

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau

Ten Cents

Saturday, December 4, 1920

Vol. III, No. 23

Issued Weekly at 110 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, Publisher. Jacob Wittmer Hartmann, Editor. Subscription Rate, \$5.00 per annum. Application for entry as second class matter pending. Changes of address should reach the office a week before the changes are to be made.

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Ukraine

By MICHAEL PAVLOVICH

[The following article by the People's Commissariat for Public Works is one of a number of important contributions to an understanding of the importance of Ukraine. Next week we shall print K. Rakovsky's article, "The Mutual Relations of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine."]

1. The Ukrainian Obsession

THE world war of 1914-1918, which destroyed many millions of human lives, and annihilated tremendous resources that had been accumulated in all countries by decades of peaceful labor, was fought, on the one hand, for the possession of sources of raw materials, foodstuffs, and fuel, and, on the other hand, for the control of the great railroad and maritime routes in the regions that were rich in such raw materials and fuels.

Ukraine, with its endless natural resources, its remarkable geographical position—it lies half way on the route from Western Europe to the Caucasus, which has great mineral wealth and huge deposits of naphtha, daily gaining in importance in the economic life of nations, and farther on, to Turkestan, with its cotton plantations, to Persia and all of Central Asia—necessarily had to become the object of the cupidity of all the imperialistic countries of the world.

Immediately after the peace of Brest-Litovsk the German imperialists threw their troops not into Soviet or Central Russia, not against Moscow or Petrograd, but into Ukraine. In attempting to sow discord between Soviet Russia and Ukraine, the German diplomats were pursuing the object of weakening Ukraine and thus making it possible for Germany to annex that country and chain it to the victorious chariot of the German Empire.

When the German revolution overthrew the Hohenzollerns in November, 1918, and the German troops of occupation went back home, new conquerors appeared in the place of these helmeted aggressors. After the downfall of the Hohenzollerns and the crushing of Germany, Ukraine became the object of the lust of French and English

capitalists. If Krassnov and Skoropadski were agents of German imperialism, working for the erection of a German hegemony in Ukraine and on the Don, Denikin and Wrangel, on the other hand, were tools for realizing the plan of conquest of Anglo-French imperialism, particularly with regard to Ukraine. And Denikin, as is well known, after he had occupied Kharkov and Tsaritsin, and had issued to his troops the famous order to march on Moscow, nevertheless did not immediately take the direct route to the old capital. He again deviated into Ukraine and occupied Yekaterinoslav, Poltava, Kiev. Only toward the end of September, three months after the above-mentioned order was issued, did Denikin's operations begin to move toward Voronezh and Kursk. Apparently Denikin was hastening to complete a definite occupation of Ukraine, in the interest and under the instruction of his superiors, the English and French bourgeoisie. But, while he was putting in three months in conquering Ukraine, both of the left and the right banks of the Dnieper, he was weakening his fighting powers and thus accelerating his defeat in the struggle with his formidable opponent—Soviet Russia.

After Denikin was annihilated, Ukraine apparently was saved from the firm embrace of Western European imperialism. But behold—in place of the black reactionary Cossackdom and the gold-braided officers, there appears as a pretender to Ukraine the Poland of the *shliakhta*. Pilsudski's manifesto most tangibly exposes the cards of the ruling class of Poland. His manifesto leaves no doubt as to the real objects of the Polish *shliakhta* in the struggle with the two federative republics of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. This object

is: occupation of Ukraine by Polish troops, complete seizure of Ukraine.

And again we see that instead of taking the straight route by way of Smolensk to Moscow, and thus offering battle to their powerful opponent on the fields of Soviet Russia, the troops of the *shliakhta* proceed along the same route that had been followed by Charles XII, by the Germans, and by Denikin. So powerful is the attractive force of Ukraine, of the Ukrainian hypnosis, which has been working upon all the opponents of the Soviet power and has apparently befogged their reason! What is it that makes Ukraine the object of such passionate desire on the part of the hirelings of capital; what is the source of this Ukrainian obsession, of the attraction exercised by this country, which appears to have such an irresistible effect on all the opponents of the Soviet power?

2. *The Former Russian Empire in World Economy*

In the period preceding the world war, the former Russian Empire, with its 200,000,000 inhabitants, with its infinite expanse of territory, making up more than one-seventh of the surface of the globe, with its agricultural products, its wood, its flax, etc., played a tremendous part in world economy. This part was not a superficially apparent one, as it was more or less veiled in the exchange of goods by the form of money used. The great volume of Russian export, its profound significance for world economy, was to a certain extent masked by its extremely low exchange value, as the Russian wares were exported to foreign countries in the form of raw materials that had not yet been worked upon, that had a comparatively low value; and the total figure for Russian exports expressed in money—rubles, francs, pounds sterling,—was very small when compared with its actual importance in world economy. On the other hand, many objects of Russian export, which were returned to Russia in a fabricated form, such as goods made out of Russian wood, Russian leather, Russian ores, etc., were sold in our country at prices that were often ten or a hundred times as high as the original price of the raw materials.

The former Czarist Empire was one of the richest lands in the world, not only by reason of its natural resources—the most important point was that this empire possessed *the most essential means of production*: cotton, manufactures of which are the basis of the entire textile industry; coal, iron, without which not a single factory can be made to move; finally, the chief elements in the nutriment of the human organism: grain, sugar, fats, meats, salt. Present-day Germany, for instance, has no cotton at all and only comparatively little coal, iron, and grain. If the capitalist order prevails, Germany is doomed to destruction, to die out, to degenerate. It is threatened by a worse fate than the fate of Spain, which was transformed from one of the most flourishing industrial lands of Europe into Europe's poorest region. Germany can only continue as a capitalist state if it again seizes Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar region from France, and once more occupies Ukraine—in short, if it

succeeds in winning a new world war, far more senseless and audacious than that of 1914-1918. Even France and England, in spite of their great annexations of territory, are by no means in a position to maintain themselves without some support on the part of Ukraine and Soviet Russia, including the northern regions rich in forests, the cotton of Turkestan, the naphtha of the Caucasus, etc. There is in all the world only one capitalistic country that can survive without the resources of Ukraine and Soviet Russia, but this single country, the United States of America, lies on another continent; it has grain, coal, iron, and cotton, too, in sufficient quantities, and the American bourgeoisie is therefore less interested in the overthrow of the Soviet order in Russia, as well as in Ukraine, than are the French and English bourgeoisie.

Immediately after the termination of the world war, when a great lack of the most important foodstuffs was beginning to make itself felt, for instance, in grain, meat and sugar, as well as in raw materials: Russian flax (Russia covers 80 per cent of the world demand in flax), coal, ores, building-wood, hides, fats, etc., the unexpected elimination of such an important link in the chain as the former Russian empire, from the system of capitalistic states, turned out to be a terrible blow for these states. In the course of four years of war, humanity had literally shot into the air, through the guilt of the exploiters, milliards of tons of iron, coal, cotton, grain, hides, which were used exclusively for war materials, and now, when the international bourgeoisie is particularly interested in the most stringent exploitation of the Russian empire, in its final transformation into a colony of theirs, this goal turns out to be more distant than ever.

European bourgeois scholars, who have understood that the old cannot be restored again, that it is inconceivable to bring back the former economic relations of a slavish dependence which once existed between the former Russian Empire and Western European states, no doubt fully understand how necessary it is to cease the armed war against the Russian Federative Soviet Republic. The only means Western Europe has against economic decay, against hunger and material demoralization, is, in the opinion of these bourgeois economists and statesmen, a rapprochement with Soviet Russia.

The decision taken at the London Conference for Combating Hunger, as far as the section referring to Russia goes, reads as follows: "The conference is of the opinion that the restoration of world industry cannot be realized before Russia has the possibility of reestablishing its economic life and placing its immense supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs at the disposal of other countries. The first steps along this path must be taken in the direction of a cessation of every possible intervention, both secret and public, in Russian affairs, by foreign powers."

But a considerable number of the statesmen of bourgeois countries will not give up this inter-

vention by force in Russian affairs. The Polish adventure is the best proof of this.

3. *The Ukrainian Natural Resources. Ukraine's Position in World Economy Before the War*

Among the other parts of the former Russian Empire, Ukraine occupied but a relatively inconsiderable area. This area was only 14.3 per cent of that of European Russia, or equal to the area of the Governments of Kovno, Grodno, Vilna, Courland, and Archangel. As compared with Western European countries, however, the 45,000,000 dessiatins of Ukraine make it a great state, hardly second to Germany, France, or Spain, with their 46 to 50,000,000 dessiatins of area.

But although Ukraine occupies only 14.3 per cent of the area of European Russia, even before the war it already played a prominent part in foreign trade, in the export of many extremely valuable objects of Russian barter. It is precisely from Ukraine that almost all the wheat, rye, barley, cattle, flour, sugar, salt, and many other goods were exported, which were the annual toll of Czarist Russia for foreign export before the war. Particularly in the production of sugar the importance of the Ukrainian soil is indicated by the circumstance that of the total of 294 coarse and granulated sugar refineries which existed in Russia in the period 1914-1918, Ukraine had 198.

It is clear how great was the importance of Ukrainian grain in the feeding of the population of Western Europe before the war. Ukrainian rye went to Germany, Ukrainian wheat to England, and in part to Italy.

Ukraine produced chiefly grain, particularly wheat and barley. According to the data of production, export and import, the mean net excess in the years 1909-1913 in the nine Ukrainian provinces amounted to 180,000,000 poods of wheat and 211,000,000 poods of barley. A distant third is rye, yielding an excess of 32,000,000 poods, and finally comes oats with 9,000,000 poods. Altogether, the average excess for export of all four cereals together amounted in this period to the enormous figure of 432,000,000 poods annually. It goes without saying that the productivity of the fruitful Ukrainian soil, with the progress of cultivation, will be immensely increased, and Ukraine will be able to furnish an immense excess of cereals for the supply of other countries.

In addition to grain, Ukraine also exported cattle, but in incomparably smaller quantities. According to data furnished by railroad statistics, the average export from the nine Ukrainian Governments in the period of 1910-1914 was 231,000 head or 6,000,000 poods. Of course Ukraine will be capable of a considerable intensification of cattle breeding, and will therefore ultimately be able to export much greater numbers of cattle to other countries. The manufacture of sugar played an important role in the Ukrainian economy before the war. In the 1913-1914 season there were about 200 coarse and refined sugar factories in Ukraine, which produced an average of as high as 67 million poods per annum from 1911-1914.

The manufacture of alcohol in the nine Ukrainian provinces from 1909-1914, produced an average of 50,000,000 liters (24 per cent alcohol) only 61 per cent of which was used up in Ukraine; the excess was exported to Great Russia, the Caucasus, and to foreign ports.

Before the war, Ukraine was one of the most important purveyors of eggs in the world market; thousands of car-loads of eggs went to foreign markets.

Even this hasty review of Ukrainian exports of agricultural products before the war shows how important is the question of properly exploiting Ukraine, and, if necessary, imposing forced exports of grain, cattle, etc., to Western European countries as soon the war had been in progress for a few years and hunger and want began to be felt all over the world, particularly in Europe. It is not a source of surprise that the German imperialists, the day after the conclusion of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, did not throw their troops against "hostile" Russia, but against "friendly" Ukraine. As Comrade Rakovsky recalled in his report at the Fourth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on May 18, 1920, the Ukraine of Petlura, according to the treaty that was signed between the Ukrainian "People's Republic" on the one hand, and Germany and Austria on the other, was to deliver by June 1, 1919: 75,000,000 poods of cereals; 11,000,000 poods of live cattle; 30,000 sheep; 2,000,000 fowl; 45,000 poods of fats; 2,500 carloads of eggs; 2,500,000 poods of sugar, 20,000,000 liters of alcohol, etc.

The problem of Ukrainian coal and iron ores has played an important part in our civil war. The Donetz Basin, which occupies the first place among all the industrial regions of Russia and Ukraine, became a basis of support, through its wealth in coal and iron, both for our internal counter-revolution, as well as for that which was of international origin, in their struggle against Soviet Russia and Ukraine. The Krassnovs, Kaledins, Denikins, and their European masters, dreamed of chaining the two Soviet republics by cold and hunger, by cutting off the Donetz Basin from Russia and Ukraine, and thus completely crippling the railroads in Russia and Ukraine, and bringing about a complete cessation of economic activity all over the country, resulting in mutinies against Soviet Russia on the part of a population maddened by hunger and cold. On the other hand, foreign capital was too strongly interested in the Donetz Basin to leave this region to the Soviet Republics without a struggle, and to give up the immense incomes yielded to European capitalists by the exploitation of the Donetz Basin.

It will be remembered that imperialistic Germany, on the day after the conclusion of the Brest Treaty, began moving to seize the Donetz Basin, and the German imperialistic press devoted many columns to a description of the resources of that region. It was calculated in much detail what quantities of coal, metals and ores might be taken

from this region by German industries and German occupational troops in the interest of German manufactures.

