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## Agricultural Cooperation

By V. MILYUTIN

**A**GRICULTURAL artels (cooperative teams) must be considered the oldest form of agricultural cooperation. The artels have behind them a history of more than one century, and many works have been devoted to their theoretical analysis and interpretation.

Information of hunting and fishing artels goes as far back as the 13th century. One of the latest investigators of the artels, Sergey Maslov, writes: "Artel forms of toil in agriculture go far back into the past. The peasants worked in artels for men called into military service, for monasteries and churches, and during the period of serfdom, on jobs for landowners. We find agricultural artels' labor even in the pre-reform period. At this time it manifests itself in common tilling, in work for the clergy, in so-called 'nest exploitation,' which was described by N. V. Shelgunov, in artels of scythemen who were tramping every year to the far off steppes of the Don and Kuban."

In the period of serfdom, we find also instances of "artel" experiments by the landed proprietors, which were quite characteristic although not very numerous. There are detailed descriptions of such artels, as, for instance, by Stremuhov, Vilkins, Zhukov, and others.

After the sixties (of the nineteenth century, that is, after the liberation of the peasant), the artels developed independently and became the refuge of the *narodniki*, who were seeking in them the realization of new forms of social life.

But despite the long history of the agricultural artels they have always been very few in number and very weak. Coming into existence with the object of practicing cooperative economy, cooperative tilling, the artels would speedily disintegrate

under the pressure of the slightest economic changes. As soon as the economic situation would improve the artel would fall apart.

Usually the artels consisted of a few members. An artel would have only from ten to twelve men, heads of families. There was no internal economic bond in the artels; the petty bourgeois aspirations and delusions would not die out; they had absolutely no technical equipment, and they, therefore, naturally could not develop into an important social movement.

The following at bottom deadly characterization of artels was written by the same Sergey Maslov, who is a *narodnik*, a Right Socialist Revolutionary, but whose characterization, in our opinion, nevertheless correctly interprets the nature of the artel movement:

"Summing up the characterization of the Russian agricultural artels as a type, we will say that the impression of the extreme weakness and primitiveness of our artels remain upon closer examination. There is not the slightest indication in them of broad social tasks; there is no adequate technical equipment; the productivity of labor is low in true Russian fashion; all the inter-relations are extremely reduced and simplified; there are absolutely no written forms; and the artels have no common fund of finances and resources. The Russian artel is very weak in membership, very weakly organized and probably disintegrates easily."

As a *narodnik*, Sergey Maslov is trying to soften his verdict on the artels, but it is, nevertheless, deadly.

Thus, as attempts of small owners to organize cooperative production, the artels were a failure,

and never had a serious social significance or interest from the economic or any other standpoint.

Of much greater extent and importance were the new cooperative forms in the domain of agriculture, which are an independent movement and the product of the new period—the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Agricultural cooperation spread to many phases of agriculture and succeeded in becoming so large that it has even formed the basis for the origin of new theoretical Utopias, or the possibility of creating an ideal cooperative system by the exclusive means of economic changes, by uniting millions of small owners, or for the peaceful and painless attainment of the Socialist system.

The basic forms of agricultural cooperation until recent days were: (1) credit cooperatives, (2) buying and selling cooperatives, (3) some special associations, such as control unions, insurance associations, etc., and (4) artels, of which we have already spoken.

The consumers' associations, which are very strong in the villages, ordinarily do not belong to the forms of agricultural cooperation, since they are not directly connected with agricultural production, but are, on the contrary, connected with urban industry.

Cooperation in Russia in general, and in agriculture in particular, began to develop and reached serious dimensions only after 1905. During ten years all the forms of cooperation made great advances.

The War of 1914-1918 not only did not weaken the cooperative movement, but on the contrary hastened its development. On January 1, 1918, there were 54,400 local cooperatives in Russia. They were distributed in different groups as follows:

1. Credit cooperatives .....	16,500
2. Consumers' associations .....	25,000
3. Agricultural associations .....	6,000
4. Agricultural corporations .....	2,400
5. Dairy artels .....	3,000
6. Artisan and home manufacturing and other cooperatives.....	1,500
	54,400

From these data we can form an opinion of the relative development and spread of one or another form of cooperation. We see that, with the exception of the consumers' cooperatives, the credit cooperatives have the greatest development and popularity.

The agricultural cooperatives are united into several large central organizations. At their head at the present time is the "Selskosoyuz," which is analogous in its functions to the "Centrosoyuz," the central organ of the consumers' cooperatives. An important part in the agricultural cooperatives belongs also to such organizations as the "Central Association of Flax Producers" and the unions of Butter Producing Artels of Vologda and Siberia.

But what place can be taken by the agricultural cooperatives under the new social conditions, and what is their future?

This question is of great importance for our work of socialist construction.

Heretofore we have had interpretations of the socialist cooperatives only from the standpoint of the cooperators themselves, who adhere firmly to the basis of private economy.

In the capitalist system the cooperatives are not only of great economic but also of great social importance. The different kind and forms of cooperatives not only bring definite economic advantages to their members as well as to non-members, but they also wage a struggle—both economic and ideologic—against the capitalist forms. To be sure, this struggle is first of all conditioned by the competition inherent in the capitalist system. Under the capitalist system a struggle prevails of each against all and all against each.

In their economic life and activity the cooperative organizations, inasmuch as they desired to exist, naturally and inevitably were forced to wage this struggle, and frequently not only against the capitalists, but also against each other.

But besides this struggle, which arose on the basis of competition—a struggle for existence, the cooperative organizations, uniting those who were oppressed by large capital became united in the struggle against the capitalist system, and in the workers' cooperatives as class organizations,—these elements appeared stronger and clearer. In the other cooperatives, the civic and agricultural, that are essentially petty bourgeois, this appeared much weaker. The last kinds of cooperative organizations have almost never risen to a consciousness of the political struggle—the necessity of overthrowing the yoke of capitalism. The sphere of their struggle was confined to the aspirations to improve their economic organizations, the position of their members, or to the purely ideologic propaganda of their cooperative principles and their cooperative virtues. Many have tried to define the nature of the cooperatives. Among the well-known definitions are those of Tugan-Baranovsky, Nikolayev, Prokopovich, Semen Maslov, and other cooperators. As a typical definition, we will cite the following of Semen Maslov:

"The cooperatives are first of all organizations or unions of toilers. This union consists in the creation by the collective effort of the toilers of special economic enterprises or economic organizations. The aim of the cooperative organizations is the removal of those losses and hardships which are inflicted on the toilers by the power of modern capitalism in its various manifestations. The cooperatives are thus a voluntarily organized economic activity of the toilers the aim of which is to raise the income from the toil of its members and, as much as possible, to liberate them from the tribute which the toilers are forced to pay to the owners of capital."

In this, quite precise, definition we see the boundaries which limited the activity of the cooperatives in general and of the agricultural cooperatives in particular. This economic organization aims to raise the income, to improve the

conditions of living, but it is not concerned with questions of changing the basis of the social and political system.

This nature of the cooperatives in the profiteering capitalist system and their opposition to capitalist principles appealed to many. But in the present conditions of Soviet Russia, when the power, the whole power, both economic and political, passed into the hands of the toilers,—all these features of the cooperatives lose all their meaning. There is no more room for competition. The world of competition and speculation is dying out, being replaced exclusively by organized and social forms of economic activity.

Opposition to the power of the state loses its significance, for opposition to the Soviet power, to the power of the toilers, inevitably turns into its very opposite, becoming reactionary. Inasmuch as the cooperative organizations tried to take this path (as, for instance, in Siberia and in the Urals) they inevitably became counter-revolutionary organizations, helping the power of the capitalists and landed proprietors.

Thus, from the standpoint of the development of new social forms, there was no reason why the cooperatives should set themselves up in opposition to the new Soviet state forms.

The existence of private social organizations of toilers (and not of those who frequently hide behind this flag) side by side with the Soviet state organizations of the toilers, both in the cities and villages, is an absolutely superfluous parallelism which, if anything, can be only harmful.

Only those who cannot go forward, who value the old division of society into separate groups, who grasp at the old and dying, would advocate the continuation and the safeguarding of this separate existence of two social organizations. There are many such groups among the millions of small owners and particularly among the petty bourgeois ideologists.

Behind this, of course, is a definite reason. To make it clearer, the aspiration to save the bourgeois property forms of social relations. However, since the elemental forms of social development are being replaced by the consciously regulated, the harmful remnants of the past, also in this domain, which are hindering the unity of social development must be broken and replaced by new forms in harmony with the Socialist content of the social development.

Under the Soviets the private organizations must be included in the unified network of Soviet organizations. Life has taken this path with regard to the consumers and credit cooperatives, and the agricultural cooperatives must also follow the same path.

This becomes particularly clear when we consider the economic tasks of the agricultural cooperatives under the conditions of the economic developments of the Soviet system.

In distinction from the agricultural artels whose activity consisted mainly of agricultural production, the agricultural cooperatives have had as the

center of their activity intermediary operations. The agricultural cooperatives stand between the city and the village, and are engaged, on the one hand, in collecting manufactured products which they sell in the villages and, on the other hand, in gathering raw materials, flax, butter, grain, etc., and selling these in the cities or abroad. Few people have paid attention to this circumstance, and yet precisely in this consists the essential nature of the agricultural cooperatives.

Indeed, the strongest cooperative organizations, such as the butter producing union, the associations of flax producers and others, are important as intermediary and not as producing organizations. Production remains in the hands of individual peasants, while the cooperative organizations direct their activity to collecting the products of individual small producers.

In this respect the agricultural cooperatives play the part of a large buyer of raw materials, which they do not use themselves for manufacturing purposes, but sell to others. Of course, there are exceptions, but they have no important, determining significance for the character of the cooperatives. Again, the role of the associations for the purchase of agricultural machinery is merely of an intermediary nature, just as is the role of the credit associations. Only in Russia they do not act as large buyers, but, on the contrary, as wholesale sellers.

However, precisely in this activity of the agricultural cooperatives lies the secret of their stability, of their capacity for development and entrenchment which they have manifested in the capitalist society, differing in this respect from the agricultural artels, which had but a pitiful existence.

The intermediary activity of the agricultural cooperatives was a response to the vital and necessary needs of the peasants. This quite justified their existence and this economic activity furnished the soil on which alone they could live and develop.

The significance of the agricultural cooperatives can be fully expressed in the word intermediary.

However, inasmuch as the agricultural cooperatives precisely by this activity grew strong and won the sympathies of the broad social groups in the bourgeois society, growing economically strong, in so much do they become weak in the socialist system, when the very basis for such activity between the city and the village becomes unnecessary and superfluous. Indeed, of what use is the private intermediary activity under the conditions of a food monopoly, of a monopoly on flax, of state distribution, of agricultural machinery, when state collecting and distributing organs come into existence? Of course they are of no use!

Furthermore, against whom would the cooperative organizations fight and compete when the class of landed proprietors has disappeared as a class and the capitalist enterprises have been nationalized? With the Soviet institutions? But this would be useless and harmful. If the cooper-

atives would undertake such activity they would be the first to suffer. Thus, the agricultural co-operatives lose under the Soviet system their most vital and practical function—the intermediary function, which passes to the state organs organizing the whole society. We, who advocate a united co-ordinated national economy, do not need to prove the necessity of such a transition.

If we desire the development and strengthening of the industry, if we desire to raise the national economy to higher stages we must concentrate in the hands of the state organs the collecting of raw materials and the distribution of these to our factories and workshops, and only then can we be sure that no private or group interests will hinder the development of the national economy, particularly in its most advanced parts.

For this purpose Soviet organs have been created during the first two years of the existence of Soviet Russia for the purchasing of flax, wool, leather, etc.

