the socialization of the land, which does away with the private ownership of the surface of the land and the resources under the ground (1918), there was issued on the 5th of May a decree in which a new mode of utilizing the resources under the ground is provided for. All contracts dealing with the rights of private persons and companies to the resources under the ground are annulled. The exploitation of these resources and the minerals mined, the general direction and control of the mining industry are assigned to the Mining Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

II

The object of the other decree is to increase the productivity of agriculture, which suffers much at present as a consequence of the often injudicious division of the land by the local communes.

It provides a regulation according to which a redivision of the land by the agricultural com-

munes may be carried out only with the consent of the local Agricultural Economic Councils. A complete re-division of the land is forbidden until the cultivation period has been completed according to the Socialization decree of 1918.

CONGRATULATIONS FROM CHINESE WORKERS

A Chinese labor union, organized in Shanghai in April, 1920, sent the following telegram to the Siberian Soviets in the name of the "Chinese Laborers and Peasants":

"To the Russian Laborers and Peasants and the Red Army in Russia: We, representatives of the Chinese workmen and peasants, offer our hearty congratulations to you on the success of your revolution and hope that some day the capitalists of the whole world may be put down, to the advantage of our brother workers so that all of us can gain liberty, freedom and equality in the true sense of these words. We welcome the Russian Red Army because its members have made great personal sacrifices for the benefit of our working brothers throughout the world, so that we Chinese laborers and peasants are quite willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with you under the flags of the army of right in the hope that ultimately we shall uproot the evil of capitalism and class distinction."

(Signed)

The Chinese Labor Association.

—Asiatic News Agency, Shanghai, April 23, 1920.

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