When the German troops were forced to leave the Donetz region, the latter became the object of the covetous desires of the Entente powers. As far as the coal and iron of the Donetz Basin are concerned, it is correct to say that our coal and our iron before the world war were exported to foreign countries only in very small quantities, but on the other hand—and this is of much greater importance from the standpoint of the interests of international imperialism and counter-revolution—the Donetz coal and iron were the magnet which attracted great quantities of European capital to the Donetz Basin, English, French, and Belgian industrialists have put in enormous sums in the metallurgical enterprises and mines of the Donetz Basin, and, as a matter of fact, the whole metal and coal industry of the Donetz Basin, before the November Revolution, lay in the hands of English-French-Belgian capital. Shortly before the war, in the year 1914, of the 3,600 coke ovens in the coal mines of the Donetz Basin, producing 173,000,000 poods of coke, there were 3,150 ovens, with a production of 153,000,000 poods in the hands of stock corporations having foreign capital exclusively; as far as the metal industry is concerned, foreign capital before the war had also been completely predominant in it. Thus, for instance, the well-known metal trust "Prodamet", which had concentrated into its hands 80 per cent of the total metal production, was chiefly a syndicate of Belgian and French capitalists, and its chief administrative center was in Paris.

The foreign capitalists invested enormous sums not only in the metal mines, the factories, and coal-mines of the Donetz Basin, but also in the tramway lines, the electric power stations, the railroads, and in other industrial enterprises throughout Ukraine, and they were by no means inclined to renounce these sources of income without a struggle. When the Germans left Ukraine, Petlura, who had once sold out to William II, went to Odessa to call on the French General d'Anselme, in order to sign with him a new treaty selling out Ukraine. By this treaty all railroads and customs offices of Ukraine were to pass into the hands of the French Stock Exchange.

As for imperialistic England, the latter is interested, as far as the Ukrainian question is concerned, not so much in the economic conquest of the coal and metal regions of the Donetz Basin, and of the concessions of Ukrainian railroads, customs offices, electric power stations, etc., as in *the problem of the conquest of Ukrainian grain*.

The important English bourgeois paper, the *Daily Telegraph*, in an article appearing in August, 1919, during Denikin's advance, said the following: "The harvest in Ukraine is satisfactory and may be sufficient to cover the needs of all Europe if only sufficient work is put in." Comrade Sokolnikov quotes from the English "White Book" concerning the Bolsheviki a very characteristic report

of an English agent to Lord Balfour: "Europe will suffer a serious need of foodstuffs so long as the fields of Russia are not sufficiently utilized to enable Russia, the granary of Europe, to supply all the European states with its exports of grain" (*Pravda*, May 12, 1920).

This consideration supplemented by the data above quoted, as to Ukrainian exports to foreign countries before the war, sufficiently show why the capitalist powers are attempting at any price to destroy the Soviet power in Ukraine and to reduce the country to a slavish dependence on the international capitalist market. This data also makes it clear why international capitalism, in undertaking campaigns against the two sister republics of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine, always throw most of the military forces at their disposal against Ukraine. In the present catastrophic position of the entire capitalist world, in view of the acute necessity of obtaining at the earliest possible moment—today, not tomorrow—an extra million poods of cereals, sugar, salt, etc., just there is the basis for the feverish attempt of the German, Denikin, and Polish troops, to occupy precisely Ukraine. Here is the motive of that "Ukrainian obsession" which is so evident in all the war-like opponents of the Soviet power. History has many examples of sacrifices of important strategical plans and considerations, in war, to political motives, dynastic interests, resulting in the loss of the object of the campaign. In the case now under consideration, the heavy weight in the scales is the burning question of the stomach, the acute inexorability of the need for the Ukrainian flour bag, the Ukrainian sugar bag, and this has forced the strategists who were conducting the campaign against the Soviet Republic, to choose for their advance on Moscow not the shortest way, but without question the route by way of Kiev and other Ukrainian cities.

Two Interviews

The Riga correspondent of *Kuryer Polski*, Warsaw, Mr. Linski, had two interviews with the representatives of the Russian Delegation, Manuilski, representing Soviet Ukraine, and Obolenski.

We quote from these interviews—together with a short description of the two Russians—the most significant points.

Manuilski is about forty years of age, of medium height, dark-complexioned, with bright eyes and a sympathetic smile. He speaks very quietly, without a trace of the demagogue, and delicately takes pains not to hurt any nationalistic feelings. When once unwillingly he used the phrase *poljskiye pany* (Polish lords) he began to beg my forgiveness. Obolenski, a descendant of an old aristocratic family, a grandson of a famous "dekabryst", looks like a Russian professor, with a blond goatee and a kind face.

We talked with Manuilski about the question of Soviet Ukraine.

Question: What is the relationship of Soviet Ukraine to Russia?

Answer: We are in the closest alliance on military, political, and economic matters, and for this reason, we have joint commissariats in those departments.

Question: Why is there no Ukrainian emissary in Moscow, and vice-versa?

Answer: Bourgeois conception . . . We are on such friendly terms that there is no need of emissaries. Instead of diplomatic relations in the coming Communist government, international solidarity will rule. The question of White Russia, Mr. Manuilsky says, is analogous to that of Ukraine, and therefore settled.

Question: Poland considers the question of Eastern Galicia also settled?

Answer: Oh, as to that, no! The Soviet diplomat defending himself adds: This would not harmonize with our principle of "one undivided Ukraine." Numerically, the Ruthenians are very strong there.

Question: Therefore, a plebiscite?

Answer: Fundamentally we consider this method the best to regulate ethnographical entanglements. This, however, does not settle the point. Nevertheless, I know that we don't intend to have Eastern Galicia separated from the rest of Ukrainia . . .

Question: While Poland cannot consider having Lemberg and Przemysl wrested from her?

Answer: Very illogical of you. You have striven to attain unity of the three parts and other territories of Poland; Ukraine also aims to unify all the lands inhabited by Ukrainians. However, we will consider this in the future.

Then I spoke with Obolenski on general topics. He said among other things:

Our peace proposals remained the same, but we will be glad to make several considerations, and we are waiting impatiently for your counter-proposal.

Question: What about disarmament?

Answer: It is necessary to differentiate two moments: political and technical. When peace will come, disarmament must follow, and its proportions will be decided upon by the authorities. Disarmament is a guaranty which we demand to safeguard peace.

Question: But, do you, gentlemen, sincerely desire peace, peace with a capitalistic state? Where is the struggle for the International and your other ideals?

Answer: At the present time we are entering a period during which we will abandon revolutionizing the world; it will be a period of the co-existence of two different systems of governments. It was so during the French Revolution. At the present time we aim to establish political and economic relations with Poland and the West in general.

This statement, undoubtedly very sensational, was entirely confirmed by Manuilski; and prior to this it was stated in the same way by the Secretary of the Soviet Delegation, Lorenz. In the course

of further conversation I learned from Mr. Obolenski that the Polish Communists, in organizing "rewkomy"—Revolutionary Committees—during the Bolshevik occupation, were doing this of their own initiative and on their own responsibility. The Moscow "Sovnarkom" tolerated their action of necessity, not extending its approval.

PEACE WITH RUMANIA

Moscow, October 24.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has addressed the following radiogram to the Rumanian Government:

"With profound satisfaction the Soviet Government takes note of the wish expressed in your radio of October 8 that peaceful relations may be established at the earliest possible moment between Rumania and Russia, on a permanent basis. The Russian Government, on its part, has unalterably pursued this goal, and it is not the fault of this government that such relations between these two countries have not sooner been taken up. And just because our wish is to bring about such friendly relations between Russia and Rumania on a firm and permanent basis, the Russian Government considers direct negotiations to be the only means calculated to lead to the goal, in view of the fact that the interests of the two countries can be represented with greatest advantage for both parties if no foreign influence shall retard or disturb the realization of this our honest desire. As for the juridical side of the international relations between Soviet Russia and Rumania, this question can only be taken up in the course of such communications as we now have in view. There can be no doubt for the Rumanian Government that the relations thus far existing between the two countries are by no means normal relations, since a whole series of questions, touching on the one hand Rumania, and on the other hand Russia and Ukraine, can be solved only in the course of actual negotiations between the governments of these countries. The Rumanian Government shares our desire to escape from the present situation and therefore to enter into negotiations, that is, to hold a peace conference of the three governments. The basis on which the Russian Soviet Government intends to conduct negotiations with Rumania is a strict observance of the rights of the states and peoples concerned, and we are convinced that an understanding can easily be reached on this basis. The object of the approaching conference must be the solution of all disputes and questions between us, and the bringing about of permanent relations of peace and friendship. As soon as the Russian Soviet Government shall have obtained a final answer from the Rumanian Government on the immediate opening of a peace conference, it will communicate to the Rumanian Government the names of the delegates appointed by the Russian Government for participation in the conference. It is desirable that we should learn whether the Rumanian Government accepts the place recently proposed by us as the seat of the negotiations, namely, Kharkov."

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE capture of Crimea by the Reds, the establishment of Soviet rule in the Caucasus, and the occupation by the Red Army of the port of Batum, together with its recent victorious offensive against Petlura in northwest Ukraine, has brought the whole northern and northeastern and most of the eastern shore of the Black Sea under the complete control of Moscow. Besides this, the Nationalist Turks, holding more than two-thirds of the southern shore-line of the Black Sea, are, as far as we are informed, acting in harmony with the Soviet Government. The best and most powerful ports of the Black Sea, as well as numberless bases for submarine warfare, are at the disposal of the Soviet military and naval command. Here also are situated a great number of very excellent bases for naval aviation both for the Russians and the Turks.

The inexhaustible sources of petroleum in the Caucasus, the rich reserves of coal in the Donetz Basin, the enormous deposits of iron ore and manganese all along the shores of the Black Sea, as well as the Caucasian copper mines, together with the superhuman energy and activity of the Bolsheviki who have awakened the spirit of all the Russian people, will certainly induce and enable the Red Command, in a comparatively short time, to free the Black Sea from foreign invaders just as they cleared the territory of Russia from their numerous enemies.

More than that, I feel that the Bolsheviki will at last unite in a real family of brothers all the many nations which were held together for centuries by the brutal force of the autocratic rulers of Russia and will then have access through the historical straits to the warm seas.

After the collapse of Russian czarism, these nations became independent and started their own existence in the way that each considered right. They enjoyed free existence only for a very short time. The imperialistic capitalists of the west, like a flock of hungry crows, rushed upon them with a common aim, to put them under a new and more terrible slavery than that under the Czar—namely, under the yoke of the most powerful, most pitiless tyrant in the world—Capital.

After a short period of "independent existence" the Caucasian tribes, the Ukrainians in the south, the Lithuanians in the west, and the Estonians and Letts in the northwest, as well as the Finns in the north, fully realized that from a purely military standpoint they would be unable to defend themselves from the invasion of this terrible enemy. They understood that the new Russia, Soviet Russia, has a quite different policy from that of Czarist Russia or of the Russia planned by the so-called Russian "Socialists". They also realized that in order to gain for their people a real independent existence they had to be physically strong first of all. But how could they gain

military strength without the assistance of the great powers, who offered them military and naval support, and financial aid—in exchange for their giving up their economic and political independence?

Even their bourgeois leaders realized the approaching danger and hesitated. The time had passed for capitalistic imperialism to triumph. For during this period the new government of Russia, the Soviet Government, was beginning to be understood by its neighbors. They gradually became acquainted with the real political aims of Moscow, and gradually lost their fear of Bolshevik Russia, which they finally approached.

Their economic dependence upon Russia became quite clear to each of the small nations which had detached itself from the gigantic body of the former empire. Trusting Soviet Russia, and realizing the growing danger from the west, they were not afraid to make peace with the great Federal Socialist Republic.

Contemplating the fast growing power of the proletarian republic, the capitalistic coalition, after the complete failure of its aggressive policy towards Soviet Russia, turned to a policy of prevention. In the north, namely in the Baltic Sea, the most important strategical naval bases fell under the control of the Entente. In the south they captured Constantinople from the Turks in order to control the Dardanelles, and completely cut off the Russian mercantile fleet from outside waters, thus controlling all Russian foreign trade. Could Soviet Russia reconcile herself to such a situation? Will Ukraine or the Caucasus tolerate this restraint upon an independent economic existence? Naturally not, and they have decided to act accordingly. The capitalistic coalition is anxiously watching the Russian movement in the Near East. The Dardanelles must be under our control, say their diplomats. These gates must be guarded by us in order to keep Bolshevism from spreading throughout the world. "With the fall of Constantinople to the Reds nobody would be able to save Europe and the world from revolution," I read in the *Morning Post*, one of the most reactionary newspapers in England.

First of all this is wrong, and wrong entirely, because Soviet Russia is not aiming at Constantinople at all. Soviet Russia needs a free passage through the straits, which are important to her existence just as they are important to all nations with whom Russia must come in contact. Soviet Russia has absolutely no thought of controlling these straits. Russian strategists are clever enough to understand that control of the Dardanelles can not be gained by brute force, that to capture and occupy Constantinople and become master of the Bosphorus would not be sufficient; that it would be more difficult, in fact impossible, to hold this position, which from a purely military standpoint is utopian. The Russian Bolsheviki know well that

the route through the Sea of Marmora is a universal international route, and that therefore, it cannot be possessed or controlled by any one nation, nor by a powerful coalition of large nations.

The Allies are now trying to accomplish their aims by the same methods of aggressive strategy which the Russian Czars in the past fruitlessly tried in regard to the Dardanelles; they also thought that by defeating the Turkish army and seizing the Ottoman capital, they would once for all cut this Gordian knot. The present opponents of Soviet Russia on several occasions fought the Czars' armies in order to prevent this dangerous step by the Russian autocrats. They succeeded. Their naval and military force was stronger than the army of the Czar, and the international universal route through the Sea of Marmora remained in the possession of the Turks, who controlled it as guardians of capitalistic imperialism of the west. At that time there was no Bolshevism, and the military strength of a nation was estimated by its army in the field and its navy on the seas. The people were not taken into account and, strange to relate, Russia with her 60,000,000 people was beaten in 1854-55, during the Crimean War, by a comparatively small expeditionary force of the allies. Russia with an army twelve times as large as that of Japan lost the war in Manchuria in 1905.