Hence, from the standpoint of the collectivization of the village, the agricultural cooperatives have played only an auxiliary part. They were necessary and useful both from the standpoint of economics and education only in the capitalist system. In the Soviet Socialist system they become useless, at least, as an independent private organization.

Of course, the process of the dying out of the old forms proceeds slowly. It will probably take a good deal of time before the cooperative organ-

izations will change from private or group organizations into Soviet state organizations, into real social institutions.

But the development towards these results is irresistible.

The collectivization of the village must proceed, but not through the agricultural cooperatives. They lack the necessary qualifications for this purpose. First, as we have seen, their direct connection with agricultural toil and, in general, with the productive processes is extremely weak. Secondly, they are organizations of separate groups of peasants, and their interests will therefore always be opposed to the general interests and to the interests of the national economy as a whole. Thirdly, their intermediary activity is passing to the state organs. Fourthly, their educational activity, in the presence of the extensive educational efforts of the Soviets, is losing its importance.

From all this we must conclude that the process of the collectivization of the village must not be expressed in the old forms, even if they have a respectable past. It must be expressed in new forms in harmony only with the demands of the national economy, and such forms are only the agricultural communes and the Soviet economy. We regard with respect the role of the cooperatives in the past, we do not refuse to take advantage of their present useful functions, but we respectfully tell them: "give way to new forms of life and change yourself into these, if you can."—*Narodnoye Khozyaistvo*, September-October, 1919.

## Who Takes Part in the Government?

**M**ILLIONS of workers participating daily and directly in the difficult work of management, which sometimes appeared insignificant, gave birth in their ranks to thousands of experienced constructive workers, sacrificing all their strength and ability to the work of organization. The work of the congresses of Soviets and of their committees was devoted principally to the work of the Soviet creation. Let us see who takes part in these congresses and of whom the Executive Committees are composed. We will speak first of the number of Soviet congresses which have taken place. The figures relative to the 119 congresses (of provinces and districts) meeting in 1919 in a third of the territory of Soviet Russia indicate that almost half of the congresses (fifty-five district congresses, or forty-six per cent; and eight provincial congresses, or fifty per cent) have already been held for the fifth and sixth times. Almost one-fourth of the congresses (twenty-two district and two provincial) are meeting for the seventh and eighth times. Certain congresses, chiefly district congresses, have met from nine to fourteen times. There should be noted a certain considerable group of congresses (eleven congresses or ninety per cent) which met for the first time: this

was the case in places near the front; nearly half of them are in the province of Archangel.

The figures relating to the parties of which these congresses were composed are also available. Although incomplete, these figures furnish a general idea of the principal creative forces in Soviet Russia. All the congresses are divided into three periods: From October, 1917, to July, 1918—the first period of the work of Soviet construction; from July, 1918, to January, 1919—when Soviet work was carried on almost exclusively by the forces of the Russian Communist Party, and the third period, from January, 1919, to the present year, when the great masses, finding themselves without party affiliations, took part in the work of Soviet organization.

The members of the Communist Party, together with persons sympathizing with that party, form the fundamental group of the members of the congresses for all three periods. In the first period they constitute a little more than half of the members of the congresses; one-fourth of the members of the congresses was represented by other political parties, principally by the Social-Revolutionaries of the left: twenty-one per cent of all the members of the congresses; the number of

**Table I**  
PARTIES COMPOSING THE CONGRESSES

<i>Dates of the Congresses</i>		Total No. of Congresses	Total No. of Members of the Congresses	Communists	Communist Sympathizers	No Party Affiliation	Other Parties
From October, 1917, to July, 1918	Provincial ..	5	1,681	722 42.7%	103 6.1%	290 17.3%	566 33.7%
	District ....	20	1,912	836 43.9%	309 16.2%	450 23.5%	317 16.6%
	Total No...	25	3,593	1,558 43.4%	412 11.4%	740 20.6%	883 24.6%
From July, 1918, to January, 1919	Provincial ..	10	1,447	957 66.1%	353 24.4%	90 6.2%	47 3.3%
	District ....	24	3,960	1,470 37.1%	1,781 44.9%	505 13.0%	204 5.1%
	Total No...	34	5,407	2,427 44.9%	2,134 39.5%	595 11.0%	251 4.6%
From January to October, 1919	Provincial ..	12	1,780	1,045 58.7%	355 18.8%	378 21.3%	22 1.2%
	District ....	68	8,679	3,447 39.7%	2,276 26.2%	2,732 31.5%	224 2.6%
	Total No...	80	10,459	4,492 42.9%	2,611 24.9%	3,110 29.8%	246 2.4%

**Table II**

COMPOSITION OF THE PERSONNEL OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES OF THE PROVINCES, CITIES, DISTRICTS AND SOVIETS, ABOUT OCTOBER 19, 1919

Type of Executive Committees	<i>Distribution by Party Members</i>							<i>Work in Soviet Organizations</i>			<i>Education</i>				
	Total No. of Members	Communists	Sympathizers	S. D.	S. R.	Anarchists	No Party Affiliation	Less than 1 Year	More than 1 Year	All Other	University	Secondary	Primary	At Home	All Other
Provincial Executive Committees	516	456	20	6	..	1	33	66	309	141	51	118	251	40	56
% of Total		88.3	3.8	1.1	..	..	6.3	12.7	59.8	27.3	9.8	22.8	48.6	7.7	10.8
City Executive Committees	404	292	28	3	..	..	81	47	175	182	35	67	249	34	19
% of Total		72.2	7.	0.7	..	..	20.	11.7	43.3	45.	8.6	16.6	61.7	8.4	4.7
District Executive Committees	4,166	2,879	461	30	14	6	776	857	2,313	996	124	605	2,772	406	259
% of Total		69.1	11.	0.77	0.32	0.1	18.6	20.5	55.5	23.9	2.9	14.5	66.5	9.7	6.2
General Total	5,086	3,627	509	39	14	7	890	970	2,797	1,319	210	790	3,272	480	334
% of Total		71.3	10.	0.8	0.3	0.1	17.5	19.1	55.	25.9	4.1	15.5	64.4	9.4	6.6

Social-Revolutionaries of the right was insignificant (1.2 per cent), there were still fewer Mensheviks (0.9 per cent), the rest (twenty per cent)—were without party affiliation. In the following period the number of Social-Revolutionaries of the left after the July agreement became almost nothing (about three per cent), and the Communist Party with its sympathizers constituted more than four-fifths of all the members of the congresses. The Communist Party became stronger and stronger, to the loss not only of the other political parties, but also of persons without party affiliation, the process of dismembering the classes proceeded in a more striking and profound manner in the country; in the cities persons outside of the parties joined the ranks of the Communist Party. In the third period the influence of other political parties is diminishing still more, although the Maximalists and the Revolutionary Communists appear in their ranks. The representatives of the great mass without party affiliation, and of the peasants of the middle class appear at the congresses, especially the district congresses. (Composition of personnel of the provincial committees, of the cities, the districts, and the Soviets about October, 1919—see Table No. 2.)

Thus the work of Soviet construction proceeded all this time under the direction of the Russian Communist Party. Table No. II, relating to the composition of the Executive Committee shows the participation of this party in the daily current work of the Soviets.

The above figures refer to June-September, 1919, embracing the largest number of Executive Committees, 211 district committees, and thirty-six urban committees. In the provincial committees the Communist Party is represented by an overwhelming majority (eighty-eight per cent) of all the members, who together with the party sympathizers constitute ninety-two per cent of the

composition of the Executive Committees. The number of those not affiliated with any party is much greater in the districts; they constitute 18.6 per cent. (In the last congresses the representatives of the middle class peasants joined the Executive Committees). The Communist Party sympathizers are here also in comparatively greater number, but the Communists constitute the principal nucleus of the workers (ninety-six per cent). The urban Executive Committees occupy a middle place between these two groups: four-fifths of the Communists with their sympathizers, and one-fifth of those not affiliated with any party.

Who then represent the Communist Party which dominates the Soviets? Unfortunately, the collection of figures relative to the professions of the members has not yet been completed, and we cannot form a judgment while waiting except by basing it merely on the figures concerning their education. Four-fifths of the members of the Executive Committee, including a small group (six per cent) which have not yet given any information with regard to their education, belong to the workers, having received very primitive instruction in the primary schools or having instructed themselves.

Persons having the highest education, the intellectuals, are insignificant in number—four per cent.

Persons with secondary education constitute fifteen per cent—they are all sorts of employes, factory technicians, etc. In the district Executive Committees, the persons with primary education predominate; in the provincial Executive Committees, on the other hand, there are some who have a higher education. The table is clear: in Soviet Russia where all the power belongs to the workers, four-fifths of the workers who manage the state machine are workingmen and peasants.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

Detroit, Mich., July 14, 1920.

**A**N OPPORTUNITY came to me to learn about the real state of affairs in the Russian Far East. Now that the Polish army is completely routed, and on the eve of its final annihilation, we may look to the Pacific, where soon another dangerous enemy—imperialistic Japan, will undoubtedly meet the fate of those who dared encroach on Soviet Russia's territory by armed invasion.

But before touching upon the question of the Russian Far East Republic, let me explain the significance of the strategical term *annihilation*.

Strategy does not tolerate hesitation or uncertainty, and therefore the Russian strategists are firm in their determination to annihilate the military power of their enemies, that is, to destroy its unity of direction, and divide it into scattered

bands that will be easy to capture.

If the morale of an army before its defeat was at a high level, there is a possibility that the fragments of such an army may undergo some process of reorganization, and its further defense may then assume the character of so-called *partisan* warfare, with the help of the local population.

In order to prevent the possibility, the victor must by means of a most energetic pursuit of the fragments of the defeated army of the enemy, break them up as much as possible, thus affecting their morale to such an extent that there will be no possibility for them to accomplish any regroupment.

The small bodies of a defeated army, even one whose prior morale was very high, usually do not resist the superior forces of their adversaries, and

### The Military Situation in European Russia on July 18, 1920



The heavy dotted lines indicate the Polish and Crimean Fronts. The lighter dotted line indicates the farthest Polish advance before the present drive of the Russian armies.

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must surrender. The history of the Great War gives us numerous examples, on both belligerent sides, which prove this.

After a series of important tactical defeats, the morale of the defeated armies is gradually lowered, and finally attains the complete undermining of the fighting spirit of the majority of the soldiers, who begin to look with absolute indifference on all that is happening around them.

Such a state of universal paralysis of a fighting body is known in military art as *annihilation*.

When a pursuit is vigorously accomplished by cavalry, and the retiring enemy is not definitely demoralized, and refuses to surrender, he may suffer high casualties and the greatest part of his forces finally will lay down their arms before the victors.

We have at present before us a most characteristic example of a general pursuit of the beaten Poles by Russian cavalry.

The victorious Red Army has succeeded in dividing the Polish front in several separate groups, which have lost communication with each other. The Red cavalry, after breaking through the Polish lines, penetrated far to the rear of the enemy, cut off all his means of communication with his base, and forced them to seek shelter at any suitable position which they may meet on their way.

The military situation of such detachments is in reality very critical. They are practically surrounded on all sides, and can exist only for a very short period. Sometimes they are capable of capturing one or two insignificant places, and such occupation may be used by their general staff for publicity; they say they have obtained "victory," in order to increase the morale in the rear, but all this is useless.

For instance, the American press has issued a report of the Polish War Office that the Poles have captured the town of Ovruch about sixty miles southwest of Muzir, about 120 miles northeast of Minsk, about 120 miles north of Zhitomir, and 120 miles northeast of Rovno. All these towns have for a long time been in the hands of the Soviet armies.

The important railway junction of Sarny, situated 100 miles west of "captured" Ovruch, has been captured by the Russians and its capture was reported in the same dispatch in which the capture of Ovruch by the Poles was mentioned.

The Polish General Staff, in advertising such a "victory," are gambling on the psychology of the public and on ignorance of most of the editors, who generally do not like to look at the map. But if anybody should glance at the map, he certainly would understand that by "taking" Ovruch, the Poles mean that they have hidden in that town, being completely defeated by the Russians, especially if we take into consideration that the Red Army is also approaching Pinsk, at the western end of the Pripet marshes.

I noticed also a similar dispatch, issued some days ago by the Associated Press, referring to the Baron Wrangel Army. First it was said that he

had captured Orehov during his march northward from Berdiansk, on the Sea of Azov, and—after a series of great "victories" of that adventure, the cables of the same Associated Press now state that Wrangel's army has captured Melitopol, about fifty miles southwest of Orehov. This means in reality that Wrangel had retreated towards Melitopol, after having been well beaten at Orehov. I shall not be at all surprised if very soon we should be informed that the victorious Pilsudski army has occupied Cracow, and some people may then believe that the Poles have won a very important victory.

But all the efforts of the Allied governments and their satellite press agencies are unable any longer to camouflage the real happenings in Europe. Lithuania has joined the Soviets, and is fighting now hand in hand with the Red Army. The Poles are anxiously expecting that the so-called great powers will be able to stop the Russian strategical pursuit of the routed Poles by frightening Russia with the prospect of a new European War.

Any man in his senses certainly will understand that such a declaration is nothing more or less than a new blunder of the Allies. Far from being in a position to declare war on Russia, they cannot even force Germany to fulfill the peace treaty. Russia is ready at any moment to sign a peace, to establish an armistice with Poland, and to enter into negotiations with the Polish government, and in order to do this Russia requests the present Polish imperialists, beaten and helpless, to cede their power to the Polish people, who will be able and ready to make peace with Russia. Can the Allies prevent this? Never. Can the Allies any longer support Pilsudski's band? They cannot. Do the Allies think that after two years of bitter lessons in dealing with the hypocritical Allied policy, the Russian people would lose the opportunity to obtain guarantees of the security of the western border of the Soviet Republic, and that the Russian General Staff will sacrifice its strategical superiority, which the Red Army has won at such an enormous sacrifice, to the new political tricks of the Entente? If they think so, they are greatly mistaken.

Russia may be forced to "dictate peace at Warsaw," as Yoffe says.

Now let us look at the Far East, leaving the Poles to the mercy of the Red Army.

It was generally supposed that Kolchak was overthrown by the Bolsheviki, and the reactionary press, together with the Japanese newspapers, tried to persuade the public that the Kolchak army was demoralized chiefly by Bolshevik propaganda. An exceptional opportunity permitted me to learn the truth from a most trustworthy source.

The uprising against Kolchak did not originate in his army. In spite of the fact that there were among his officers some individuals who hated the usurper, and who desired his early downfall, they were in such a minority that there could not have been even a question of an open mutiny. The



men were terrorized by cruel discipline, tortures and capital punishment. The officers were treated severely by their superiors. Everybody who even dared to show the slightest vacillation in his feelings towards the Supreme Chief was shot without mercy. Even the famous adventurer, General Gaida, the leader of the Czecho-Slovaks, though disgusted with the conduct of Kolchak and his subordinates, hesitated for a long time to rise openly against the man whom he considered a monster and outcast. Only after the first serious defeat of the Kolchak army at Perm, did Gaida start his campaign against his Supreme Commander.

The uprising against Kolchak originated in the villages. It was the peasants themselves who first rose against the Russian autocrat and his captains. There was no propaganda in those days amongst the Siberian peasants, who were by no means Bolsheviks. The atrocities and violations of human rights by the Kolchak men, and the Allied troops which supported them,—this was the real propaganda which transformed the local population into real Bolsheviks, and forced them to rise in arms against the invaders.

This uprising, in almost all the villages of Eastern Siberia, and especially in the Amur and Maritime provinces, began in the period when the Kolchak armies were in full advance on Moscow and "victoriously" approaching Perm.

After the first defeat inflicted on the invaders by the young Red Army, the revolutionary spirit penetrated the rank and file of the White forces. The men organized themselves very rapidly and, some of them deserted, joining the local partisans, already operating in the rear of Kolchak's army, while some remained in the ranks, awaiting a favorable opportunity. Amongst the officers there already existed in those days several revolutionary organizations, controlled by the Central Bureau of the Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East and Siberia.

This organization, together with General Gaida, decided to overthrow Kolchak and put an end to the civil war in Siberia.

The revolution against Kolchak was to be started at Vladivostok on November 18, 1919, and, in case of its success, the new provincial government was to proclaim Kolchak a traitor and arrest him.

The local Russian garrison was fully prepared to act in harmony with the local Communist party, practically submitting to its orders. There was little doubt that in case of success, the whole White Army would mutiny and support the provisional government.

November 18, 1919, General Gaida arrived in Vladivostok with sixty of his own men and issued orders to start the attack on the reactionary government and their defenders. There is no doubt that the revolutionaries could have overpowered the hated regime without difficulty, but the Japanese interfered, and after sharp fighting dispersed the Reds, thus precluding any possibility that the

revolutionists should accomplish their plan. The uprising of November 18 ended in complete failure.

The remainder of the dispersed Reds found refuge in the Czecho-Slovak barracks, and, under the protection of the latter, reorganized themselves on new, purely Bolshevik lines. The presence of the Allies prevented the revolutionary organization from forming Soviets, and this complicated the situation.

General Gaida was forced by the Japanese command to quit the Far East, and was allowed to return to his country. General Rozanov, commander-in-Chief of the White forces in the Maritime province, did not dare either to arrest or court-martial him, being afraid of the Czecho-Slovak army, still in Siberia.

It is very interesting to note that the Americans were in sympathy with the revolutionists, and helped the Reds at each favorable opportunity.

Under the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks on the one hand and the Americans on the other, the new revolutionary organization grew so rapidly that it became known that a new uprising against Kolchak would take place at the end of January, 1919.

The Japanese were fully prepared to crush this new outburst of revolution also, and General Oi, commander of the Japanese troops of the province, issued a warning to the Reds that he was instructed to prevent the uprising, by force, with Japanese arms.

But the American Commander-in-Chief, General Graves, very energetically intervened, and advised the Japanese General to maintain strict neutrality, and in no case to repeat what the Japanese had done during the uprising of November 18, 1919. By order of General Graves, American patrols were sent out in different parts of Vladivostok, and when the Revolution was completely successful, the Americans remained at their posts during the whole day of February 1, thus protecting the formation of the first Russian Revolutionary Government in the Far East.

It may be imagined how great was the rage of the Japanese command whose plan was frustrated by the energetic and determined action of the young American general.

On the other hand, the Japanese were powerless to protest to General Graves. They were not strong enough to retain control of Vladivostok, the forts and batteries of which had been disarmed even during the Great War, and all the cannons and ammunition transferred to the western front. So that all the fortifications surrounding the town represented simply hills, requiring to be properly armed with suitable artillery, an equipment which the Japanese in no case would have been able to accomplish, as they were not numerous enough and had not sufficient time to complete such a serious task. Finally, the Japanese were obliged to recognize the Russian Provisional Government and to keep themselves quiet while the Americans remained in Vladivostok. And they did so, and only

when the last American contingent left Russian territory, they attacked the town of Vladivostok, April 4, 1920, the very day after the Americans had completed their evacuation.

General Rozanov, together with a group of Kolchak officers, under cover of the Japanese troops, left for Japan, already after the second uprising in Vladivostok, on the Russian transport Orel, taking with them part of the Kolchak gold, stolen from the Russian people by that monster of czarist reaction, and all the cadets of the Vladivostok Naval School.

The Provisional Government was established and became known as a "Zemstvo" government. This curious name was given to it only because all the members of the newly formed government belonged to the local Zemstvo, created during the time of Kerensky's premiership.

The success of the second revolution in Vladivostok was chiefly due to the fact that the greatest part of General Rozanov's White army at a most decisive moment deserted Kolchak's general and joined the Reds.

The political situation in the newly created Russian Far Eastern Republic has become very peculiar.

There were no Soviets in Vladivostok after the formation of the Provisional Government, and meanwhile the government was pro-Soviet and obtained instructions from Moscow to such an extent that Lenin found it possible to recognize the young republic, and Commissar Vilensky has been appointed representative of Soviet Russia in the Far East.

Practically the new government may be considered as Socialistic, being supported and directed by the Russian Soviets. Only the abnormal position of the Far Eastern Republic with regard to Japan prevented it from immediate association with Soviet Russia, a consummation which naturally must and will take place at the first favorable opportunity.

On the Russian population of the Far East Republic, Moscow can reckon without reservation. Every Russian of the Maritime Province dreams of throwing off the Japanese yoke and of joining the Soviets.

The second uprising against Kolchak was successfully accomplished in every town of both the Amur and Maritime provinces, and in many towns and villages of Siberia. In Irkutsk, for instance, the revolution broke out as early as January 20, and as we know, it was very successful.

This was the beginning of the end of the rule of the Eastern tyrant.

The military operations of the revolutionists were mostly of guerilla character, and while the retiring Kolchak army melted like snow in the spring, the number and the activity of the partisans were steadily increasing. Practically the main forces of the Red Army only followed the fleeing Kolchak hordes, which were gradually annihilated by partisans recruited by men of its own forces, and who existed at the expense of the rich

supplies carefully prepared by the Allies along all the immense distance from the Urals to the Pacific.

After the revolution of January 31, in Vladivostok, the partisan detachments started to concentrate toward their former headquarters, situated in the principal cities of the various regions, and finally a new Red Army of the Far East was formed in a very short time. In the Maritime Province, this army was not numerous. There were scarcely 12-13,000 men under the Red banner, while the Japanese have almost an army corps, namely, 40,000 men. But although they were superior in numbers, the Japanese did not dare overthrow the Vladivostok Government, knowing that they would be unable to police the whole province and guard the Ussuri railway in the presence of the hated partisans, who at once appear when the Japanese troops show any aggression towards the Russians.

The Japanese, who before the second Vladivostok revolution, were in occupation also of Amur Province, started then to evacuate it with the object of concentrating a sufficiently strong army in the Maritime Province for its final annexation. The treacherous attack of the Japanese on Vladivostok on April 4 and 5, 1920, caused a series of sanguinary fights throughout the country, since they attacked the Russians in all the cities occupied by the Far East Red Army. Nikolsk, Spassk, Iman, Khabarovsk, and Nikolaievsk, all were attacked. Consequently, the forces of the Reds were much weakened. Most of them were compelled to hide in the woods or in the hills, because the peasants could no longer feed the partisans. It must be noted that the whole Maritime Province lives only on imported food, and besides the normal population, there were the Japanese, who had requisitioned everything, and the country was filled up with refugees.

So it was decided that only a part of the Red forces should remain in the Province to protect the peasants and to garrison the big towns, but the rest were to break through the Japanese guard lines, into the Amur Province, rich in food, and now absolutely free from Japanese.

Besides that, in the Amur Province a considerable army was already in existence, and the proclamation of universal service promised to double the number of the fighting element.

In addition, desertion from Ataman Semionov's bands became more and more frequent, as well as from the army of the reactionary General Voitzevsky. Both these armies were in occupation of that part of the Transbaikalian Province that lay east of Chita, backed by very strong Japanese reserves.

The rear of the Amur Province was secured by the presence of the Soviet Army concentrated in the Irkutsk region. This army, after successfully fighting Semionov's troops, occupied Verkhne-Udinsk and advanced on Chita, showing the intention to establish a junction with the Amur Province.