Now the situation is quite different. Now all Russians fit for military service are taking arms in order to open connection for themselves through the blockade by which the enemies of humanity have decided to starve the Russian people.

The Russian policy is aiming at the Dardanelles—that is a truth that cannot be concealed from the world. The strategy of Soviet Russia has to carry out this political aim. But how different the tactics employed by the Bolsheviks in carrying out this strategical task from those used by the Czar's satraps in the past! The strategy of the Soviet Republic with regard to the near eastern campaign is not aggressive. It is based on sincere, friendly relations with their eastern neighbors, the Turks, the historical enemies of the Russian nation, strange to say. Now both peoples are not only friends, but almost cordial allies. They both suffered injustice from western imperialism, they were both robbed, oppressed, and menaced by the slavery of world capitalism; and both shed their blood for their independence. It brought them together, it inspired them with full confidence in each other. The Turkish proletariat stretched its hand to the Russian proletariat in an appeal for help—and they got it. The Red Army is ready to aid the Turkish "nationalists", assisting them to clear their country of invaders, the capitalistic bandits of the west; and this is a purely tactical support of an oppressed proletariat. They know well that the fate of the straits will be determined by forces that make aggressive Soviet Russian action unnecessary, and the final triumph of those forces is a matter of time only.

From a purely military standpoint the position of the Allies in Turkey is deplorable. The sud-

den turmoil in Greece which resulted in the collapse of the government of Venizelos, the puppet of the Entente, will certainly lead to grave consequences. There is no question that the Greek army in Asia Minor is on the eve of complete demoralization, while the Russian victory in Crimea, Georgia, and Armenia, naturally would increase the spirit of the "Nationalist" Turks reinforced by the active aid of their Soviet allies.

I have already mentioned that to capture Constantinople and seize the straits is one thing, and to hold them, another. Many months ago in the *New York Call*, as well as in *SOVIET RUSSIA*, I prophesied that the general collapse of the Allied invasion of Turkey was imminent. Well, we are now on the eve of it. The condition of the Anglo-French navy in the Black Sea cannot be considered brilliant, and its base, the Sea of Marmora, is now more likely to be a trap than a real naval base for serious naval operations.

The defeat of the armies of the Crimean Baron caused the Entente a great deal of trouble. One of the most important strategical and political centers in their Russo-Turkish campaign, namely Constantinople, entirely lost its military importance. It was already overcrowded with Russian refugees, all kinds of "volunteers", and troops of various nations; now it is a veritable tower of Babel, a nest of all kinds of international adventurers. According to the local press, as well as the information which we occasionally receive from trustworthy sources, no one power in the world will be able to bring order into the crowd which is flooding the capital of the Ottoman empire. Murder and crime rule in this so-called "main rear" of the Allied forces operating in Turkey. It is sufficient to say that a new Russian Government, yet without title, also has headquarters in Constantinople, and this is sufficient to understand the kind of surprises expected by brainless western strategists.

Kolchak, Denikin, and other White generals, all of them nursed the idea of leading the Russian armies upon Constantinople, and finally to get control of the Dardanelles. Wrangel succeeded, and he is there. Who can guarantee that he will not change his mind, give up being a pretender to the throne of Russia, and play a new part in the Eastern tragedy as a savior of Turkey from Bolshevism? But let us hope that the collapse of the Crimean Baron will bring the Allies to reason. In the Black Sea they have at their disposal very few well-equipped and solidly-protected ports to shelter their navy in an inner sea, which the Black Sea really is. Besides Constanza in Rumania, Burgas and Varna in Bulgaria on the western shores of the Black Sea, where it is doubtful whether the Allied navy will find bases for their operations, there are no more good ports in existence either to the west of the Bosphorus or to the east of the Bosphorus up to Sinope. We must not also overlook the fact that the current from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmora is very strong, and that there is, therefore, great danger from floating mines for warships anchoring close to the straits of the Bosphorus.

The British knew that well when they tried to force the narrows of the Dardanelles. A very small detachment of submarines with a crew determined to win or perish would be able to force the invaders to clear the Black Sea; and once the Black Sea is free from the naval forces of the Entente it would not be a very difficult task to force them to abandon Constantinople and start home through the Dardanelles.

Everybody knows that the Russian Black Sea shores were almost unfortified; there were not in existence such modern fortifications as could be considered real strongholds against foreign invasion. But in spite of this the Russian proletariat defended their shores with great success, and succeeded in clearing them of invaders, supported by the most formidable navy in the world, and now holds such seaports as Odessa, Novorossyisk, Mariupol, Berdiansk, Kherson, Batum, and others. Would a sound-minded man believe that if the Allies had had the least power to prevent this from happening, by means of their naval forces, that they would not have done so?

They were powerless to fight the Russian revolutionary army in spite of their steel monsters. The Red artillery held them a respectable distance from land. The Red Navy, with submarines and other armed boats attacked them, everywhere, surprising their warships even when it was considered absolutely impossible to be attacked. The Red seaplanes, though imperfect, bombed them, and made many marvelous raids on their bases. And this was accomplished when Soviet Russia was in need of everything, when the rich Wrangel supplies were not yet at its disposal; when Russia, Soviet Russia was fighting alone on several fronts. Now the situation has changed—the Soviet Republic is no longer alone in opposing the attacks of the capitalist world.

How I Saw the Red Dawn

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

[The following lines are taken from Chapter IX of a book on the Russian Revolution, which will probably be published shortly by Allen, Unwin and Co., London.]

November 7, 1917

It was the evening of November 6, and I repaired to the Smolny Institute, where the Executive of the old Menshevik Soviet had its offices. Roars of cheers were coming from the great hall. The Petrograd Soviet was sitting, and Trotsky was making a rousing speech to the delegates arriving for the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress. All was bustle and hurry, and a look of confidence was on everyone's face. "Demos" was arising from the depth, crude and defiant. Representatives of "revolutionary-democracy", sitting in the old Menshevik Executive upstairs, seemed strangely isolated from realities.

Trotsky was in the chair, and on the tribune now

rose a short, bald-headed little man, whom I had seen six months before, leading the tiny insignificant Bolshevik group in the First Soviet Congress. It was Lenin, without his moustache, which he had shaved off in order to change his appearance during the period of his forced concealment, now drawing to a close. He spoke of the coming Soviet Congress as the only guarantee for bringing peace, land and workers' control to Russia. Then someone whispered into my ear that news had just arrived that the Bolshevik Military Revolutionary Committee, with the aid of Red Guards from the factories and a part of the garrison who had occupied the Winter Palace, had arrested all the Ministers, with the exception of Kerensky, who had escaped in a motor car. I went to the Bolshevik Party Bureau on the lower floor. Here I found a sort of improvised revolutionary intelligence department, from which delegates to all parts of the city were being dispatched. Upstairs in the bureau of the old Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary Executive the silence of the grave reigned. A few girl typists were sorting papers, and the editor of the Menshevik *Izvestia*, Rozanov, was still trying to keep a steady countenance.

On the following day (November 7) the great hall of the Smolny was filled with delegates from every part of North and Central Russia—from those parts, in fact, where the poor half-proletarian peasants, land-hungry soldier-deserters, dominated the village and skilled artisans the urban Soviets. Upon the platform rose Lenin. His voice was weak, apparently with excitement, and he spoke with some slight indecision. He seemed to feel that the issue was still doubtful and that it was difficult to put forward a program right here and now. A Council of Peoples' Commissars, he said, was being set up and the list of names would be submitted to the Congress. The Council would propose to the Congress resolutions dealing with an immediate armistice at the front, with the rights of the Peasant Land Committees in the temporary possession of the landlords' latifundias, and with the control by Factory Workers' Committees over all operations of employers and managers. "We appeal to our comrades in England, France and Germany to follow our example," he concluded. "and we believe that the people, who gave Karl Marx to the world, will not be deaf to our appeal. We believe that our words will be heard by the descendants of the Paris Communards, and that the British workers will not forget their inheritance from the Chartists."

About ten o'clock at night I passed out of the Smolny Institute. In the street outside a group of workmen and Baltic Fleet sailors were discussing the Congress over a log fire. I passed along the banks of the Neva, already beginning to freeze in the shallows near the wharfs. A raw November fog was blowing up from the Finnish Gulf. Opposite the Vassily Ostrov lay the light cruiser *Aurora* and a destroyer with guns trained on the Winter Palace. "Stop!" shouted a voice, and I recognized a cordon of Red Guards across the road. I was

near the Winter Palace, which was now the seat of the Military Revolutionary Committee. "Where are the Ministers of Kerensky?" I asked one of the guards. "Safe across the river in the Petropavlosk Fortress," came the laconic reply. "You can't pass along here," said another.

I crossed the great Neva Bridge and approached the Petropavlosk. The Red Guards were standing round the gates and the Red Flag was flying from the tower of this "bastille" of Czarism. Yesterday Kerensky's Government of doubting Thomases in the Winter Palace was directing the fortunes of a crumbling social order. On this night its members were in this fortress, where they had but yesterday kept the Bolshevik leaders. The wheel of fortune had gone round and the Caliphs of the hour had passed. With their passage the Russian Revolution had entered upon a new phase. The Soviets of workmen, peasants, and soldiers had at last come into their own.

The School in the Woods

By W. McLAINE

Russia has been at war for six years. Russia lost more men in the European War than all the Allies put together, and has gone on losing men since that war ended—if it has ended. Russia has been blockaded for three years. Russia was bankrupt as a State long before the Revolution. If the Communist Government of Russia had done nothing but carry on, it would have been wonderful, but they have done more than just carry on; they have done a large amount of new reconstructive work.

In their educational work they have performed miracles. Let me describe a memorable evening at a school.

On Tuesday, July 6, we sailed out of Samara at about 7 p. m. to visit what I have called "The School in the Woods." As our boat approached the landing stage where we were to disembark, we heard children's voices singing the "Internationale" and saw on the bank some two or three hundred children arranged in a group to welcome us. As we approached them they cheered vigorously, and waved their flags, pine branches, and bunches of flowers.

When we reached the group, a young boy of about thirteen years stepped forward with a great red standard, and in a remarkable little speech, bade us welcome. Every delegate present was hoping that he would not be called upon to reply. All were so affected that speaking would have been almost impossible. However, an Italian comrade managed to speak for a moment or so, then we all moved through the wood in the direction of the school. The children clustered round us, and hand in hand children and delegates walked in the cool of the evening, singing, and wonderfully happy in each other's company.

The school was once a bourgeois residence. What thoughts that brings to our minds. The great

houses of the old corrupt Russian families now turned into schools for hope of the world.

We looked over the school. Everything was clean and orderly. We found there, Russian children, Polish children, Yiddish children, children of known reactionaries, children of officers known to be fighting against the government, and so on. But in Russia there are no reactionary or other different kinds of children. There are only *children*.

The children wanted to know if our town children were taken away into the country for the summer months. They wanted to know if they were as happy and jolly in their school life as these boys and girls from Samara. Alas! We had to say that they were not. One boy with great pride told of his work, the fitting up of electric lamps in the school. He was twelve years of age. So we talked, and as we talked we laughed from sheer pleasure at the sights and sounds around us.

At midnight our boat sailed away. The twilight was merging into such darkness as that part of the world has. The children gathered on the bank and sang until we were out of hearing. Most of us had tears in our eyes. We did not want to go away. All of us had in our minds the thought: "Good-bye, little brown-faced happy boys. We leave you to your work and play, to your swimming in the river. Good-bye, little girls, graceful and sweet and smiling. We shall never see you again; maybe our government will be responsible for the murder of your parents, maybe for your death."

Yes, it may be so, but it will be no use blaming the Churchills or even the Labor Party. We are responsible for the lives of these children. This winter, many must die from cold and hunger—and British labor will allow great Christmas and New Year feasting in the London hotels and mansions. Nay, British labor will prepare, provide, and serve them.

"Little Russian boys and girls. British labor will be sorry for you, as it is for the boys and girls of Austria and elsewhere, but British labor is a giant asleep or drunk."

"All citizens able to work have the right to employment at their vocations. . . ."

Section 10, Article II, of the Code of Labor Laws of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

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With or Against the People

The Petrograd edition of *Pravda* prints an extraordinary article by the academician Bekhteryev. This scholar, who is a well-known psychiatrist, even outside of the boundaries of Europe, attached himself to the Soviet Government from the very start and recently issued an appeal to Russian scholars living abroad, in which he calls upon them to return home and to devote their energies to the Russian people. His appeal has had the opposite effect among many of the Russian intellectuals who had fled to foreign parts; among these intellectuals is, for example, Professor Rostoftsev, who protests in a Russian newspaper printed in Paris against Bekhteryev's appeal. Bekhteryev now prints the following reply to this protest:

"The object of my article was to support the appeal of the Russian student youth, in which they call upon our scholars, professors, and students, living abroad, to return home. In my letter I expressed the great urgency of devoting one's intellectual creative forces to our own country, and declared that scientific work was entirely unpolitical, since the scholar must be permitted to work without limitations, without taking part in politics. Unfortunately I am not intimately acquainted with Rostoftsev's article, but to judge by what the Petrograd *Pravda* communicates of it, I am represented in Rostoftsev's statement as calculating my appeal in a manner hostile to our country. It would follow that those scholars who remain at home performing their scientific labors are committing a crime against their country. It seems as if Rostoftsev is making another attempt at the so-called "intellectual sabotage" which he tried once before, but which ended rather soon because those who had proclaimed this sabotage were the first to stop it. There is nothing of this kind in Russia any more, but it is possible that some Russian scholars living in foreign countries may still boast of sabotage. Professor Rostoftsev is probably able to labor abroad, and as he imagines that it would be a sin to cross our boundaries, let him work abroad in peace. But there are other Russian scholars of whom I know, for instance, that they are making a living in Finland by giving music lessons. To be sure they now receive some aid from the American Red Cross, but it is my opinion that such a condition is unworthy of a scholar, especially at a time when there is a great lack of professors and scholars in Russia. I ask, without any thought of personalities: Would it not be better to work together with our people at home, without taking part in politics, to instruct them or produce scientific workers? When our native country is passing through a severe crisis it is our duty to help and not to go abroad. It will not harm Professor Rostoftsev to learn that there are Russians abroad who fought against us not only with phrases but also with weapons for the sake of their political principles and who have yet been brought to admit that they must return home, in order to work there. In April I received

from Pjuchtiza (Esthonia) the following telegram: 'A group of former Yudenich officers and soldiers, not sympathizing with the party, would like to return to Russia, not to become soldiers, or to participate in politics, but in order to live for Russia and work for peace. We need your help. It is above all necessary to organize those abroad, who left Russia and now are eager to return home.' I immediately applied to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and the matter was disposed of at once. I therefore think that instead of Professor Rostoftsev's saying so firmly: 'I will not have anything to do with them!' he should rather put before him this alternative: 'Either one works with the people or against the people!'"

COMPOSITION OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION AT RIGA

The Riga correspondent of the "Robotnik", organ of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.), writes:

The chairman of the actual Delegation Committee, that is of the so-called "close few", is Mr. Yoffe, a physician by profession. Besides him there are Mr. Manuilski, a composer and musician, I believe, Representative of Soviet Ukraine; Mr. Obolenski, professor of social economy, and Mr. Kisor, secretary of the "four", evidently an authority on Polish affairs, who is to arrive within a few days.

At the head of the actual committee of authorities is Professor Bogolyepov, an economist and statistician; the vice-chairman is Mr. V. J. Pitchele (Finn), professor of social economy. In this committee there are also General Novicky, formerly commander of a corps in the Czar's army, and General Polivanov, former Minister of War in Schturmer's cabinet, and J. B. Rozenblat, Editor of the *Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn*.

All the delegates and authorities, with the exception of the two generals, belong to the Bolshevik Party. The generals, although not Bolsheviks, are nevertheless, according to the assurances of the Bolshevik secretaries, so loyal towards the Soviet Government that they were invited to the Riga conference; and that there is no fear that they will take advantage of the situation and betray Soviet Russia, escaping to France or to Wrangel.

The general secretary of the delegation is Mr. J. L. Lorenz, an alderman from Lodz, in what was formerly Russian Poland, son of a factory official, educated in a local gymnasium of the city of Lodz.

Mlle. Lizowska (Polish) was assigned to the post of chief interpreter. The director of the bureau of interpreters is Mr. Waclaw Panski, a Polish Communist. Mr. Rozenberg is the chief of the publicity staff.

Altogether the Bolshevik Delegation numbers about sixty persons, who have brought along a variety of technical equipment, several automobiles, etc.

NEXT WEEK.—Special 32-page issue, with text of Polish treaty and important articles.

France 1798, Russia 1920

By MAGER DOOLITTLE

Does history repeat itself? I refuse to believe it. I refuse to believe it because I am not a pessimist; because I have faith to believe that through the ages an increasing purpose runs. Yet I admit that one's faith receives a severe jolt in the presence of so staggering a resemblance as exists between the international situations created respectively by the revolution in France in 1789 and in Russia in 1917. I know that I am speaking platitudes. But they are lugged in here merely as an excuse to introduce an interesting poem by Coleridge. Its name is "France: An Ode." Coleridge isn't known nearly so well as he is admired. He was not a voluminous poet, to be sure, but he did write some things besides "The Ancient Mariner." And "France" will be appreciated by those fortunate ones who have the knack of reading mankind's story in its literature.

Coleridge early came under the spell of the revolutionary mutterings in France; and indeed his career as a student at Cambridge was hopelessly marred thereby, for he became too much preoccupied with visions of social regeneration to be able to focus his mind on mere academic pursuits. What happened when triumphant democracy reared her head in France, striking terror to the hearts of the powers ranged around, and Coleridge's own spiritual reaction to the events of the day, are powerfully depicted in the following lofty verses. Read them thoughtfully, with one eye on what is going on today, and let your amazement grow:

When France in wrath her giant-limbs upreared,
And with that oath, which smote air, earth and sea,
Stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared!
With what a joy my lofty gratulation
Unawed I sang, amid a slavish band:
And when to whelm the disenchanted nation,
Like fiends embattled by a wizard's wand,
The monarchs marched in evil day,
And Britain joined the dire array;
Though dear her shores and circling ocean
Though many friendships, many youthful loves
Had swoll'n the patriot's emotion
And flung a magic light o'er all her hills and groves;
Yet still my voice, unaltered, sang defeat
To all that braved the tyrant-quelling lance,
And shame too long delayed and vain retreat!
For ne'er, O Liberty! with partial aim
I dimmed thy light or damped thy holy flame;
But blessed the paeans of delivered France,
And hung my head and wept at Britain's name.
"And what," I said, "though Blasphemy's loud scream
With that sweet music of deliverance strove!
Though all the fierce and drunken passions wove
A dance more wild than e'er was maniac's dream!
Ye storms that round the dawning east assembled,
The sun was rising, though ye hid his light!"
And when, to soothe my soul, that hoped and trembled,
The dissonance ceased, and all seemed calm and bright;
When France her front deep-scarr'd and gory
Concealed with clustering wreaths of glory;
When insupportably advancing,
Her arm made mockery of the warrior's tramp;
While timid looks of fury glancing,
Domestic treason, crushed beneath her fatal stamp,

Writhed like a wounded dragon in his gore;
Then I reproached my fears that would not flee;
"And soon," I said, "shall Wisdom teach her lore
In the low huts of them that toil and groan!
And conquering by her happiness alone,
Shall France compel the nations to be free,
Till Love and Joy look round, and call the Earth their own."

But when from the fires of the revolution there ascended the spirit of Napoleon, and France embarked on a career of unprecedented imperialism, the shock was terrible, and the bitterness of Coleridge's soul poured itself forth in these lines:

Forgive me, Freedom! O forgive those dreams!
I hear thy voice, I hear thy loud lament,
From bleak Helvetia's icy caverns sent—
I hear thy groans upon her blood-stained streams!
Heroes, that for your peaceful country perished,
And ye that, fleeing, spot your mountain-snows
With bleeding wounds; forgive me, that I cherished
One thought that ever blessed your cruel foes!
O France, that mockst heaven, adulterous, blind,
And patriot only in pernicious toils,
Are these thy boasts, Champion of human kind?
To mix with kings in the low dust of sway,
Yell in the hunt, and share the murderous prey:
To insult the shrine of Liberty with spoils
From freemen torn; to tempt and to betray?

However, he accepts the inevitable, and in rather conventional British fashion thus expresses his opinion of the French:

The sensual and the dark rebel in vain,
Slaves by their own compulsion! In mad game
They burst their manacles and wear the name
Of Freedom, graven on a heavier chain!

We do not agree with Coleridge that the imperialistic temper of the French people, perhaps partly induced by the victories of the Revolution, and utilized by Napoleon in his campaigns of aggression against Europe, represents a permanent characteristic of the French race, or that the French are "the sensual and the dark" any more than other peoples at moments when they are misguided. Nor do we believe, we may add, that the present imperialistic attitude of France, particularly toward Russia, will be forever tolerated by the French people. Napoleon himself explained his success in exploiting the French for military purposes by alluding to their love of glory, and of a leader who had acquired glory. As a matter of fact, such mental conditions may make a people exploitable for a short period, but they are necessarily of temporary nature. There is no doubt that imperialistic tendencies might similarly inspire the Russian people if intervention should be pressed with sufficient vigor against them. But such military campaigns, disastrous though they may be to the intervening powers, will not indicate any real and permanent characteristic of the Russian people, but will be merely a necessary answer to the military interference by those powers. Soviet Russia will attack only her enemies—and it would therefore be well for those states that have been actively supporting intervention to desist from doing so.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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



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

SOVIET RUSSIA seems at the moment to be not so much misrepresented in the American press as was the case a month or so ago. Editorials appear in some of the daily papers that suggest a belief that the Soviet Government will not be immediately overthrown, and an apparent desire to have some sort of dealings with the new social system. Even the *New York Times* has softened its editorial venom on the subject of Russia, and only a week ago today completed the printing of a series of interesting and by no means unfavorable articles, in the form of a diary of Mrs. Clare Sheridan, who left Russia November 7; the *New York Globe* is still printing a series of instalments by Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, giving his impressions of Russia at a somewhat earlier period. Altogether, it would seem as if an angel of peace had ventured into the not unsullied editorial precincts and left behind some feeling of kindness in some rather hardened hearts. Or does it seem more as if some powerful government,—say that of England—had instructed its organs in other countries to be more cautious in their comments on Soviet Russia, because their employer might soon be disposed to enter into trade relations with the new order? Even France, by the way, was reported by the usual “well-informed circles” to be almost ready to consider a lifting of the ban against Soviet Russia, and to be emitting only low growls of persistence on the subject of a reimbursement for her loans to the Czar when he needed money to hold down the approaching revolution.

And yet, while we should like to be optimistic, and while we know that those who wish the new government and the new system well are persons of idealistic temper who like to believe that even England, France, and other countries are well-disposed, we cannot refrain from cautioning friends of Soviet Russia against being too sure that the present weakening of the current of hatred against that country is of permanent or genuine nature, or that it will necessarily lead to serious and lastingly satisfactory results. There are many forces, unfortunately, which have strong financial interest in preventing Soviet Russia from really undertaking the needed work of reconstruction, and it is difficult to believe that these forces, in France, England, and other countries, will consent to let any

opportunity slip by to launch another counter-revolutionary onslaught against the proletarian state.

It is not impossible, therefore, that further delays may arise in the signing of the Commercial Agreement between Soviet Russia and England. This signing has been awaited at earlier dates and has already been several times delayed. Thus, on November 16, the *Daily Herald*, London, announced that the Russian Trade Agreement, the signing of which was expected at any moment, would probably not be signed “this week.” And, needless to say, the agreement was not signed that week. By the way, the reason assigned by the *Daily Herald* for that failure to sign the agreement is interesting:

A much more serious claim is that made by the British purchasers of Russian property—land, factories, timber, etc.—from Russian emigres.

It is said that a gamble on a vast scale has been going on in this kind of property in financial circles, and these claims the Soviet authorities, quite naturally, refuse to consider.

The situation is regarded as very delicate, and it is now no secret that, as announced in the *Daily Herald* yesterday, there is strenuous opposition in the Cabinet to the Prime Minister’s policy.

* * *

“SO flickers through darkness and hunger, the thin flame of the Russian mind,”—is the comment of *The New Republic* (November 24) on the passages it has quoted from H. G. Wells’ second article on Russia, an article to which we paid our respects editorially, by the way, in our last issue. Mr. Wells’ articles are prolix and diffusive, and, like all the long productions of the “impartial liberal spirit,” they mean many things to many men. It is interesting that to *The New Republic* they mean that the lot of the intellectual in Russia is hard, and that much must be done in all countries to safeguard and shelter the gifted scientist and litterateur so that they may have the comfort and high spirit necessary to produce their valuable work. With apparent approval *The New Republic* quotes Mr. Wells’ sentences: “Science, art, and literature are hothouse plants, demanding warmth and respect and service. The collapse of the Russian Imperial system smashed up all shelters in which such things could exist.” Of course, neither Mr. Wells nor *The New Republic* would wish that Czarism should be restored in order to reerect the shelters in which such things as science, art, and literature could exist, but both seem to think that the Soviet Government, with its “crude Marxian philosophy”, neglected the flower of intellect and art until, in the composite words of *The New Republic* editorial:

Too late, perhaps, the Communist Government awoke to find science, art, literature dying on its hands, and its efforts to keep the spark alive are clumsy, since “Marx, the prophet, and his sacred book supply them with no lead at all in the matter.” The hero of what salvage is being made of intellectual men and women is Gorky, who “has a passionate respect for the value of western science and culture . . . and has found a steady support in Lenin.” Between him and “the more creative intelligence in the Bolshevik Government” have been organized the House of Literature and Art in Petrograd—and, more developed, the House of Science, which feeds rations to some 4,000

scientific workers and their families, and provides them to a small extent with hospital conveniences, baths, clothing."