The presence of the bandits Semionov and Voitzevsky in Transbaikalia cut off the Amur Province from direct communication with Eastern Siberia and it was possible to reach the Irkutsk region only through the Yakutsk district, by means of very difficult rocky roads, many of which were unsuitable even for mounted troops. Communication through Mongolia, or with China through Manchuria, practically became impossible, first, because of Japanese intrigues amongst the Mongols, and secondly, because the Eastern Chinese Railway is practically under the control of the Japanese.

This situation at first glance seems gloomy for the Russians, especially if we understand that thanks to the oppressive policy of the Japanese the Far Eastern Russian Government had compromised in many ways in order to avoid a conflict with the invaders.

But in reality the position of the Russians is not so hopeless as it may seem.

The approaching events of great importance in Chita will certainly alter the situation in the Far East in Russia's favor. The Japanese will necessarily lose control over the Eastern Chinese railway; they have already begun the evacuation of Transbaikalia and withdrawn their troops from Chita, leaving only the bands of Semionov and Voitzevsky. Both these traitors will soon be annihilated by the Red Army—they cannot withstand the approaching winter in that vast and uninhabited country, and will have to join their brother in arms, Rozanov, in Tokio.

The Chinese, if they are masters of the Eastern Chinese Railway, will never allow the Japanese to dispatch their troops by this railroad, and finally, at the disposal of the Japanese General Staff, there will be only Port Arthur and Dairen, the bases of the South Manchurian railway. This is not at all sufficient for their serious operations in the Russian Far East, because Amur Province, adjoining Transbaikalia, where the Red Army is still concentrating, would have in its rear East Siberia, West Siberia, and, last, victorious Soviet Russia. And the Japanese will learn that the Russia of 1920 is not the effete Czarist organization of 1904.

### FRENCH AND GERMAN PEOPLE SUPPORT SOVIET RUSSIA

BERLIN, June 6.—According to newspaper reports, the executive body of the association of German railroad workers and state employes has decided to order their members to refuse flatly to render services in the transportation though Germany of troops of the Entente for Poland against Russia.

The permanent commission on administration of the French Socialist Party unanimously passed, at its last meeting, among other things, the following resolution:

“The Polish imperialists, the faithful executors of the decrees of the council of imperialists of

the West, have invaded Soviet Russia. The permanent commission on administration conveys to the revolutionary government of Russia its most profound sympathy and fraternal greetings. It announces that it has fought with every means against every military assistance to the enemies of Soviet Russia. It has always told the workers, and will always tell them, that it lies chiefly within their power to help the Russian Revolution on to victory. It invites the party in parliament, as well as all comrades, to offer a solid front against the coalition which has been formed between the entente power, capitalistic and feudal Poland, and the Russian monarchists, against the regime of the People's Commissaries. It promises to make use of all forms of propaganda in order to support the Soviet revolution in this most critical hour, from which it must emerge victorious, in order that all humanity may be liberated.”

### “SOVIET RUSSIA PAMPHLETS”

The Russian Soviet Government Bureau is issuing a series of pamphlet reprints of important Soviet documents. The following are the first four of these pamphlets:

1. *The Labor Laws of Soviet Russia*. Official text, with introduction, by the Bureau, and an answer to a criticism by Mr. W. C. Redfield. 52 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.  
This is a new edition of the Labor Laws, and every owner of the old edition should have it.
2. *The Laws on Marriage and Domestic Relations*. To be ready about September first. Price 15 cents.
3. *Two Years of Foreign Policy*, by GEORGE CHICHERIN. The relations of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with foreign nations, from November 7, 1917, to November 7, 1919. 36 pages, stiff paper cover, price 10 cents.
4. *Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia*, by S. KAPLUN, of the People's Commissariat of Labor. This pamphlet, an interpretation of the labor laws of Soviet Russia, is necessary to a full understanding of these laws, and readers should therefore order it in addition to their copies of the laws. This pamphlet has never been published in SOVIET RUSSIA. To be ready August 1. Price 10 Cents.

Other pamphlets will follow. Special rates for quantities.

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## 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.

**T**HERE is an increasing disposition in Europe, especially in England, to consider the problem of the Czar's debts in a more candid and reasonable spirit. There is less arrogant talk of "insisting" upon "sacred obligations", and as the moment of adjustment between Soviet Russia and capitalist Europe draws nearer there is a dawning realization that there will be two sides of the ledger to consider. Though propagandists tried to misrepresent its real significance, there was food for thought in the reminder casually put forward by a Soviet official that among things "repudiated" by the workers' republic was the claim to Constantinople which had been given to Imperialist Russia by her allies as a bribe for continued allegiance. No one of intelligence seriously thought from this remark that Soviet Russia intended to press a claim for the possession of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the moral was sufficiently pointed and it has been increasingly difficult ever since for French and English politicians to talk glibly about Russia's obligations without being reminded that their words cut both ways.

Several English writers have pointed out that a strict insistence upon a capitalist interpretation of international law might prove embarrassing in the final settlement. It is not forgotten that a trifling lapse in neutrality in the "Alabama" case cost England heavily in damages. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, in a recent discussion of the Russian credit and debit, recalls the "Alabama" incident.

"Compare this case," he writes, "with our conduct in the Russian Civil War . . . Openly, yet without a declaration of war, we have backed the beaten 'White' cause with troops, 'missions', naval bombardments, and the blockade, with supplies of munitions and direct subsidies. If a fair court could be formed, it would certainly inflict on us for these deliberate breaches of neutrality a fine which would multiply the 'Alabama' damages a hundredfold, and when the court had dealt with us it would go on to rain similar fines upon America, France, Japan, and Czecho-Slovakia . . . Add up one page of the ledger, the loss suffered by investors, merchants and bondholders, the sabotage, and the slaughter, due to our lawless blockade and our direct intervention in the civil war, and then dare to say that Russia is in our debt."

That these considerations had due weight is seen in the terms of the official memorandum of the

terms upon which Great Britain has suggested the renewal of commercial relations with Russia. According to the press reports, this memorandum stated that the British Government "was prepared to leave the determination . . . of questions relating to debts or claims by Great Britain on Russia or by Russia on Great Britain to be mutually settled at peace negotiations." It is plain enough that Mr. Lloyd George realizes that he will have to pay for Mr. Winston Churchill's indiscretions.

\* \* \*

**F**RRIENDS of Soviet Russia have justly complained of the monstrous campaign of falsehood and vilification conducted by the capitalist press of all countries against the Russian revolution and the workers' republic. All the powerful resources of censorship and propaganda have been massed in an attempt to mislead the always tractable middle class opinion and to discourage and stultify the courage and faith of socialists. The thing was vastly over-done, to be sure, and by the very grotesqueness of their perversions the propagandists have destroyed their own power. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that they achieved a certain ghastly measure of success, to be reckoned in terms of economic wastage and human sufferings endured by the Russian workers in their long struggle against blockade and war. The blockade is broken at last and the war ends in magnificent victory for the workers. Nevertheless, the long duration of the struggle and all the destruction and agony is to be charged to the successful efforts of those who successfully misled public opinion by their lies and sophistries and delayed the effective protests of the laboring masses of Europe and America while the great conspiracy against the Russian workers was carried on to its ultimate failure. Now that it has come to final and utter failure, it is well for us not to blind ourselves to the reason why it lasted so long. We cannot doubt that it would have failed earlier had the workers of all lands known the truth sooner. Moreover, we cannot dismiss the case by easy abuse of the bourgeois press. In spite of all lies, in spite of censorships and concealments, the truth about the revolution and the Soviet Republic was never altogether inaccessible to any one with sufficient interest to investigate and sufficient intelligence to discriminate between facts and propaganda. Nor was any exceptional intelligence required for this discrimination. All that was necessary was a sufficiently class-conscious distrust of all the outgivings of the capitalistic and social-patriotic press. Complete befuddlement came only upon those who struck the impartial pose and made the ridiculous and impossible pretense of "considering all the testimony." Where the great bulk of the testimony was so inevitably prejudiced, even when not deliberately perjured, this juryman attitude could at best lead only to doubt and misgivings and more generally to complete delusion. What was necessary was a certain honest prejudice. For instance, a prejudice against the New

York *Times*, to take a single example, but in no invidious spirit. The *Times* is a great newspaper with a vast and efficient organization for the collection and transmission of news. During the past two years any one could learn much about the Russian Revolution from the *Times*. Properly read, the *Times* from day to day has contained sufficient truthful information about Russia to enable a discriminating reader to arrive at a conclusion quite the opposite from that entertained by its editors. All that was required was a sufficient degree of prejudice and suspicion.

Mr. Evans Clark has included an interesting "life" of Lenin, as lived in the columns of the *Times*, in his pamphlet, "Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia", recently published by the Rand School. We can only quote a few chapters from this entertaining biography.

All from the New York *Times*: January 16, 1918, Lenin Sanitarium; February 20, Heard Lenin Had Fled; March 12, Lenin Dismissed Trotzky; April 28, Revolt in Russia—Grand Duke Michael Emperor; June 23, Lenin Ready to Resign; August 12, Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin; August 16, Bolsheviks Flee Moscow; August 20, Bolshevik Chiefs Reported on Warship at Kronstadt Ready to Flee; December 9, Red Leaders Ready to Flee to Sweden; December 28, Ludendorff Chief of Soviet Army; January 3, 1919, Trotzky Dictator—Arrests Lenin; January 24, Trotzky's Forces Quit Petrograd; April 22, Red Rule Totters; September, 26, Says Lenin is Captive in Kremlin; September 26, Rumor that Lenin is Slain; and so on.

Mr. Clark has made a similar compilation of the history of Petrograd. From September 12, 1918, to October 20, 1919, take it from dispatches in the *Times*, Petrograd "fell" seven times, was five times in "revolt", and twice in "flames", not to mention a constant succession of massacres, pillages and bombardments. In spite of this, however, the truth prevails. No one believes today that Lenin arrested Trotsky or that Trotsky arrested Lenin, and no one believes that Petrograd ever fell; nor need any one of sufficient caution have ever believed these things. Still less is there any excuse for believing them when they are reprinted tomorrow and the day after as they inevitably will be. Hold fast to a determined prejudice, we repeat, and you can still read the capitalist press and still know the truth about Russia. Moreover there is already available a considerable library of reliable literature on all phases of the revolution and the Soviet Government.

Mr. Clark has included in his pamphlet an extensive, though necessarily incomplete, bibliography of books, pamphlets and magazine articles relating to Soviet Russia. It is a long list which mocks at the censorships and is a standing challenge to anyone who still ventures to complain that the truth about Russia is inaccessible.

**C**ONSPICUOUS in the published accounts of the official British memorandum on the conditions of the approaching trade agreement with Soviet Russia was the declaration that "the British Government had no intention of debarring any Russian on the ground of his communist opinion, provided the agents of the Russian Government complied with normal conditions of friendly international intercourse". The statement would seem almost superfluous, having in mind the most obvious essentials of the case. It is plain enough that the capitalist states cannot outlaw Russian communists merely because their opinions are displeasing. Russia has to be dealt with, and, much as the capitalist politicians may dislike the thought of it, they are unable to contrive any satisfactory method of dealing with Russia except through Russian communists. The first plan was to refuse to deal with communists and to recognize only czarists and counter-revolutionists. This plan collapsed with the defeat of the czarists and the counter-revolution. Then there was the scheme of dealing through the cooperators, who, it was hoped, might somehow or other be free from the communist taint. But this hope died in its turn when it was discovered that the only cooperators with whom it was profitable to deal were merely communists under another name. Then for a while the English Government tried absurdly to discriminate between communists, saying that such and such might come to London, but such another could be entertained only at the safe distance of Copenhagen. This was too ridiculous. And so at last England announces that she never had any intention of debarring any Russian "on the ground of his communist opinion."