We know that the Soviet Government is doing all it can to secure life and the opportunities for labor and research to the many scholars and artists in the population, but we nevertheless feel constrained to point out to the school-bred and university-sheltered intellectual that the importance of affording special conditions of life to those who have had the privilege of a better intellectual and artistic training than their fellows is capable of occasional exaggeration and over-statement. The nursing of a special artist and scientist class is sometimes very useful, but as often as not the race that sacrifices itself for such persons is cherishing a serpent at its breast. Perhaps some of the misery to which the Bavarian people were subjected, in order that Richard Wagner and Ludwig II might have sufficient funds and leisure to live and create—and dissipate—was transformed into immortal music, but the mass of evidence presented by the experience of Bavaria and the rest of Germany would make it seem just as well to have the scholar and the artist, and the privileged folk generally, put themselves more closely in contact with the trials and discomforts of the rest of the population. We are thinking of the ninety-three German intellectuals who signed an "Appeal to the Civilized World" in October, 1914, in defence of the imperialistic war that the German Government was then waging against Russia, France, and England. Ninety-three of the most sheltered and pampered brains in Europe were found able and willing to sign a statement, obviously intended to secure favorable attention to German propaganda in foreign countries, in which all the claims of the government of the Hohenzollerns—that it was waging a war for German Kultur, that Germany was beset by cruel, implacable foes who would not let her live in peace, and that the war that had been "forced upon" Germany must be won by her in order that she may again pursue the arts of peace undisturbed—found full support and loud assertion. And thousands of additional signatures to this document might easily have been obtained in Germany, if it had not obviously been the intention to strengthen the effectiveness of the document by having it emanate from the highest circles only, of art, science, and literature. These ninety-three men, those of them that are still living, are now pitifully preparing declarations admitting that they had subscribed to errors in their statement of six years ago. Perhaps Entente scholars will have mercy now and send them some food.

Were these men all liars, or did they not know any better? We shall not presume to judge, although we cannot fail to recognize the hypnotic power of a nationalist idea that has been inculcated by frequent repetition, for years, in the heads of the successful intellectual bureaucracy of a very successful commercial civilization. But whether their support of this document was honest or dishonest, it was a terrible mistake, and served to aid the German Government in holding the support of

the less learned and more easily influenced portions of the population. And that is precisely what the ninety-three picked men of Germany should not have done. Anyone who is acquainted with conditions in the university world of Germany before 1914—and in Germany, more than in any other country, the noted scholars and artists had been provided with professorships in the universities—will recall how much was done for these men in the form of emoluments, privileges, royalties, social status, general adulation. Every chance to develop their minds, to withdraw themselves from the rude efforts of other men—had been afforded to this chosen band. Special opportunities to study and to sharpen their wits were given them, and for the artists even a special morality was proclaimed. And when the great hour of fate arrived, when the intellectual celebrities of the German people should have given proof that they had not only intelligence, but also courage, when the people looked to them to speak proud words of disdain and disavowal to the butchers that were driving the German people like cattle to the slaughter—those celebrities stripped themselves of the medals they had received from British and French academies, and sent back their doctors' diplomas to the foreign universities!

It was but poor service the German people got from their "great men" when they needed it.

But the German people found—and had always found—other champions. The German university faculties never produced any historian who was the equal of Franz Mehring, nor an uncompromising proclaimer of truth to equal Karl Liebknecht, nor an economist to equal Karl Marx—to the audacious task of shaving whom Mr. Wells announces he is about to raise his fastidious lance. These men were nursed by conditions far less favorable to comfort and abstract thought than those of the German professors, but they turned out to be better men and straighter thinkers. In Germany, as in other countries, a few lone scholars held out and refused to sign such documents as the above, or even actively opposed the autocracy; but they were men to whom their office seemed to involve a duty in return for all the privileges it had brought them. Most of the learned and the artistic in all the countries of the world had come to regard themselves, however, as individuals who must be preserved no matter what might be the fate of the civilization that had produced them.

The "thin flame of the Russian mind" is not flickering. There is darkness and hunger, but more thought has recently come out of Russia than out of any other country. The forms of life are changing, the ancient ruins crumbling, and the new life that blossoms from the fragments will not fail to assume shapes that are lovely, or impressive, or profound, as the case may be. Perhaps there will be fewer expert specialists in certain fields, but then this may be an era in which the production of great philosophers and statesmen is more important than that of novelists and technologists.

THE same issue of *The New Republic* that approvingly quotes Mr. Wells' words on the "flickerings of the thin flame of the Russian mind" also has a little editorial passage which may come to Mr. Wells' attention, if Mr. Wells admires and reads *The New Republic* as much as it admires and reads him. Here are two little sentences from this passage:

For thousands the present industrial depression means frugality in the use of luxuries, and perhaps the necessity of living on their capital. But for hundreds of thousands, who have no capital, and no luxuries to give up, it means less bread and butter, patched clothes, pale children, cold jobless months with the breadline at the end.

Will Mr. Wells still maintain in his victorious persiflage with Zinoviev, Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, that the interpretation which Soviet Russian officials put on western European conditions is based upon a blind following of the teachings of Karl Marx, and will he—provided he really takes seriously the picture drawn by *The New Republic*—still insist that there are not less than 200 social classes in England?

* * *

IN Mr. Wells' third article, the last to which we shall have time to devote any attention in these columns, the former head of the German Department of the British Foreign Propaganda expresses two opinions as to the relative stability of the various governments in Europe that should not have escaped the pen of so astute an official. But perhaps they are careless verdicts, which the hasty journalist, who has to turn out such an article every week, had no time to revise or adapt to each other. We give them as they stand; the former occurs rather early in the article (*N. Y. Times*, November 21), the latter near the close:

1. "Today the Bolshevik Government sits, I believe, in Moscow as securely established as any government in Europe, and the streets of Russian towns are as safe as any streets in Europe."

2. "We may drive what will remain of Bolshevik Russia to the steppes and the knife if we help Baron Wrangel to pull down the by no means firmly established government in Moscow under the delusion that thereby we shall bring about representative institutions and a limited monarchy."

The only way to reconcile the two statements is under the assumption that no government in Europe is stable, and so able a propagandist as H. G. Wells could not have meant to say that.

* * *

H. N. BRAILSFORD is also writing a series of articles on Russia. The first appeared in *The New Republic* of November 24, the same issue that printed apparent approval of H. G. Wells' sayings. But no observers of Russia could be farther apart than H. N. Brailsford and H. G. Wells. Wells goes to Russia overflowing with apt sayings and smart repartee; to Zinoviev he audaciously denies that there are any less than 200 social classes in England; he undertakes blandly to expand the allegedly growing sense of futility and non-performance in Russia; his brilliant mind demands proof that the Civil War in Ireland is a class struggle,

and his adroit fingers itch not only to turn out the well-selling world-solving serial, but also to attack the irritating wilderness of Karl Marx's beard. Uppermost in the bright Mr. Wells' mind was always to tell somebody something; in Russia, when he suspected men of feeling that perhaps the revolution was not going well,

"I tried to assist in the development of this novel and disconcerting discovery, and also I indulged in a little lecture on the absence of a large class-conscious proletariat in the western communities."

Mr. Brailsford didn't go to Russia to teach, but to learn. And his conclusions are therefore worth reading. How different, are his observations from those of Wells. In the little manufacturing town of Sobinka, near Vladimir, on the Moscow-Nizhni-Novgorod railway, he finds huge cotton-factories, and carefully studies what might have been the causes leading to the establishment of such an industry in such a God-forsaken place, without transportation, without fuel close at hand, without the raw-material (cotton), and finds that the reason why capital had determined to take a chance here, under the Czarism, was simply the presence of a large number of poor laborers who could be employed at a very low wage. Mr. Brailsford's remarks are not those of the sensational artist, of the journalist writing acceptable stuff for a shallow reader, but those of a careful student who presents his conclusions at the end of a convincing array of facts, arranged very much in the order of the premises and conclusion of a syllogism. Mr. Brailsford has sympathy for the millions of Russian workers who are trying to solve the greatest economic problems in history, but his sympathy does not prevent him from attempting seriously to determine what are the causes that have made the task a difficult one, and in this study he chooses carefully the regions best exemplifying certain conditions and then proceeds to analyze them with clearness and thoroughness. It is a real student of conditions who places before us the interesting fact that on the whole the appearance of city populations in Central Europe is physically less favorable than in Russia, and then shows how far below Western European food standards the Vladimir proletariat is nevertheless obliged to live. (Always concrete in his treatment, Mr. Brailsford, when he gives statistics, tells where he got them, and to what town they apply, instead of picturing a fabulous East creeping insidiously westward over the Russian steppes.) We believe that these six articles of Mr. Brailsford in *The New Republic* will be worth reading. There are still five to come. Read Wells for amusement and Brailsford for information.

Marx and Russia's Beards

An article on this subject, suggested by Mr. H. G. Wells' irritation over the beard of Karl Marx, has been prepared by Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, and will appear in our next issue (32-page number).

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

O'er the Russian Lapland

By JOHN S. CLARKE

COMRADE CHRISTIANSEN of the Murmansk "excise" department is a tall, broad-shouldered, fair-haired, fresh-complexioned Finn. He speaks English very well, is good-natured, and solicitous for the welfare of all friends of Russia. He guided us from our boat to the "customs house", took charge of our few belongings, prepared water for our ablutions, a bed for our weary bodies, and gave us "the freedom of the city." Elsie Varsten made dinner for us of cabbage soup (in which floated a piece of pork fat), raw anchovies, and tea.

Afterwards we wandered all over the settlement, went where we liked, did what we liked, and photographed anywhere and anything we liked.

It was a Saturday, and the "subotnik" or voluntary labor was in progress. Scores of men were engaged in digging foundations and trenches for railway buildings.

No cigarettes. Imitation tobacco rolled up in pieces of newspaper. A diet that would cause a British clerk to faint with fatigue when he lifted a pen. Rags and tatters. Mud and misery. Such was life at Murmansk. But—smiling faces, light hearts, breasts filled with hope, and minds with *vision*.

And out of it all the song, the song of hard toil for Freedom.

Shovels and picks plied rhythmically, piled the earth up in ridges above the heads of those who dug. A huge locomotive puffed and grunted back and forth. Up and down the slippery bank went the pony carts, drawn by mountain ponies, hoggmaned, fat and well-groomed, and driven by ancients with flowing beards. Grinning Mongolian faces passed by, their owners giving us a welcoming "cheero", and going mad with delight at the gift of a real cigarette. From the hillside a woman came toward us. A ragged skirt reached to her calves, which were bare; she was shod in a pair of soldiers' "bluchers", and the upper portion of her attire consisted in the darned and stitched remnants of a man's jacket. Under her arm she carried a tin bowl half-full of wild bilberries, which she insisted on our sampling, pouring them into our hands. We tried to thank her, and, with merry laughter at the two "Tovarisch!" from a land whose people were responsible for her country's martyrdom, she walked away humming with a prick-eared mongrel trotting at her side.

Around a building near by, a group of prosperous looking children played hide and seek, while two little boys "rather more grown", as Ingoldsby would say, made valiant efforts to drag a protesting fluffy-haired puppy along with a piece of string.

"Kids", I said sententiously to Gallacher, "are the same the world over." With which piece of not very remarkable wisdom we went in to bed.

At four forty-five p. m. next day we departed for the south. An enormous locomotive piled high

with wood fuel drew our formidable looking train. The passengers, with few exceptions, were soldiers of the Red Army en route for the Polish front, the exceptions being railway workers, and in one or two cases the wives of some of the soldiers. Our compartment was a nightmare in yellow wood and two storeys. The broad wooden seat of the Russian train folds up like a bed couch, and when opened out joints the seat opposite to it, making sleeping accommodation for two. Likewise the "back" lifts up, and by a rod and socket arrangement another plank bed is supported above, on which two more travelers may sleep, provided their anatomy is sufficiently elastic to permit them doing so.

After the customary hand-shaking we climbed up the ladder and were soon moving along the sandy track. For some distance we followed the gulf, losing sight of it now and then through the obtusion of scrub-clad banks down which were scattered thousands of tons of boulders and pebbles, fallen trees, and war-time debris.

On either side, lamentable to behold, every form of rolling-stock lay in ruin, half submerged in morass or smashed up beyond hope of repair. Everything we looked at on this dejected track seemed symbolical of destruction. The very herbage was black, burned up by the fires set ablaze by the myriad sparks blown from the engine fire-box. Everything, too, was so painfully discernible, for speed is admittedly not the strong point of the Murmansk train service. Two trains per week leave on their thousand mile journey, and the speed varies between five and fifteen miles per hour.

The first stop is at Kola itself, an old, very small village situated at the extremity of the gulf, where it is joined by the torrential rivers Kola and Talom. Over its rock encumbered bed the water rushes cataract-like, not with the song of poetic fancy, but with the noise of distant thunder accompanied by the hissing of ten thousand fiends. The roar is greater in the immense ravines where the current is swifter, and where the splash of a hundred cascades, falling like avalanches of silvery feathers down the rocky sides, augment the disturbance.

The sandy bed is stirred by the agitated torrent which hurls over every boulder in its path a mass of reddened spray and yellow foam. The spray does not sparkle during its dance in the air, for the gigantic granite walls shut out the sun's beams; but to glance down into the gloom where the patches of spray leap amid the devils' orchestra of the rushing waters is to catch a momentary glimpse of the Inferno's own dark river.

Crossing this we arrived at Kola, and drew up at the pine wood building which does duty as the station. In the distance the tiny church, the inevitable village landmark, stood conspicuously with its tower and cupola dwarfing the wooden houses nearby. Kola is an ancient village. It was once

Russia's "farthest north", being the earliest settlement known to have been made by Novogorodian emigrants on the Murman Coast, and mentioned in the chronicles as early as 1264 A.D.