A sensible decision, and the only one which will allow of the resumption of normal commercial intercourse between Soviet Russia and any capitalist country. England, desiring to trade with Russia, is rapidly sweeping away all the obstacles, real and fantastic, which the intrigues of reactionary politicians and the vaporings of a fanatical press have contrived to erect. As the barriers topple one by one they are seen to be not too formidable as they sometimes appeared. As soon as the economic pressure overtook political prejudice, the blockade was broken. If you don't want to trade with Russia, then, of course, trade is impossible and all communists are uncongenial. But if you have goods to sell, Russia is a veritable oasis in a desert of bankruptcy and a representative of the Commissariat of Foreign Trade is a welcome visitor, whatever his political opinions.

**P**ERSONS who feel that there is any danger of their being deceived by current misrepresentations as to the absence of democracy in Russia should read the article appearing on page 84 of this issue, entitled "Who Participates in the Government", in which unqualified support may be found for the opinion—corresponding to the fact—that there is absolute freedom of representation in Soviet Russia.

## The Battle with Disease in Soviet Russia

[The following is an article sent from Petrograd in April, 1920, by Jakob Friis, special correspondent of "Social-Demokraten," Christiania, Norway, and printed in a recent issue of that paper.]

ON MY journey through Esthonia I heard so many horrible stories about health conditions in Russia, that I passed over the boundary line with a certain sense of the gravity of the situation. I could not help this attitude, all the more since the conditions on the Esthonian side were anything but pleasant. At Narva we almost felt the typhus in the air, for it is at that city that the remains of the Yudenich army are concentrated. That army, as everyone knows, was a veritable army of the pest, in a literal as well as in a figurative meaning. At Narva, in its "best" hotel, I soon noticed I had lice, and became quite depressed through fear of typhus. "If it is going to be worse than this in Russia," I voluntarily thought, "it will be a matter of life and death."

When I got to Petrograd, my first question was therefore this: "How about the epidemics that are said to be raging here?" In order to give me a satisfactory answer to this question, I was referred to a great building in a little street running off the Nevsky Prospect, the Commissariat of Medicine, where one of the veterans of Socialism, Dr. Pervukhin, is the leading spirit. I asked him to tell me something about the health conditions and about the struggle against epidemics.

"Of course we have had many epidemics to struggle against."

"The difficulties of nourishment, the blockade, the civil war,—all these have of course had a powerfully depressing influence even on the health situation, but in spite of everything, we can say confidentially that conditions have been and are on the average better than in the border states, although the latter have been well supplied both with foodstuffs and with medicines. Our deficiencies that have been mentioned are much outweighed. This summer we had no cholera epidemic, and spotted typhus has been practically put down in Russia. The danger of infection came generally from the White armies, from the hordes of Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenich. Practically all the prisoners we took were infected with typhus, but we managed to keep them isolated. We overcame the Spanish influenza better than the western world did. Thanks to the new social conditions created by the Soviet Power we are in a position to combat epidemics with much greater force than in the old days. Now that all dwellings are nationalized, no one any longer lives in the surroundings so dangerous to health which many had to put up with under the old regime. By means of our grain monopoly, foodstuffs are guaranteed first of all to the sick and weak. In consequence of the nationalization of the drug stores, our scanty supplies of medicaments are distributed equitably. It would have been impossible for any capitalistic government to protect the popular health so well

as the Soviet power has been able to do. By the decree of July 21, 1918, the entire system of medicine in Russia was placed under a single control, the Commissariat for Public Health, which has absolute authority in all medical questions. A few figures will show what this commissariat has succeeded in doing. At Moscow, before the November Revolution, there were about 8,000 sick beds for civilians and 100,000 for soldiers. We now have 22,000 for civilians and 1,500,000 for soldiers.\* We then had 20,000 sanitary physicians we now have 34,000. We then had 31,000 school physicians; we now have 137,000. We then had about 10,000 physicians who examined foodstuffs; we now have 28,000. All the best specialists at Moscow have now been assigned to public hospitals and anyone may apply to them for treatment. The winter of 1918-1919 was the worst time we had to go through, for spotted typhus was then at its height. By the summer of 1919 it had more or less affected 1,500,000 people in Russia. And yet it had not come as a surprise to the medical authorities. A plan for combatting the epidemic had been worked out in advance, circulars and pamphlets concerning the disease had been scattered in great quantities, all the bacteriological institutes were nationalized and extended. The struggle against the epidemics has been constantly waged by the whole population. Special workers' commissions, consisting of representatives of trade unions, factory committees, and other workers' and peasants' organizations, have conducted the work of education from this field; they have supervised the matter of cleanliness, have erected bathing establishments, etc. In spite of all external difficulties, the health conditions have become better and better systematized and adjusted during the past year. New factories for medicaments have been erected, and great stocks have been confiscated from the speculators in medicaments. *Children* receive special attention in Russia, not only in the field of alimentation, but also in the hygienic field. Already in December, 1917, a special council of physicians and pedagogues was organized for the protection of the health of the young. Their work is divided into three sections:

1. Sanitary inspection at all children's institutions, schools, children's homes, kindergartens, etc.
2. Physical culture.
3. Distribution of children, in accordance with their conditions of health, to the various medico-pedagogical institutions. (Forest schools, auxiliary schools, schools for morally defective children.)

\* These figures, which seem somewhat excessive, are taken from the Norwegian article as it stands. We cannot vouch for their correctness.

Russia was the first country in the world (1918), to pass a decree demanding that no persons under eighteen years of age should be stamped as criminals by the courts. Such transgressors as are minors are subject to a medico-pedagogic treatment.

By the decree of May 17, 1919, free alimentation of all children under sixteen years of age was introduced. This decree has of course had an enormous influence in the hygienic field also. We may say confidently, on the whole, that what was done before the revolution, for feeding the children and keeping them healthy, was as nothing; while at present the work of all the authorities—even of the whole population—is directed toward the care of children as the first and most important task of all. Only a physically and spiritually healthy generation can put through the social revolution and build up a communistic society. Thus, the guiding thought in the work of Soviet Russia is that of the coming generation.

"May I have statistical data as to those who became sick or who died in Petrograd during the last half year?" I finally asked Pervukhin.

"Yes, you shall have them." He rang for his assistant and asked him for this material. A moment later the assistant returned with a heap

of detailed reports from hospitals. I copied the following table:

	1919			1920	
	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Febr.
Typhus patients . . . . .	1603	2227	2153	3939	—
Of these there died . . . .	90	153	214	345	—
Total number of patients . . . . .	13958	14982	14584	16030	23060
Total number of deaths including children . .	1295	1732	1704	1652	1819

This table, of course, governs only the hospitals. But since all the hospitals give free treatment, it is self evident that the totals of deaths cannot be much greater than the totals given for the hospitals. As far as I know, these figures cannot be said to be abnormally large, when the distress of the situation is considered, and when it is recalled that Petrograd has now about one million inhabitants.

The last thing Pervuchin told me was that the day I spoke to him there were 350 empty beds in the hospitals of Petrograd. This shows at any rate that there is no truth in what I heard in Esthonia and what the bourgeois press of Europe has tried to tell people, to the effect that Petrograd is overfilled with sick people who have no opportunity to obtain any treatment at all.

## Second Anniversary of the Red Army

### "OUR SWORD"

On the 22d of February all Soviet Russia celebrated the second anniversary of the Red Army. At Petrograd, the ceremonies organized on the occasion of this commemorative fete took on a particularly imposing character. Comrade Zinoviev dedicated to them an article entitled, "Our Sword," emphasizing the important role of the Red Army for Soviet Russia and the Communist Internationale. Comrade Zinoviev writes:

"On the ruins of the old Czarist Russia, and the debris of the Russia of Kerensky, we have begun the organization of our national army. Scarcely two years have passed, and we not only have this army of flesh and bone, but further, we are happy witnesses of its dazzling victories over numerous enemies. The history of the human race has never known conditions so little favorable to the accomplishment of such a labor. At no time and in no place has one seen born, in so little time, an army worthy to serve a great revolution. Yes, great—we say it loudly—for a revolution is not great if it cannot withstand by force of arms all the attacks of its external and internal adversaries. Our Revolution of October has triumphed over them all and therefore merits well this name of "great," for never has a revolution had so many external enemies and enemies so cynical as ours. Nevertheless, the second anniversary of the Red Army finds all our adversaries defeated. Our Red Army has tried its forces in battle and combat, and it will continue to gain in power from day

to day. A great revolution must solve great problems, despite all the difficulties which they present. Two years ago, and even last year, the question of command gravely embarrassed us, but at the present time we can regard it as nearly solved. In less than two years we have created a whole line of officers—red commanders. The students in our universities become red military aspirants, study their profession in very abridged courses. Nevertheless, they do not need to blush for their fighting qualities, in the presence of the officers of the old army of the bourgeois regime who had spent years in perfecting their military education at superior schools and in special courses. The Red Army, called to being under painful circumstances,—not to say insurmountable ones—is a striking proof of the vitality of the Soviet power. It is known that an army ordinarily finds itself attached to the people by many ties, and includes within itself all the social particularities of its country. If the Red Army did not have very solid roots in the masses of the workers and peasants, the Soviet power would never have been able to succeed in organizing it. The Red Army—is our sword, the sword of the revolution of the workers and the peasants. The hammer and sickle are the emblems of the Soviet power, but the cross of the Red Army is not less dear to our people, to the nations of the whole world. For us, the Red Army is the army of the Communist Internationale; it is from this point of view that the conscious

proletariat of the world regard it, and this is also the greatest recompense for its soldiers and pioneers."

The high point of the first day of the fetes in honor of the second anniversary of the Red Army was the solemn inauguration of a special exposition followed by a reunion at the quarters of the administration of the political section of the war commissariat of Petrograd. This reunion, and especially the exposition, indicated clearly the intellectual development of the Red Army, which accompanies step by step the increase in its military strength. This reunion attracted representatives of all the units of the Red Army of Petrograd, the chief commissar of war, Bitker, and a number of invited guests, as well as the delegates from various organizations of military instruction. The symphony orchestra of the political administration of the War Commissariat played the Internationale and then interpreted artistically the can-

tata, "Hail to the Warriors," composed for the special occasion of this fete by the orchestra leader, Varlish.

The representative of the political section then informed the audience that theatrical pieces of a nature to glorify the present fete being absolutely lacking, a competition had been declared by the administration of the political section. Twenty dramatic works (besides a number of poems), had been presented to the jury, which had awarded prizes to six authors. The first prize had been given to the Society of Dramatic Artists for the piece, "The Red Year." After the reunion, the audience was invited to visit the exposition, organized by the administration of the political section of the war commissariat, and representing all phases of the intellectual and artistic life of the Red soldier. There are numerous photographs, poems and art works (painting and sculpture), the artists being all Red soldiers.

## The All-Russian Trade Union Congress

[The following report, dated Moscow, April 8, was sent to "Social-Demokraten," Christiania, Norway, by Jakob Friis, special correspondent of that paper in Russia. It was printed in "Social-Demokraten" on June 3, 1920.]

**I**N THE great hall in the former assembly building of the nobility, the All-Russian Trade Union Congress was opened yesterday. The palace was seized by the trade union movement after the revolution, and reconstructed as the chief edifice for trade union offices. It is of course a very handsome building, on which nothing has been spared in the matter of decoration. The nobility here had their clubrooms. After they left, there were found fourteen great chests full of playing cards. In the great hall in which the trade transactions are now proceeding, the nobility had held its balls. Illuminated by the great candelabra, splendid costumes had dazzled beholders on many a "great" evening in the sublime presence of the czar and czarina. Now it is a very ordinary meeting of plain workmen that has taken up its abode here. But there are 1,600 of them, and they come from all sections, from Murmansk in the north to Baku in the south. They have gathered to discuss the higher affairs of their nation; they have gathered not for celebration but for work. In an apartment behind the platform, the members of the trade union secretariat are gathered. There sit Chairman Tomski; Vice-Chairman Lozovsky; Melnichansky, Chairman of the Moscow Trade Union Council; Schmidt, Commissar of Labor; Tsyperovich, Manager of Dvoretz Truda (the trade union central), at Petrograd; Secretaries Antselovich and Glebov, from Petrograd, etc. Tomski is a little black haired man, thirty-seven years old, a lithographer by trade, who entered the labor movement in 1904 and was immediately afterward sentenced to ten years' hard labor in Siberia. He worked there in chains for four years, and then a few years without chains, after which he was pardoned.

Lozovsky is somewhat older. His first imprisonment was in 1904, his second in 1905, when he was sentenced to imprisonment for life and sent to Irkutsk. He fled the day after his arrival and reached Paris, where he worked for nine years, first as a chauffeur, then as manager of a garage and later as a journalist, cooperative secretary, etc., returning to Russia in 1917.

Melnichansky is thirty-one years old, and was first arrested in 1904 at the age of fifteen. He succeeded in escaping, and took part in the uprising at Odessa in 1905. He was arrested and again succeeded in making his escape. After having been again arrested, he was sentenced to imprisonment for life and sent to Siberia, making his escape immediately after his arrival there. He took part in the party congress at Nikolai under a false name, after which he was again arrested. After an imprisonment of eighteen months, he was sentenced to eight years in Siberia, whence he fled to the Urals. Having again undertaken revolutionary work—this time the publication of illegal periodicals—he was arrested and again put in prison for eighteen months, and sentenced to banishment to Siberia for life, and of course he again escaped. This time he went to America. He was for a while business manager of the Russian daily, *The New World*. During this entire period he was a Menshevik internationalist, only becoming a Bolshevik after his arrival in Russia in 1917. He became secretary of the Moscow Central Soviet, and a member of the Committee of the Moscow Soviet, as well as of the Central Executive Committee.

So it is with all of them. Lozovsky interrupts my biographical curiosity. "All the members of the Central Executive Committee have been in



prison several years, and all of them have several decades of party activity behind them," he declares.

Lozovsky prefers to explain to me the development of the Trade Union Movement since the revolution.

"It is characteristic for the Russian Trade Union movement that it has a small number of trade unions. While in France there are sixty-three, in Germany forty-eight, and in England several hundred, we in Russia have only thirty-one, and after the resolutions that are to be adopted at this Congress, the number will be only twenty-five. Our union is not an industrial union in the ordinary sense of the word, but an operative union (Mr. Friis uses the Norwegian word *industribedrift*). All the workers, as workers, in a metallurgical factory, for example, are in the union of the metallurgical workers. As is well known, the trade union movement in Russia is of very recent date. Even after the first revolution of 1917, there were no trade unions in Russia. But as early as June, 1917, the number of trade organized laborers was 1,400,000; in January, 1918, it was 2,500,000, and in February, 1919, 3,500,000. There have now arrived at the Congress 1,600 delegates representing about 4,000,000 workers. There have arrived representatives, among others, from Murmansk in the north and from Baku in the south. The latter have arrived illegally, since Baku, as you know, is still in the hands of the English. No representatives from Poland, Finland, or Lithuania have arrived. Of the 1,600, fully 1,300 have the right to vote; 300 have an advisory function. By parties they run as follows: thirty Mensheviks; twenty-five "sympathizers" (with the Communists), 200 non-partisan, the rest are Communists."

Lozovsky developed for me the underlying principal of the trade union movement under Communism.

"The trade union movement under the dictatorship of the proletariat," he said, "is entirely different from the trade union movement under capitalism. What is a dictatorship of the proletariat? It is a form of political government by the working class. If the trade unions should wish to preserve their independence under the dictatorship of the proletariat, what would this amount to? It would amount to a maintenance of the distinction between the state as an economic organization, and the state as a political organization, as the state of the workers. Such a distinction is impossible. By the very act of seizing the power in the state, the working class has made it impossible for the trade unions to preserve their independence of the state. The trade unions, on the contrary, have now become the basis for the Soviets—they are the most important instrument of Soviet authority. While the trade unions before were class struggle organizations—in as far as they were not such, they were "yellow" organizations of traders—they are now, if not officially regulated state organizations, at least state-con-

structive organizations. The question is no longer—*how is capitalism to be abolished?*—but, *In what manner shall the trade unions participate in production?*"

"But are there no oppositions or frictions between the Soviets and the trade unions?"

"No. In the first months after the revolution there were some differences. There were reactionary trade unions, which were against the Soviet Government. Now the Soviets and the trade unions are united and working side by side."

"What is the attitude of the trade union movement toward the wage system? Will it abolish the wage system?"

"Yes, but this cannot be done at one stroke. Workers are being paid with increasing frequency in the form of products, and not with money. But the tariffs are still drawn up in terms of money. But it is the trade unions themselves that establish the tariffs. This is a great difference as compared with all other countries."

"Then what is the cause of the conflict within the trade union movement?"

"The Mensheviks want the trade union movement to maintain its 'independence' of the state. And we, as I have indicated, think this is an impossibility in a workers' state. There are no other opposition tendencies in the trade union movement than those of the Mensheviks, and they are an insignificant minority."

"What is the relation of the trade union movement to the party?" (The Communist party is meant.)

"The party leads the trade union movement. (The leaders of the trade union movement are also among the leadership of the party.)"

"The trade union movement is therefore a political organ in Russia?"

"It is a political movement, and for this reason the trade union movement at this congress will apply for membership in the Third Internationale. It is of equally great importance for the trade union movement and for the political movement to work on an international scale. If capitalism is to maintain itself, let us say for the next ten years, in western Europe, the workers in Russia will hardly be able to retain their power."

"How about the new principles for industrial leadership?"

"Melnichansky can tell you more about that than I."

JAKOB FRIIS.

#### CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Readers wishing to have their addresses changed should give notice of such changes at least one week before they expect the weekly to be delivered at the new address.

Original from  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

## The Museum of the Revolution

The magnificent and impressive revolutionary past of Russia imposes upon us the duty of treating lovingly and carefully all the materials, so rich and abundant, which relate to the history of the revolutionary movement, materials scattered here and there over the whole territory of the country. The Museum of the Revolution, founded upon the initiative of the Petrograd Soviet, has the purpose of collecting everything having reference to the revolutionary movement, in order that future generations may know its history and learn to know those who were sacrificed for their liberty. But this information is not the only purpose of the Museum: it proposes also to collect piously the numerous relics—letters, photographs, drawings, note-books, appeals, manuscripts—which once belonged to citizens who had in one way or another engraved their names on the pages of the history of the great struggle of the working class. The Museum of the Revolution is collecting and completing incessantly these collections, adding to them everything connected in the least degree with the revolutionary movement. All these materials are destined to complete directly the inventory of the Museum, and will be printed, in part, in the review: "The Museum of the Revolution." The regional Soviets, the councils of the communes, the agricultural communes, and the other organizations of the revolutionary State will find in it a faithful expression of themselves.

On the 11th of January, there took place in the Art Palace the inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution. The vast hall of the Palace was crowded with people. Portraits of the first Russian revolutionists (from the epoch of Czar Nicholas I.), and other eminent revolutionists, handsomely decorated, added to the elegance of the hall. The ceremony of the inauguration began very solemnly with the address by Comrade Zinoviev, who related to the audience the purpose and the fundamental tasks of the Museum, and spoke

of the latest brilliant successes of the Red Army. Comrade Zinoviev indicated among other things, the coincidence of the two dates: that of the inauguration of the Museum of the Revolution, and that of the fall of the last stronghold of the counter-revolutionaries—the city of Rostov-on-the-Don, and emphasized the fact that this coincidence was not at all accidental. It was, on the contrary, symbolic, and presaged for us the imminent end of the bloody war, which would permit the Soviet Power to take to the peaceful work of social organization and new spiritual conquests. Comrade Zinoviev then gave several characteristics of the Russian revolutionists, beginning with those of the time of Nicholas I. and ending with Volodarsky and Uritzky—the last victims of the counter-revolutionary terror of our own time. The speaker invited the audience to rise in honor of the memory of these martyrs. Comrade Zinoviev ended his address by stating that the Museum of the Revolution could accomplish its task only with the support of all sections of the population, and, particularly, of the working masses. The publicist Vodovosov next took the floor to trace the history of the first revolutionary movement of 1830, and its important part in the development of Russian social and political life. Another publicist, P. Stchegolev, read a similar report, but insisted particularly upon one detail of this movement, namely, the revolt of the Chernigov regiment on the 3d of January, 1826, and the role of the soldiers in this affair. The journalist Novorussky referred in his address to the tasks of the Museum and invited the audience to give its support and aid. Comrade Lunacharsky devoted his report to the characteristics of the leaders and partisans in the first revolutionary movement of 1830. The meeting ended with a declaration by Comrade Zinoviev that a resolution had been adopted to erect a monument to these revolutionists in the Senate Place.

## Clement Arkadyevich Timiryazev

On the 29th of April Professor Timiryazev died in Moscow. He was one of the greatest of Russian scientists. Born in 1843, he was appointed to a professorship at the Agricultural Institute in the year 1871, and in 1877 he was called to the chair of Plant Physiology at Moscow University. Besides special scientific works, Timiryazev has left us popular works on natural science such as "Agriculture and Plant Physiology", "Charles Darwin and His Theory", and the "Life of Plants". But special significance is attached to him in that he, as a creative spirit, as early as November, 1918, understood the Great Revolution and had joined the workers. On this account he made many enemies among the bourgeois intelligentsia who were carrying on sabotage. In an article in

*Pravda*, in memoriam, Bucharin says: "In Timiryazev old Russia has lost her last scholar, Soviet Russia her first."

Characteristic of the personality of Timiryazev is the following letter which he published ten days before his death in *Trudovaya Nydelya* (Labor Week) on April 19, 1920:

Comrades!

Elected by the comrades who are working in the car construction workshops of the Moscow-Kursk Railway, I hasten to express first of all my most heartfelt appreciation and at the same time my regrets at the fact that my old age and illness do not permit me to assist at today's session. Furthermore I am faced with the question: How can I justify the confidence placed in me, what can I contribute in the service of our common cause? After the magnificent, unselfish successes of our comrades in the ranks of the Red Army,

who saved our Soviet Republic when at the very verge of destruction, and have thereby called forth the admiration and respect of our enemies, it is now the turn of the Red Labor Army. All of us, old and young, muscle and brain workers must join together in a common labor army in order to obtain further fruits of our victory.

The fight against the enemy without, the struggle against sabotage within, even liberty—are only means; the aim is—the well-being and happiness of the people; and they will be accomplished only through productive labor.

Work! Work! Work!

That is the call that must resound from morning until night, from one end to the other of our much-tryed land which has the utmost right to be proud of what she has already accomplished, but which has not yet received the well-earned reward for her sacrifices, for all her heroic deeds. At this moment there is no work that is insignificant, unimportant, or in any way negligible. There is only one kind of work—a necessary and idealistic work. But the work of an old man can still possess a peculiar importance. The free unconstrained work of an old man, even if not within the calculations of the general work of the people, can inflame the spirit of the young, can awaken a sense of shame in the idle.

I have only one healthy arm, but it could turn the crank of a wheel if necessary; I have only one healthy leg, but that will not keep me from stamping the earth with my feet. There are lands which call themselves free where this sort of work is prescribed as a shameful punishment for criminals; but, I repeat, in our free land there can be at the present moment no work that is shameful or humiliating.