In 1550 Ivan the Terrible fortified it during his wars with the Swedes and renamed it Citadel of Kola, from which time until one hundred years ago it was used as a place of exile for political prisoners. Kola was destroyed in 1855 by the English.

The buildings of the recent British occupation stand on the ground immediately adjoining the railroad. On my return to Kola with the Russian Labor Delegation I made investigation among the simple trappers and fishermen who inhabit the settlement, and learned of further brutalities perpetrated by the British officials. After hypocritically alleging that their military base at Kola was for "defensive" purposes, i. e., to protect these unconcerned people against Bolshevism, the British C.O. requisitioned houses, wood, produce, and labor belonging to the civil population, who, when they protested, were told their settlement was now under martial law, and that future complainants would be severely punished.

These half-savage children of the frozen tundra, living the most peaceful of lives up to that moment, had no more idea of the significance of British martial law than their sledge-dogs had. They continued therefore to protest against the wanton destruction of their property, the invasion of their sacred privacy and unwarrantable interference with their economic life. The British democracy-savers, liberty-lovers, and small-people protectors therefore stopped the "grousing" by sentencing to death and executing five inoffensive villagers, leaving their dead bodies to rot in the swamps. I stood beside their graves, marked by the little white painted Greek crosses, in that melancholy far away Arctic land. Beside me stood a group of wondering muzhiks and trappers in sheepskin coats tied by ropes, huge boots, and enormous "bonnets". Their eyes glittered like beads that peeped from a shaggy mass of hair that grew all over their faces and drooped beneath the peaks of their caps; their huge knarled hands hung listlessly at their sides, and their whole bearing was one of patient, uncomplaining resignation. My eyes wandered from these to the little railed-off enclosure where five of their fellows lay beneath the shadows of the holy crosses with their one-time sturdy hearts penetrated by British bullets, and my mind flew off to London, to the garden parties at Buckingham Palace, to the oily eloquence of number 10 Downing Street, and the lispng lunacy of the Dundonian baboon, and I felt there was more honor, more truth, and more manhood in the little finger of a slit-eyed, squat-faced Eskimo or Samoyede of the Arctic steppes than in the entire carcass of a British "gentleman".

After leaving Kola the train crosses the entire peninsula from the Arctic Ocean to the inner reaches of the White Sea. The peninsula is about 443 miles (English) from west to east and 266

miles from north to south. The line winds unevenly across the country owing to the number of obstacles this land presents. From Kola in the north to Kandalaksa at the southern end the journey is through the forbidding forest zone and over the moss-grown wilds covered with bogs, swamps, and lakes. Huge stretches of dreary wastes called by the geologist "tundra", overgrown with mosses and lichens, with here and there in more favorable spots a sprinkling of dwarf birch and willow-scrub. Bordering this and intermingling with it, but never wholly absent from it, is the forest wild. Thousands of miles of it, making a coniferous ring around the top of the globe with the ice-capped center called the polar regions lying like a monk's tonsure on the top. Pine, fir, larch, birch, and willow are the chief growths of the forest zone, inhabited by characteristic fauna of the tundra—lemmings, Arctic foxes, mountain hares, reindeer, and in the summer weasels, wolverines, wolves, and brown bears.

Here once roamed the lordly mammoth fighting his unequal fight with the parsimonious, blizzard-ridden north, and here he succumbed, as unfitted to survive in such conditions as a White Army in a Red land. The crawling train wriggles along through the slender trees until Lake Imandra is reached. Here the forest vanishes on the right (on the downward journey) and beyond the lake, which we were more than a day in passing, the Hibinski mountains with their peaks veiled in perpetual snow rise 1,000 feet above sea level. One looks upon, also, Mount Bozia (or God's Hill), where the ancestors of the Lapps offered up sacrifices to their gods. These mountains are honey-combed with caverns, studded in parts with crystals of translucent quartz and amethyst. In the ground, untouched as yet by man, there is known to be "riches beyond the dreams of avarice"—minerals of highest quality. Silver, lead, iron, copper, zinc, gold, platinum and precious stones. The forest timber alone is estimated at £100,000,000. Pearls have been discovered in the rivers.

To look upon the dismal landscape—dismal except where the tree-clothed hills relieve the view, or when over a wooden bridge we crawl caterpillar-like over an angry cataract, and to follow the old rotting military road through the bogs and over the rock-strewn mosses, one marvels at the endurance, the heroism, and the industry of the men and women who, only a few years ago, laid out the track for this desert railway line.

The ghostly-looking trees, the limitless expanse above, the awe-inspiring silence, and—visions of the Nevsky Prospect, the Nicolskaya, and the International Congress. The lines of the Russian poet, Nekrassov, crept into the mind:

"There is noise in the capitals, the orators thunder,
The war of words rages;
But there, in the depths of Russia,
Is the silence of centuries.
Only the wind gives no rest
To the tops of the pine trees along the waste."

Only the wind, till an excited shout from Cal-

lacher draws attention to a majestic dragon-fly, which like a miniature monoplane, only infinitely more beautiful, sweeps from its marsh and vibrates above our heads, an epic in gauze and gold.

Every few hours the train draws up at a wooden pump house, which supplies the engine with water drawn from a lake nearby.* At the same spot wooden logs cut from the forest are piled up ready to be thrown on to the tender for fuel. At some of these lonely places a "boiler house" is established for supplying travellers with hot water for their tea, and as the train stops an eager crowd bolts along the permanent way with billy-cans and metal jugs, each member of it endeavoring to grab the coveted prize first.

It was unanimously decided by our small party, which now numbered seven—three Finns, an American, Gallacher, myself, and our courier—that Gallacher, being the greatest tea-drinker, should be the principle hot water diplomat, and right well and worthily did he carry out the trust "imposed" upon him.

At first, of course, he sometimes conveniently forgot to grab his tin in time, but learning by bitter experience that the inexorable law of Soviet Russia is: "He who does not hop it quickly neither shall he drink," William accepted the "discipline", and did some magnificent sprinting when the occasion demanded it.

His efforts, however, to learn the results of the Red advance on the Polish front by talking Scotch to Russian-Finns were not so brilliantly successful. He would first grab a soldier in the corridor, who was as well acquainted with Paisley Scotch as a cabbage is with the philosophy of Bergson, and the conversation would follow on these lines:

W. G.—"Poles, Poles, are they defeated?"

Soldier—"Ne uponymio!" (I don't understand).

W. G.—"Poles—defeated?"

Soldier—"Ne uponymio!"

W. G.—"Poles—beaten—defeated—beaten?" (a little fistcuff display).

Soldier (stoically)—"Ne uponymio!"

W. G.—"Poles beaten! y'ken beaten—washed out—up the pole?"

Soldier (with loud guffaw)—"Ne uponymio!"

And so on, ad infinitum.

When halts were made for fuel replenishing, the duration of the stay was anything from half an hour to an hour, and on these occasions we wandered into the fringe of the forest and plucked bilberries which literally carpeted the rocky and swampy earth. These were delicious to eat, but they dyed the tongue and lips a deep blue, giving them the same appearance as a chow-chow dog's. At several calling points the few workers who

* On Lake Imandra, many hours' journey from Kola, the train in which I travelled back to Murmansk stopped for water. The train from Murmansk passed us at this spot, or rather it drew up and travellers dropped out of both trains on to the track to greet one another and exchange news. I had climbed on to a gigantic rock to watch the approach of the new train, and as it slowed up I descended and stood exactly opposite a compartment, from the window of which I saw the excited and smiling face of Helen Crawford staring at me. I was dressed Russian fashion, and was quite alone at the time, which made her think it was a ghost she looked at. We were both delighted at this strange meeting in a strange land.

felled the logs, and fished in the streams for their daily food, would visit the train with bowls of these berries, which they bartered with us for bread or sugar. In these little transactions there was an entire absence of "haggling". At the gift of a handful of loaf sugar, which we had purchased in Norway, their childish gratitude knew no bounds, and for a piece of bread they literally wept their thanks.

I gave a woman some sugar at one hamlet, and placed one lump into the mouth of her child, a boy of three years. The mother anxiously endeavored to extract this piece of wealth from the "wean's" teeth. He had evidently never in his short life experienced such delightful sensations as the taste of sugar was giving him, and his little teeth closed like grim death upon it, until the effort to remove it had to be abandoned.

Gallacher made frequent and furtive expeditions back to the train, returning each time with sugar for some of these forlorn and tragic-looking people, who, we were assured, had an abundance of food, but of a monotonous kind.

It must be remembered that these people are the inhabitants of a most peculiar country. The entire population, including the Lapps, is so scarce that it hardly works out at one person to the English square mile. For over six months in the year the ground is covered with deep snow and the river are all frozen. Hunting, reindeer breeding, felling and floating timber, preparing charcoal and tar are the only real occupations. Agricultural pursuits are simply impossible, and earth cultivation is limited to the production (in fortunate circumstances) of a few potatoes and a very few turnips. The ground for these is artificially made by burning immense quantities of brushwood, tree branches, and dead leaves, and the mixing of ashes with the sand.

For hundreds of miles we did not observe one solitary patch of cultivated land nor yet a plant of any description that had been planted by the hand of man. Nothing but the tundra and dreary-looking forest enlivened here and there by patches of pink alpine flowers.

Hour after hour sped by until the trees on our right became less dense, and through them we could see the still blue waters of the White Sea. Soon we arrived at the little town of Kandalaksa, having crossed the whole of Russian Lapland, and were in the land of the Pomors and Karelians.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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

Peace Treaty Between Soviet Russia and Lithuania

[The following is a translation of the treaty of peace signed at Moscow on July 12, 1920, between representatives of the governments of Soviet Russia and Lithuania.]

Lithuania, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, having firmly resolved to establish their future mutual relations on the basis of righteousness and justice to the end that peace and good-neighborly relations be secured between both nations and their inhabitants, have decided to open negotiations, and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Lithuanian Democratic Republic:

Thomas Naruszewicz,
Peter Klimas,
Simeon Rosenbaum,
Joseph Vailokaitis, and
Vylantas Raczkauskas.

The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Adolph Abramovich Yoffe,
Julian Iosephovich Markhlevsky, and
Leonid Leonidovich Obolensky.

After a reciprocal exchange of credentials which were found to be in the proper form and in good order, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have come to an agreement on the following:

ARTICLE I

In accordance with the declaration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of all nations to free self-determination, Russia recognizes without reservations the independence and sovereignty of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical implications of such recognition, and renounces forever all sovereign rights to Lithuanian territory.

The former sovereignty of Russia over Lithuania shall not imply any obligations toward Russia on the part of the Lithuanian people or their land.

ARTICLE II

The frontier between the states of Lithuania and Russia shall be as follows:

Starting at the point where the Grodnyanka River falls into the Bobr, two versts to the east of the village Chernolyes, the frontier shall follow the Grodnyanka River between the villages Khmelniki-Khmelevka and Levki-Olsha; from this point the frontier line shall continue by land to the southern side of the village Vesselovo, thence along the nameless tributary of the Kamena River to the point where this tributary falls into the Kamena, about one verst along the Kamena River, continuing by land to the village Nerastnaya up to the source of the nameless tributary of the Sidra River; then along this tributary to the point where it falls into the Sidra, within a distance of one verst from the village Siderka; thence along the Sidra River, between the villages Sheshtan and Siderka, past the town Sidra, between the Villages Urashi and Ogorodniki, past the villages Beniashi and Litvinka, between Zhverany and Timany, and to the village Lovchiki; thence by land to the southern side of the village Valkushi and further to the northern side of the village of Chuprinovo; then into the hills, to the trigonometrical point within one verst's distance from the southern side of the village Novodielo; further along a line about one verst toward the north from the village Tolchi, thence to the southern side of the village Dubovaya, then along the river Indura; past the village Lushki, past the villages Prokopovich and Beliaeyvo; then along the Lasha River, past the village Bobrovniki, to the point where the Lasha falls into the Svisloch River. Thence the boundary line follows the Svisloch River to the point where it falls into the Nieman, then by the Nieman to the Berezina, then by the Berezina, Isloch, and Volozhinka, along the western side of the city of Volozhino and the northern side of the villages Brilki, Burmoki, and Polikshehiuchizna; thence in a northeastern direction toward the villages Melashi and Gintauchizna, within one verst's distance from them, then in a northeastern direction toward the town Kholkhle,

one verst's distance from its western side; then along the western side of the village Sukhanarovchizna, within about one verst from the village. The frontier shall then turn to the northeast and follow along the western side of the village Beresovtsi, one verst distant from the village, then along the western side of the vilage Vaskauchi, along the western side of the village Lyalkovchizna, one verst distant from it; turning there toward the north it shall follow along the western side of the village Kuliavchizna and further between the villages Dreni and Zherlovki; thence toward the northwest along the eastern side of the village Garavino and along the western side of the village Adamovichi; then toward the village Mislevichi, then along the eastern side of the village Bukhovshchizna to the station Molodechno, running through the latter in such a way that the Vilna-Molodechno-Lida railway line shall remain on Lithuanian territory and the Vileika-Molodechno-Minsk railway line—on Russian territory; thence along the Bukhovka River to the point where it falls into the Usha, then by the Usha River to the village of Ush; then, turning toward the northeast, along the western side of the villages Slobodka, Dolkoye, and Prenty; then by the Naroch River and, turning within about one verst's distance from the village Cheremshchytsa toward the north, along the eastern side of Lake Bliady; within a verst from this lake it shall run northward, intersecting Lake Mistro, and then by land along the western side of the village Pikolchi and the eastern side of village Minchyaki, then northward within a distance of about one verst from the village Volochaki; then northward through Lake Mejiol toward the western side of the village Pzhegrad, to within about one verst from the village; then along the Mejiol River to the point where it falls into the Disna, then by land toward the northeast to the western side of the village Borovoye, to within about a verst from the village; then northeast through Lake Mikalishki, then along the Nishchanka River to Lake Oziraichi, to the western side of the farm-settlements Repishchi and Zamoshii, through Lake Zelva, along the Zelva River, through Lake Drivyaty to Tzno, and through Lake Nespizh; then northward through Lake Nedriavo, then along the Druya to the point where the latter intersects the boundary of the Kovno province, and, finally, to the Western Dvina River at the Shaftanov estate.