My head is old, but will not fail me at work. My scientific experience of many years might perhaps be of use in the educational work or in the field of agriculture. And, another point: There was a time when my words of conviction found an echo in several generations of students; perhaps even now they may be a prop to the vacillating, and admonish those who are shirking the common work to reflect on their position.

Therefore, comrades, let us all get down to our work together, without placing our hands in our laps, and may our Soviet Republic flourish, created as it was by the unselfish heroic deeds of the workers and peasants, and saved before our very eyes by our glorious Red Army.

K. TIMIRYAZEV,

*Member of the Moscow Soviet.*

### A CZECHIC SOCIAL PATRIOT ON SOVIET RUSSIA

PRAGUE, May 27.—Josef Psenicka, a recently arrived Czecho-Slovak legionary, cannot in any way be suspected of Bolshevik sympathies. He has a counter-revolutionary past, the like of which would be hard to match even among the defilers of Soviet Russia. While the latter, newspaper prostitutes for the most part, have been able to consume in comparative leisure and comfort the pay given them by their employers, Psenicka has had to go through the experience of being condemned to death, only escaping execution by being pardoned. Two years ago he was imprisoned at Moscow, and he has now finally been sent home through the intermediation of the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister. He recently delivered a lecture at Prague, saying among other things the following:

"The Russian Revolution may now be considered as completely successful, and the Soviet Gov-

ernment has directed all its energies to the problem of economic reconstruction. The Red Army has been turned into labor armies, which are discharging their tasks with success. The army is disciplined to a high degree, and the spirit of the soldiers is fine. The Polish attack has merely had the effect of strengthening the army. Its confidence in victory is unshakable.

"The Soviet Government has carried out a tremendous cultural labor. No previous regime has ever done so much in this direction as the Soviet Government which is carrying on a ruthless struggle against illiteracy. In a short time there will no longer be any illiteracy in Russia. However, the cultural work is being hindered by a lack of teachers and assistants. Theatre tickets are distributed among the people and the theatres are attended almost exclusively by the proletariat.

"The Soviet Government is at present employing trained specialists in almost every line, and is developing constantly new forces, which do their work well. Revolutionary conditions are giving place to a permanent consolidation, and after the certain victory over Poland, Russia will be the only country with a healthy development in Europe, if not in the world."

Thus speaks Psenicka, a counter-revolutionist. What is the reason for this counter-revolutionary's expressing himself so straightforwardly on conditions in Soviet Russia? Is it simply the desire for truth, or is the reason the present orientation of Czechic nationalism which beholds its enemy in Poland? The latter is more probably the case. The desire for truth is not so powerful among the bourgeoisie as to force its way through other motives. And therefore Soviet Russia and the European proletariat as a whole must still struggle along against the only industry which is at present at the peak of production,—namely, the industry of lies.

(Signed) HENRICK UNGAR.

### BOROTBISTS FOR SOVIETS

The Executive Committee for the Left Social Revolutionary Party in Ukraine (*Borotbists*) has published a resolution in which it approves the policy of the Communist party. Under these circumstances, the Executive Committee finds it unnecessary to support two separate organizations to carry out Soviet policies. The revolutionary movement of the country will now be united at this critical moment, in the battle against foreign imperialism.

### WORKERS' DETERMINATION

It is reported from Rome by *Le Matin* that the Italian land organizations have interfered in the matter concerning the two boats which are lying in Genoa, which belong to Denikin, and which the sailors have vainly tried to seize. The workers have informed the authorities that they will oppose the departure of the vessels.

### TESSEN AND KNUDSEN DEAD

[A recent issue of "Social-Demokraten", Norway, prints an answer received by the Norwegian Foreign Department to a question addressed by it to the Soviet Government, requesting information concerning the fate of two Norwegian sailors known to have left Roald Amundsen's ship, the "Maud", and to have entered Siberian territory that has since come into the possession of the Soviet Government.]

The Foreign Department has received the following wireless telegram dated Moscow, May 28: "Referring to our radio-telegram of April 9 concerning the sailors Tessen and Knudsen, belonging to Amundsen's expedition, we report that as a result of our investigation we have learned that the two sailors died in the winter of 1914 at Cape Pill. We expect further information from Yenisseisk and will inform you immediately on their arrival."

Note: Probably 1914 is a telegraphic error for 1918 or 1919. Cape Pill is also an error; probably Cape Wild, about 360 kilometers from the place where the two left the "Maud" is meant. There is a great supply base there holding provisions for one man for 720 days.

Knudsen and Tessen were sailors of Amundsen's ship "Maud", who left the ship at Cape Chelyuskin in October, 1918. Knudsen was well acquainted with the supply base at Cape Wild, which he helped to establish in 1915.

Paul Knudsen was about 31 years old, and was born in Helgeland. He had been at sea for a number of years as a ship's mate and had been a member of Sverdrup's relief mission. Knudsen was well known in the region where he appears to have met his death.

Peter Tessen, who was born at Trendelagen, was about forty-five years old. Like his comrade, he was an experienced sailor and had sailed for many years with Arctic vessels. Tessen was married.

The reason for the death of the two it is now impossible to conjecture. Presumably some information will arrive concerning this question within the next few days.

### CHICHERIN'S RADIOS TO FOREIGN MINISTER IHLEN MUCH DELAYED

*Social Demokraten* this morning received the following telegram from the Russian Foreign Minister, Chicherin, dated June 1:

"Our radio telegrams unfortunately do not reach Foreign Minister Ihlen. On May 29 I informed him that Consul Geelmyden was enjoying the best of health at Moscow and entirely free. He was entirely at liberty either to return to Novorossiysk or to Norway, together with the next consignment of Norwegians. But in spite of this, I again received today a telegram from him putting the same question to me."

In connection with the above telegram, the press bureau of the Foreign Department reports that

the Foreign Department did not receive the information mentioned from Moscow until today.

The cause of this is probably that the Norwegian receiving station at Christiania, is overburdened with work.

### TRADE ROUTE OPENED FROM ENGLAND AND SIBERIA

A recent London message reports that Reuter's Telegraph Agency is informed that Jonas Lied is at present in London on business connected with a new trade route to the Kara Sea. He has reported to Reuter's correspondent that he is authorized by the Soviet Government to hire three steamers of 3,500 tons each, to be loaded with factory products which are to be exchanged for Siberian products. The vessels are to leave England the latter part of July and to return from Siberia with cargoes toward the end of September. Lied said that he had already received offers to the value of several million pounds of material for such description as was needed by the Russians. This was the Soviet Government's first effort to again bring Russia into commercial relations with the outside world. To counteract difficulties encountered in ice-bound waters, a plan has been drawn up for erecting radio stations and carrying on aeroplane traffic, which will keep all parties informed concerning the ice situation.

### THE WAR IN THE ORIENT

Moscow, June 2.—The representative of the Turkestan Commission declared, in an interview with a correspondent, that the English Government is preparing a military base in Persia, and especially in Korhassan, for the purpose of making a stand against an invasion of India.

Moscow, June 2.—In addition to the fleet, which consisted of ten cruisers and seven transports, an English detachment was also captured in Enzeli. The Red troops entered the city after the English evacuated it, and were joyfully greeted by the Persian workers. The Red troops captured a great quantity of war supplies and the entire fleet. The Persian Government understands that the Red troops will evacuate Enzeli.

### FOREIGN WORKERS IN RUSSIA

The President of the Supreme Council of National Economy has forwarded a radio-telegram in which he points out that the workers of foreign countries who wish to come to Soviet Russia and look for work should first send special delegations to study conditions. Workers who emigrate to Russia cannot expect to obtain better conditions than the Russian workers.

### EVACUATION OF THE CRIMEA

Moscow, June 5.—The evacuation of the Crimea by the English troops is complete, according to reports from Sebastopol. English civilians are leaving the Crimea, along with the troops, on transport vessels and steamers, en route for Constantinople.

### PERSIA AND SOVIET RUSSIA

*Pravda* of May 21 states that an exchange of notes took place between the Persian Government and the Soviet Government at Moscow, with the object of opening diplomatic and commercial relations between Persia and Soviet Russia. The initiative to this exchange of notes appears to have been taken by the Persian Government, which, in a communication to Chicherin, declared that it had learned with satisfaction of the proclamation issued in 1918 by the Soviet Government, in which Persia was recognized as an independent state, while all the treaties of the Czar's Government with the Shah were annulled. With the object of inaugurating friendly relations with the Soviet Governments of Azerbaijan and Soviet Russia, the Persian Government promises to send out two delegations, one to Baku, the other to Moscow. Simultaneously, Soviet Russian vessels operating in Persian waters are guaranteed unimpeded return to ports in Soviet Russia and Azerbaijan. The Persian Government further expresses its desire to resume commercial relations with Soviet Russia, and to extend such relations. Finally, the Persian Government requests that it be informed whether the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan is willing to ratify the treaty concluded between Azerbaijan and Turkey.\*

Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin answered on May 20. The Soviet Government greets Persia's decision to send a diplomatic mission to Moscow with pleasure, and declares itself ready immediately to reestablish postal and telegraphic relations with Teheran, as well as to continue in its pursuit of a policy of conciliation and peace toward all the races of Central Asia. As the reason for the cutting off of relations with Persia, Chicherin enumerates a number of offenses committed against the diplomatic representatives of Soviet Russia at Teheran, as well as against its consuls in northern Persia, particularly from counter-revolutionary Russian and English quarters. But the Soviet Government understands the difficult situation in which Persia has been placed, and is therefore quite ready to regard as bygones the events of the past, on the condition, however, that the Teheran Government will guarantee complete security of the new representative and consuls of Soviet Russia against eventful violence at the hands of the foreign troops still remaining in Persia.

### AID TO THE SWEDISH PROLETARIAT

The Swedish capitalists have declared a lock-out on their workers. "*Petrograd Pravda*" makes an appeal to organize a collection in all the factories and shops, in the labor unions and in the detachments of the Red Army.

The typographical conference of the province contributed 200,000 rubles for the Swedish workers.

\* It appears that the last sentence refers to two Azerbaijan governments, one no longer in existence.

After the Red typographers came the Red workers in tobacco manufactures.

An assembly was held at the first state factory with great enthusiasm. The workers decided to contribute one day's pay for the benefit of the Swedish workers. This amounted to 350,000 rubles.

The Red cavalry soldiers also made themselves heard. They voted the following resolution: "The cavalry of the N. division of the reserve cavalry, having learned of the inhuman lockout declared by the Swedish bourgeoisie, have met in an assembly of the whole division. After hearing the reports of our comrades, we resolve to give each according to his means, to aid the bitter lot of the Swedish workers who tried to follow our road.

"In sending our aid, we say to them: 'Comrades, Swedish workers, do not waver in your demands, know that the Russian proletariat are always ready to aid you. The Swedish bourgeoisie are terribly deceived if they think by this inhuman measure to oblige the workers to yield.'"

The cavalry added 18,000 rubles to this resolution.

In all the enterprises and institutions of Petrograd collections are being organized for the benefit of the Swedish workers.

Similar collections will probably be organized throughout Russia.

### RUSSIA AND POLAND

A recent number of *Izvestia* prints an item by Radek in which the latter points out the absurdity of the French policy in driving Poland into its present hazardous enterprise, which may become so fatal to the latter, for France needs Poland as an ally against Germany.

After an analysis of the international situation Radek concludes as follows:

"We are entering upon this war under conditions ten times as favorable as those in which we entered the war against Kolchak and Denikin, who have now been destroyed,—our certainty of victory is based not only on the alignment of forces between Poland and Russia, but even to a greater extent upon the entire international situation."

### ARREST OF BATUM BOLSHEVIKS

The Moscow wireless reports that the British in Batum continue to arrest all suspected of Bolshevism. Moscow further alleges that two Bolsheviks were deported from Batum to Constantinople and there shot by the British.—Wireless Press, *Manchester Guardian*, June 16.

### EARLY ISSUES

The next issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA* will contain a new and striking article by Nikolai Lenin, entitled: "Economics of a Transition Period."

Number 6 (issue of August 7) will have a special picture supplement with new photographs from Russia.

## Books Reviewed

**BOLSHEVISM: AN INTERNATIONAL DANGER.** By *Paul Miliukov*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

**SOVIETISM.** By *William English Walling*. E. P. Dutton and Company.

**A PRISONER OF TROTZKY'S.** By *Andrew Kalpaschnikoff*. Doubleday, Page & Company.

**WITH THE "DIE HARDS" IN SIBERIA.** By *Colonel John Ward*. George H. Doran Company, New York.

These books represent a propaganda offensive against Soviet Russia on four fronts. Differing widely in style and method the authors have a single common objective: to discredit the Russian Soviet Republic at all costs.

Professor Miliukov sees that all the old familiar excuses for foreign intervention have broken down under the relentless pressure of events. The charge that the Bolshevik leaders were German agents has been disproved by the testimony of the German generals themselves and invalidated by the end of the war. The manufactured scare about the arming of German and Austrian prisoners by the Soviets was disposed of by the Webster-Hicks report. The pretext of aiding the "westward moving Czecho-Slovaks" disappeared when these troops repudiated dictator Kolchak and demanded immediate repatriation. The claim that intervention was designed to vindicate the Constituent Assembly was demolished when Supreme Ruler Kolchak refused to convoke that body on the ground that most of its members were to be found in the Communist ranks. Atrocity tales have begun to lose their effectiveness because the supposed victims have developed an unpleasant habit of turning up alive and working in hearty cooperation with the Soviet Government.

In short, all the conventional arguments for the policy of isolating and attacking Soviet Russia have collapsed out of their inherent weakness and falsity. So Mr. Miliukov, being a man of originality, conjures up the spectre of Bolshevism as an international menace, a sinister threat against every organized government. In support of this theory he cites numerous newspaper reports about radical activity in Europe and America. Aside from the dubious veracity of many of Mr. Miliukov's allegations, it is highly absurd to hold the Soviet Government responsible for every manifestation of discontent all over the world. If Miss Sylvia Pankhurst chooses to attack Mr. Lloyd George in *The Workers' Dreadnought*, there is no reason to assume that she is acting under direct and specific instructions from Moscow. If there is a strike in Winnipeg, it should be remembered that strikes took place before Karl Marx was born. When Irish workers display dissatisfaction with English rule they need no stimulus from abroad to urge them on. Where Mr. Miliukov attempts to prove a direct connection between the Soviet Government and domestic disturbances in other countries his "evidence" usually takes the form of

the unsubstantiated and unproved statement of some excited and overzealous public official. Mr. Archibald Stevenson is one of his authorities.

The Russian people have, so far as possible, defended themselves against a cruel and unprovoked war and blockade by the method of laying their case fairly before the peoples of the Allied countries. This method was widely practiced by all the belligerent nations in the late war. It is a noteworthy fact that most of the "propaganda" which Mr. Miliukov traces directly to Russia consists not of appeals for a world revolution, but of arguments against the war and the blockade.

Mr. Walling, a much clumsier propagandist than Mr. Miliukov, attempts to create an impression of impartiality by pretending to base his work upon a compilation of excerpts from alleged speeches and writings of various communist leaders. Just how fair this compilation is may be judged from the fact that the book includes copious quotations from Gorky's paper, *Novaya Zhizn*, during the period when the famous author was not reconciled to the Soviet Government, while it does not contain a reference to the many eloquent tributes which Gorky has since paid to the first proletarian republic.

Mr. Walling has much to say about the hardships of the peasants under Soviet rule. He says not a word in condemnation of the blockade, which has been the primary, if not the sole factor in making difficult an adjustment of interests between the peasants and the city workers. And he does not mention the indisputable fact that the downfall of Kolchak and Denikin was compassed by the Red Army with the hearty cooperation of the peasants in Siberia and the Ukraine, who hastened the downfall of these two tyrants by their revolts. Mr. Walling does not hesitate to draw the most unwarrantable conclusions from his own statements. So he quotes the following passages from an article by Zinoviev in *Izvestia*:

"Has the Soviet Government, has our party done everything that can be done for the direct improvement of the daily life of the average workingman and his family? We hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative.

"Let us look the truth in the face. We have committed quite a number of blunders in this realm."

Mr. Walling adds:

"Zinoviev is not the only leader of the Bolsheviks who has admitted the total failure of their labor policy."

So a frank admission that the Soviet Government has not achieved perfection is distorted into an "admission of total failure." Many of Mr. Walling's statements are so ridiculous that they carry their own refutation. He asserts, for instance, that half the engineers in Russia have been murdered by the Bolsheviks. He represents Bolshevism as a military menace to the rest of the world, wilfully ignoring the nineteen peace offers made by the

Soviet Government and rejected by the Allies, disregarding the obvious fact that every military operation from the attack of the Czecho-Slovaks to the recent Polish offensive was an attack on Russia fought out on Russian soil. In fact there are so many falsehoods, misrepresentations and distortions in Mr. Walling's book that it would require another volume to point them out and adequately correct them. It may be predicated that, like all inept and exaggerated propaganda, "Sovietism" will prove chiefly injurious to its author.

It is a relief to turn from Mr. Walling's dreary maunderings to that thrilling story entitled "A Prisoner of Trotzky's." Colonel Kalpaschnikoff possesses fictional imagination of a high order, and his account of his own adventures deserves a place among the most fantastic romances of all time. The very title has a fine dramatic ring; it suggests a long drawn out duel between the hero and the Soviet War Minister. One has to read the book to find out that Trotzky had no direct connection whatever either with the author's imprisonment or, we are glad to say, with his release.

Colonel Kalpaschnikoff's case was reviewed in detail in the Moscow and Petrograd press at the time of his arrest in December, 1917. Papers were discovered in his apartment which convinced the Soviet Government that he had planned to send eight motor cars belonging to the American Red Cross to General Kaledin, the counter-revolutionist leader in the Don region. As Kaledin was carrying on an open war against the Soviet Government Kalpaschnikoff certainly exposed himself to the double charge of espionage and treason, and might well have considered himself fortunate in escaping with a few months' imprisonment. He is discreetly reticent about the facts leading up to his arrest, which he represents as part of a deep laid plot on the part of the Soviet Government to secure recognition from the American Ambassador Francis. Just how his arrest would induce or compel Mr. Francis to recognize the Soviet Government he does not explain. In this connection he quotes Trotzky as saying in an imaginary speech:

"I shall not hesitate to take extreme measures and wipe out all the Americans and foreigners who dare to plot anything against the liberties so dearly bought by us for our country."

A careful examination of the newspapers published at this time in Moscow and Petrograd shows that Trotzky never said anything of the kind. It would certainly have been rather curious language for a foreign minister who is represented as desperately anxious to secure diplomatic recognition from "the Americans and other foreigners" whom he so cheerfully promises to wipe out.

But Colonel Kalpaschnikoff's poetic soul rebels against all restraints of fact, reality, and even probability. Wishing to convey the impression that sinister relations existed between Colonel Raymond Robins and the Soviet Government he asserts that Boris Reinstein was first an interpreter for Robins

and then a secretary to Lenin, although Reinstein never held either of these posts.

The author describes the Constituent Assembly as "composed of eighty-five per cent East Siders from New York City and Socialists who hurried from all parts of the world, and fifteen per cent Old Regimers." Certainly a very extraordinary body. One wonders whether Colonel Kalpaschnikoff really examined the records of the Assembly with meticulous care and proved that only fifteen per cent of its members (the Old Regimers) were living in Russia at the time of the Revolution.

One more incident before we lose sight of this engaging fictionist. It is possible to believe Colonel Kalpaschnikoff when he declares that insurgent peasants destroyed the grand piano in his ancestral mansion. But when he adds that they made a manure sledge out of the piano one's credulity begins to wane. Somehow the contrast seems too obvious, too dramatic, too perfect: on one side the traditional culture of the Kalpaschnikoff family, exemplified in the grand piano; on the other, the barbarism of the Bolsheviek peasants, exemplified in the manure sledge.

Colonel Kalpaschnikoff will scarcely take rank among the great historians of the Russian Revolution. But he certainly deserves a place by the side of Baron Munchausen as one of the truly great creators of highly colored imaginative fiction.

Colonel Ward is a sturdy Britisher with a good opinion of his King and country, and a somewhat better opinion of himself. He went to Siberia with his regiment in the summer of 1918, and cooperated with the Japanese and the other allies in suppressing popular government in eastern Siberia. He specialized in giving the Russians instruction in patriotism and good government. As an orator he must have touched great heights: for he very seriously declares on one occasion that "my list of telegrams and messages of every kind and character from every part of Russia and the outside world, together with constant repetition of the speech in the press, indicates plainly that from this day began the resurrection of the Russian soul."

Colonel Ward set about his task of resurrecting the Russian soul in various parts of Siberia. At the instigation of the Supreme Ruler he went up and down the Trans-Siberian railroad, warning audiences of workmen against the horrors and fallacies of Bolshevism. The workers showed their appreciation of Colonel Ward's eloquence and arguments later, when their strikes and sabotage contributed materially to Kolchak's debacle.

Some light is cast upon the sincerity of the British Government in the Prinkipo proposal by Kolchak's comment in an interview with Colonel Ward:

"There must be some facts with which we are not acquainted, for, while the British Government advise an arrangement with the Bolsheviks, they continue to furnish me with supplies for the Russian army."

It has remained for Colonel Ward to make an authoritative pronouncement upon the purposes

of British intervention in Russia. It seems that the participation of British soldiers in the fighting in Archangel and Siberia, the constant shipments of munitions to the counter-revolutionists, the merciless enforcement of the blockade, which starved hundreds of thousands of women and children, that all these measures were designed to save Russia from a reversion to autocracy. In the words of the gallant Colonel:

"The workmen are sick of strife, and would gladly go straight back to the old regime as an easy way of escape from Bolshevism. This is the danger from which English diplomacy has, and is trying to guard the Russian people, if possible."

Here we may take leave of Colonel Ward. Whatever else may be said of him he cannot be accused of lacking a sense of humor.

### SHIPPING BETWEEN ITALY AND RUSSIA

ROME, June 7.—It is announced from commercial quarters of the government that Italy, without regard to the Allies, will shortly take up trading with Russia on the basis of special agreements. It is now only a matter of getting ready the ships that are to ply between Italy and the ports of the Black Sea. Italy will receive coal and grain from South Russia in exchange for machinery.

### ELECTRIC POWER STATIONS

Petrograd newspapers report a gigantic engineering operation undertaken as a result of the opening of the Svir-Volkhov canal. Dams are being built on this canal, on which electrical power stations will be erected. On the river Svir there are a very powerful waterfall and a number of smaller cascades. Petrograd will be supplied with electrical energy from two stations situated 270 kilometres from the city. A third electrical station will provide the local industry and the Murmansk railway with electrical energy, which will be conducted to Petrograd by four cables along the Northern railway to the station of Zvanka, and thence to Kobino. From the latter point the current will be conducted in part to Petrograd and the Shuvalov district, and in part southward to Ligovo. It is calculated that these operations will require a period of four years. On the Volkhov river an electrical power station is also to be erected. All these stations together will furnish 1,500,000 kilowatts per hour.

### OIL PRODUCTION AT BAKU

CONSTANTINOPLE, June 7.—In Baku the administration have been taken over by a commissar of the Moscow government. The production of petroleum has increased considerably. The Russians are sending large quantities of oil to Russia by way of the Volga.

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