Note 1. The Lithuanian frontiers with Poland and Latvia shall be determined by agreement with the two latter states.

Note 2. The surveying and setting-up of frontier signs between the Lithuanian and Russian States shall be carried out by a special mixed commission, with an equal number of members from both sides. In determining the boundary-line where inhabited points will be involved the aforementioned commission shall make its decisions on the basis of the economic and ethnographic features of such places, vesting them, in their entirety if possible, with one or the other of the two States. In cases where the boundary line goes through rivers, lakes, or canals, it shall run through the middle of the rivers, lakes, or canals, unless otherwise provided in this treaty.

Note 3. The artificial diversion of water from border rivers and lakes which would cause the lowering of the average level of water, is prohibited. Rules and regulations regarding shipping and fishing in these rivers and lakes shall be determined by special agreements; in fishing, only such devices shall be used as do not result in the extermination of fish.

ARTICLE III

The conditions with regard to guarding the frontiers, also the question of custom-houses and other questions relating to same, shall be settled by a special treaty between the two contracting parties after the territories which are now under occupation, separating Russia from Lithuania, will have been freed.

ARTICLE IV

Both contracting parties bind themselves:

1. To prohibit the formation or existence on their territory of any government, organization, or group aiming

to wage an armed struggle against the other contracting party; also to prohibit within their territories recruiting and mobilization for any army by such governments, organizations, or groups.

2. To prohibit to states which are actually at war with the other contracting party, and to organizations, and groups aiming at armed war against the other contracting party, the use of its ports or territory for the transaction of anything that might be used to attack the other contracting party, such as; armed forces, military equipment, technical appliances of a military nature, and artillery, quartermaster's, engineering, or aviation supplies of such states, organizations, or groups.

ARTICLE V

Russia, on her part, agrees to recognize the neutrality of Lithuania after the other States will have recognized it, and to share in guarantees to insure this neutrality.

ARTICLE VI

Persons who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within Lithuania's boundaries and who themselves, or whose parents, were registered in the records of the village or town communes, or of the estate (class) bodies, of the territory now constituting Lithuania, also persons who have lived in Lithuania, having permanent employment, for not less than ten years before 1914, with the exception of those who were in the civil or military government service and their families, shall be considered as Lithuanian citizens.

Persons of the same category who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within the boundaries of a third country and have not been naturalized there, shall likewise be recognized as citizens of Lithuania.

However, within one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty, all persons over the age of eighteen, living within the boundaries of Lithuania, shall have the right to renounce their Lithuanian citizenship and to choose Russian citizenship; their citizenship shall be shared by their children, and by their wives, unless there is a definite agreement between husband and wife to the contrary.

Also, persons who, according to the definition contained in the first clause of this article, would be considered as Russian citizens, shall have the same right to choose Lithuanian citizenship, during the same period and under the same conditions.

Persons who have announced their wish for such option, as well as those who share their citizenship as stated above, retain their title to chattels and real property in accordance with the laws which are in force in the country in which they live, and in case they should be leaving the country they have the right to sell or to export their property.

Note 1. To persons living in the Caucasus or in Asiatic Russia, the time limit mentioned in this article shall be extended by one year.

Note 2. The right of option as defined in the present article shall extend also to those citizens who lived within the boundaries of one of the contracting parties until the World War of 1914-1917, but who at the time of the ratification of this treaty are living within the boundaries of the other contracting party.

Refugees shall have the same rights in regard to their property which they could not export on the basis of the agreement on the repatriation of refugees of June 30, 1920, as are provided in this article for citizens with the right of option, provided the refugee can prove that the property belongs to him and that it has been in his actual possession during the repatriation time.

ARTICLE VII

Refugees of both contracting parties who desire to return to their country, shall be given the opportunity to return within the shortest possible time.

The order and conditions of return shall be determined by the governments of both countries.

ARTICLE VIII

Both contracting parties reciprocally renounce all claims that would arise from Lithuania's former connection with Russia, and recognize the various state properties on each country's territory as the property of that country alone. The title for Russian state property which was removed

from the territory now constituting Lithuania to a third country since August 1, 1914, shall be transferred to the Lithuanian State.

To the Lithuanian State shall be transferred all financial claims of the Russian Treasury against properties within the boundaries of the Lithuanian State, also all claims against Lithuanian citizens, provided these claims have not been liquidated by counter-claims presented at the settlement of accounts.

Note. To the Lithuanian State shall not be transferred the rights of claims against small holders-peasants based on their indebtedness and default of payments to the former Peasants' Agrarian Bank of Russia, or to other agrarian banks now nationalized; these debts shall be considered null and void. Also, the indebtedness of the nobility to the former Noblemen's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or other agrarian banks now nationalized, shall not be claimed by the Lithuanian State but shall be considered null and void, if that land has been given to the small holders-peasants or to agricultural laborers.

The Russian Government shall turn over to the Lithuanian Government all documents and acts which substantiate the rights mentioned in this section, provided these documents and acts are in the actual possession of the former. If within a year from the day of the ratification of this treaty this has not been done, these documents and acts shall be declared lost.

ARTICLE IX

1. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government the libraries, archives, museums, art productions, school equipment, documents and other similar property of educational, scientific, religious, governmental and public institutions or of institutions of the estates, if these materials were removed from Lithuanian territory during the World War, and actually are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

As to the archives, libraries, museums, art productions, and documents which have an important scientific, artistic, or historical value to Lithuania, and which were removed from Lithuanian territory to Russia before the World War of 1914-1917, the Russian Government agrees to return these to Lithuania, insofar as their removal will not cause substantial damage to the Russian archives, libraries, museums or art galleries in which they are kept.

The questions arising in connection with such removal shall be settled by a special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties.

2. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government all court and governmental records, and all court and governmental archives, including the archives of the senior and junior notaries, the archives of the title and land offices, the archives of ecclesiastical departments of all creeds, the archives and plans of the departments of land surveying, land organization, forestry, railroads, highways, post and telegraph, etc., which were removed to Russia from Lithuanian territory during the World War of 1914-1917; also all plans, drawings, maps and in general all material from the topography bureau of the Vilna Military District relating to the territory of the Lithuanian State; the archives of local branches of the Noblemen's and Peasants' Banks, of branches of the State Bank and of other credit, cooperative, or mutual insurance institutions; likewise the archives and records of private institutions of Lithuania; provided the above-mentioned materials are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

3. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government, to be turned over to those to whom they belong, all documents bearing on property rights, such as: bills of sale, mortgage certificates, rent contracts, promissory notes, etc., also accounting books, papers, and documents, and, in general, documents which are of value for the ascertaining of property rights of Lithuanian citizens, if these materials were removed from Lithuania to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917; provided that these materials actually are or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia. If such documents have not been returned within two years from

the date of the ratification of this treaty, they shall be considered as lost.

Russia shall turn over to Lithuania the materials in the archives and records of her central and local institutions which have a direct bearing on districts within the boundaries of Lithuania.

ARTICLE X

1. The Russian Government shall, at its expense, return to Lithuania the property of social, charitable, cultural and educational institutions which was removed to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, and also the bells and property of churches, and prayer-houses of all creeds, if these objects actually are, or will come under the jurisdiction of the governmental or public institutions of Russia.

With regard to saving deposits, securities, and other money deposits made with the former governmental or judicial institutions, insofar as such deposits and moneys belong to Lithuanian citizens, likewise with regard to deposits and various securities placed with the local branches of the former State Bank or other credit institutions now nationalized or liquidated, insofar as such deposits and moneys belong to Lithuanian citizens, the Russian Government binds itself to allow to Lithuanian citizens all rights that were formerly allowed to all Russian citizens, and will therefore permit Lithuanian citizens who could not exercise these rights because Lithuania was under occupation, to exercise them now. In meeting these claims, the Russian Government shall make allowance in favor of Lithuanian citizens for the depreciation of Russian currency between the date of the last occupation of Lithuania—September 1, 1915—and the day of payment.

In regard to valuables and properties which were kept in the rooms of banks or in their safes, if such valuables and properties belong to Lithuanian citizens, the provisions of the first part of this clause shall be applied.

The money, valuables, and property mentioned in this article shall be handed over to the Lithuanian Government, to be turned over to the owners.

3. The Russian Government shall return, at its expense, and hand over to the Lithuanian Government the funds which provided for scholarships in the schools of Lithuania or for Lithuanian citizens studying in Russian schools.

4. With regard to reimbursement for Russian government bonds or bonds guaranteed by the government, or for private stocks and bonds issued by corporations and establishments whose enterprises have been nationalized by the Russian Government, which are in circulation within the boundaries of Lithuania; likewise with regard to the settlement of claims by Lithuanian citizens against the Russian State or against nationalized institutions, Russia binds herself to grant to Lithuania, Lithuanian citizens, and institutions all those rights and privileges which, directly or indirectly, Russia has granted or may grant to any third country or its citizens, associations, or institutions. If the stocks or bonds, or property deeds, are not on hand, the Russian Government, in applying this section of the present article, is willing to recognize as the holders of bonds, etc., those persons who will furnish proof that the securities belonging to them were evacuated during the war.

ARTICLE XI

1. The Russian Government shall return to the Lithuanian Government to be turned over to the owners, all property of Lithuanian cities, societies, or juridical and natural private persons, insofar as such property actually is in, or may come into, the possession of Russian governmental or public institutions.

Note. This article shall not apply to funds, deposits, and valuables which were kept in the branches of the State Bank or private banks, credit institutions, and saving funds within the territory of Lithuania.

2. With regard to the telephone, telegraph, and railway equipment which was evacuated to Russia from Lithuania during 1914-1915, likewise with regard to the equipment of railway shops, Russia agrees to return to Lithuania as much of it as is required for the actual needs of Lithuania.

A mixed commission formed on the basis of equal representation shall determine in detail the amount of equipment which must be re-evacuated.

Note. Rolling stock, telegraph, and telephone equipment as well as railroad shop equipment, that will be apportioned for that part of Lithuania which is under occupation, shall be delivered only after the occupation will have ended.

3. For the enforcement of the provisions of articles VIII, IX, X, and XI of this treaty, the Russian Government shall be bound to give to the Lithuanian Government all the information and data bearing on these, and shall render every assistance in the recovery of property, archives, documents, etc.

For the settlement of all questions a mixed commission shall be established on the basis of equal representation.

ARTICLE XII

Taking into account the fact that Lithuania was almost completely ruined during the World War, and that the citizens of Lithuania are deprived even of the possibility of reestablishing their enterprises and particularly of rebuilding their destroyed and burned buildings owing to the destruction of the Lithuanian forests, the Russian Government declares its willingness:

1. To free Lithuania from responsibility for the debts or any other liabilities of Russia, including those incurred through the issuance of currency, treasury notes, and bonds, Russian treasury series and certificates to various establishments and enterprises, and through the guaranteed loans of the latter, etc. All such claims of Russia's creditors, in the part which would fall upon Lithuania, shall be directed against Russia alone.

2. To grant to the Lithuanian Government the right of felling timber in forests on an area of 100,000 dessiatins in districts close to the Lithuanian border and as close as possible to navigable rivers and railways, the forest areas for wood-cutting to be gradually assigned in the course of twenty years in accordance with the plans of Russian forestry. The determination of further conditions for timber cutting shall be entrusted to a mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties.

3. To pay to the Lithuanian Government three million rubles in gold within a month and a half from the date of the ratification of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIII

1. The contracting parties agree to open negotiations regarding the conclusion of commercial and transit treaties within the shortest possible time after the ratification of the present treaty.

2. The commercial treaty shall be based on the principle of the most favored nation.

3. The transit treaty shall be based on the following principles:

a) Goods passing in transit across the territory of one of the contracting parties shall not be subject to any customs duties or taxes.

b) The freight rates for goods in transit shall not be higher than the freight rates for the same kind of goods for local destination.

Note. Until the advent of normal conditions, the mutual transit relations between Russia and Lithuania shall be regulated by the same principles. The other transit terms shall be settled by special provisional agreements.

4. The Russian and Lithuanian merchant fleets shall mutually make use of the harbors of the contracting parties on equal rights.

5. The property left after the death of a citizen of one of the contracting parties within the boundaries of the other contracting party shall be entirely turned over to the consular or other authorized representative of the nation to which the deceased belonged, to be disposed of in accordance with the laws of that nation.

ARTICLE XIV

Diplomatic and consular relations shall be established immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.

After the ratification of the present treaty the contracting parties shall take steps for the conclusion of a consular convention.

ARTICLE XV

After the ratification of this treaty, an amnesty shall be granted by the Russian Government to Lithuanian citizens and applicants for Lithuanian citizenship, and by the Lithuanian Government to Russian citizens and applicants for Russian citizenship, military persons or civilians, for all political and disciplinary offenses. If sentence has not yet been passed on such offenses, the cases shall be discontinued.

Persons who will have committed such offenses after the ratification of this treaty shall not be subject to this amnesty.

Persons condemned in criminal court for offenses which are not subject to this amnesty shall be returned to their country after serving their sentence. If, however, sentences in such cases are not passed within a year placing the defendant under charges, the defendant shall, after the lapse of this time-limit, be turned over to the authorities of his country together with the records of the case.

Simultaneously, both contracting parties shall also grant an amnesty to their own citizens for offenses committed in the interests of the other contracting party before the ratification of the present treaty.

ARTICLE XVI

In the deliberations upon the present treaty both contracting parties took into account the circumstance that they have never been in a state of war with each other, and that Lithuania, serving as a field of war operations during the World War of 1914-1917, has particularly suffered from the latter. Therefore the terms of this treaty can in no case serve as a precedent for any third country.

On the other hand, should one of the contracting parties grant to a third country or her citizens any privileges, rights and advantages, such privileges, rights, and advan-

tages shall without any special convention be extended to the other contracting party or her citizens.

Note. The contracting parties shall, however, present no claims for advantages which one of them may grant to a third country bound to the former by a tariff or some other alliance.

ARTICLE XVII

The settlement of legal questions of public or private aspect that may arise between citizens of the contracting parties, likewise the settlement of some specific questions between the two states or between one of the states and citizens of the other, shall be charged to a special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both contracting parties which shall be instituted immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, and whose composition, rights, and duties shall be defined in the instructions by agreement of both contracting parties.

ARTICLE XVIII

The present treaty is drawn up in the Russian and Lithuanian languages. For purposes of interpretation both texts shall be considered authentic.

ARTICLE XIX

The present treaty shall be subject to ratification.

The exchange of the certificates of ratification shall take place at Moscow.

Wherever there is reference, in the present treaty, to the time of the ratification of the treaty it shall be understood to mean the time of the reciprocal exchange of the certificates of ratification.

In confirmation of which the plenipotentiaries of both contracting parties have personally signed the present treaty and countersigned it with their seals.

The original in two copies was drawn up and signed in the city of Moscow, July 12, 1920.

The Former Leaders of the Cooperatives on Trial

THE trial of the leaders of the cooperatives started in September before the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal, Ksenofontov presiding.

Before the bar appeared the eminent cooperators Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, two former ministers of the Provisional Government, Nikitin and Gvozdev, and a number of authorized agents of the Centroseksia and Centrosoyuz, charged with activity meant to undermine the economic policy of the Workers' and Peasants' Government for the purpose of preparing the ground for the expected arrival of Generals Denikin and Yudenich in Petrograd.

The case originated in the following way: In the course of an investigation of the activity of "cooperators" who were suspected of having engaged in speculation, the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission, during a search and examination of the safe in the office of the Centrosoyuz, found that, besides the official treasury, it contained also a secret treasury in which were discovered 3,000,000 rubles in Duma and Czarist currency, in stocks, and in foreign currency.

The extremely confused and contradictory explanations of the treasurer Krokmal led the investigators to believe that it was a much more serious case than ordinary speculation, and it was decided to search Krokmal's residence. The search led to the discovery of a number of communications and letters from London which showed defin-

itely that the activity of all the offices of the Centrosoyuz, located in districts which were in the hands of the counter-revolutionists, was directed by Berkenheim through the London office, the chief foreign office of the Centrosoyuz.

One of the letters said that from the moment that the Petrograd office would lose connection with the Moscow office, in other words, when Petrograd was occupied by the bands of Yudenich, the Petrograd office would be placed among the offices which were under the jurisdiction of the London office. In expectation of this event the latter had already issued eighteen communications with instructions, some of which had been received in Petrograd, and the others were to be sent in a few days. The contents of these documents show definitely, first of all, that at the most critical moment, during the expected occupation of famished Petrograd by the Whites, the London office of the Centrosoyuz was making preparations to ship food there, and was definitely advertising the advantages of the regime that would come along with Yudenich and with the restoration of the bourgeois capitalist order.

The disclosure of the aforementioned documents, as well as the presence of large sums of money in Duma and Czarist currency, bonds, etc., in the Centrosoyuz, made absolutely clear the activity of the leaders of the cooperatives, which carried on through fictitious persons large purchases

of all kinds of commodities and materials. Further investigation of this case led to the transfer of the center of gravity of the inquiry from Petrograd to Moscow, involving chiefly members of the Central Council of the Union of Cooperative Organizations.

Searches made at the residence of members of the Governing Board gave unexpected results. At the residence of the members of the Governing Board, Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, numerous documents were found definitely revealing the nature of the activity of the organs of the cooperatives and their attitude to the Soviet power.

The Soviet power had to consider as its paramount task the implacable struggle against the free market and chiefly against speculation in manufactured goods. Despite their clear duty to aid the Soviet power by their economic apparatus, the cooperative organs continued basically to work "as of old", employing the former methods of buying and selling. Drubin's testimony showed that certain merchants, unable to sell the goods which they had concealed from registration, offered to sell them to the Centrosoyuz under assumed names.

The investigation established that Berkenheim* was sent to the United States to obtain there machinery and tools for the Supreme Council of National Economy, but he ultimately turned out to be in London where he took charge of the office of the Centrosoyuz, whose activity has now become clear. The members of the Governing Board, Selgheim and Lenskaya, were sent to Switzerland for their health, but they went to other countries, and Selgheim took charge of the Stockholm office of the Centrosoyuz, and sent goods to Denikin.

Selgheim's reports addressed to Korobov, a copy of which was found in Kuznetsov's residence, contains the following statement: "Have received an inquiry from Berkenheim as to whether I would advise him to buy from the American quartermaster 25,000,000 dollars worth of underwear, shoes, pants and raincoats. I cabled to him to be very careful, to take only goods for which there may be a demand among the Russian peasants, and suggested that he ask our offices at Omsk and Rostov for advice." It is clear that the purchase was intended for Kolchak and Denikin.

The Sentence

After considering the evidence disclosed by the investigation, and the testimony of the witnesses and defendants, the Supreme Revolutionary Tribunal of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee passed the following sentences:

Citizen Krokmal, who was guilty of buying goods whose sale had been prohibited and of not informing the authorities of unlawful transactions with speculators,—to three years confinement in a concentration camp; but in view of his acknowledgement of his errors, and the absence of wilful

intent on his part, the First of May amnesty shall be applied to him, and the sentence shall not be enforced. Citizen Arishtam, for complicity in speculative transactions, and Citizen Mordukhovich, for not informing the authorities,—to three years confinement in camp; but in view of mitigating circumstances, the amnesty shall be applied and the sentence set aside. Citizen Obolensky, Mosdorf and Shisko, for not informing the authorities and for protecting speculators, to five years confinement in camp, with the sentence suspended. Citizens Sharoto, Alexander Mordukhovich, and Drubin, the first for complicity in giving a bribe, the second for complicity in the speculative transactions of his father, and the third for buying goods prohibited from sale and for protecting speculators,—to ten years confinement in camp. Citizens Rosen, Korobov, Lavrukhin, and Kuznetsov, the first for buying goods prohibited from sale, for protecting speculators and for receiving commissions from them, and the other three for sending abroad, to Kolchak and Denikin, their partisans whose activity aimed to undermine the economic policy of the Soviet power and to give all possible support to the Russian counter-revolutionary movement,—to 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Nikitin, for active support to the counter-revolutionary government of Denikin—to be shot, but in view of his repentance, the sentence shall be replaced by 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Berthold, for receiving money under an assumed name and for giving a bribe to the investigator of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission,—to be shot, but the sentence shall be replaced, in view of mitigating circumstances and of the First of May amnesty, by 15 years confinement in camp. Citizen Adolph Bordukhovich, for wilful speculation,—to be shot, the sentence to be replaced, in view of his age, by life imprisonment. Citizens Pruss, Sakharov, and Smetanin were acquitted.—*Izvestia*, September 5.

Bound Volumes for 1920

Volume II, of which a number of copies, splendidly bound, are still to be obtained by persons desiring them, is sold at five dollars. Check or money order should accompany order. Volume I (June-December, 1919) is sold out and will not be reprinted. Volume III will be bound, with title-page and index, as soon as the issues have all appeared (January 1, 1921). Readers may place orders now for Volume III, and should send the cost of the volume—five dollars—with their orders.

SOVIET RUSSIA

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New York, N. Y.

* Alexander Berkenheim was in the United States in 1919. His mission, that of opening trade between the United States and the Russian Cooperatives on the ground that the latter were independent of the Soviet Government, was unsuccessful, and Berkenheim left for London.—*Editor SOVIET RUSSIA*.

Wireless and Other News

CONFERENCE OF SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES OF MOSCOW PROVINCE

Moscow, October 18, 1920.—*Sixth Session.* Chairman Sorokin, of the Committee of Provisioning, reported on the food situation in the government of Moscow. Sorokin pointed out that crop failures in many Volga and central provinces this year created a situation which can be remedied only by complete obligatory delivery of grain to the provisioning agency of the state. Even the Czar's Government had applied this remedy in years of bad crops, but in such manner that the delivery was compulsory upon peasants, whereas the big farmers and landowners were enabled to export their grain at exorbitant prices. Only by abolishing private property and private commerce and by nationalizing industry can the monopoly of farm products be eliminated. In this case, the burden of compulsory surrender falls not on the poorest but on the more affluent element of the peasants. With statistics in hand, Sorokin demonstrated the correctness of the Soviet policy in the matter of feeding the masses, and affirmed that the peasantry comprehended the situation better, so that now in harvesting, the interference of armed force was seldom required. In 1917 there were 130,000,000 poods of grain gathered in Russia; 110,000,000 poods in 1918; 265,000,000 poods in 1919. In 1920, out of the 450,000,000 poods that had been expected, 400,000,000 poods were actually delivered. In 1918, 26,000,000 poods of potatoes were obtained; in 1919 (after the establishment of the monopoly) 43,000,000 poods, while 117,000,000 poods may be expected this year.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE LABOR ARMY IN THE CAUCASUS

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn writes that the General Committee of Labor has now received the reports covering the activities of the Labor Army in the Caucasus for the month of June.

In the field of naphtha production, much preliminary and preparatory work had to be performed, as the storage tanks, etc., were in deplorable shape. In comparison with the last few months the naphtha production is gaining. During the first ten days of June, 204 storage tanks per day were shipped, and during the last days of June the number had risen to 256. A total of 6,700 storage tanks was shipped during the month of June. The prescribed number was 4,500 tanks. In addition to this, over a million poods of naphtha were shipped to Petrovsk by pipeline, and 600,000 poods by steamer. 1,731 qualified railroad workers and 42,124 unskilled railroad workers have been actively engaged. In addition, 260 qualified railroad workers were employed in the railroad stations. Particular attention was called to the development and enlargement of station facilities at Grozny.

THE WORK OF THE FIRST LABOR ARMY

Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn reports that the results of the First Labor Army from January 1 to June 14 have just been made public. The following data have been published by the Labor Committee for the Urals:

Regarding work in the forests, a total of 660,160 days of labor has been expended during the past five months, and 106,596.65 cubic sazhen of wood have been cut. 88,807.85 cubic sazhen of wood and 2,295 pieces of timber have been shipped, and 17,399.08 cubic sazhen have been sawed and split. 101 dessiatins of forest land and 21 dessiatins of marsh land have been cleared for agricultural purposes. During a total of 166,905 working days 121,434 pieces of lumber and timber were made ready for shipment, in addition to 5,280 poods of peat and 858 poods of charcoal.

In the Urals, during 1,639 working days, 523,853 poods of coal were mined.

In regard to the railroad system, the following figures are available: During 37,547 working days, 248 locomotives and 435 freight cars were repaired, and 3,556 repair parts were manufactured in 2,965 working days. A distance of 1,002 versts of railroad tracks was put in complete working order in 45,317 working days, besides which 18 bridges were repaired. In 77,688 working days, 73,924 cubic sazhen of wood, 671 pieces of timber and lumber were loaded for transportation, and 10,158 cars of all kinds were shipped and transported. In 52,446 working days, 2,668 cars were unloaded, in addition to 595,008 cubic sazhen of wood and 14,057 timber and lumber; 1,459 versts of telegraph and telephone wire were tested and repaired in 7,842 working days, and 103 versts of telegraph cables were installed.

RAILWAY CAR REPAIRS

The planned number of cars to be repaired during August for 24 railway lines amounted to 6,630. The actual number repaired was 10,084 cars, in other words 3,454 cars over and above the number intended. The output of repairs of cars is gradually increasing and gave for August a surplus of 52 per cent, i.e., approximately 22 per cent above that of July. The record was broken by the Vladikavkaz railway line which repaired 1,388 cars instead of the intended 540.

A NEW ALLIANCE AGAINST THE EAST

LONDON, October 13, 1920.—The Helsingfors correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* has been informed that there are negotiations in progress between Finland, Poland, Hungary, and Roumania for the purpose of forming a defensive alliance against possible attacks from the East.

THE ENTRANCE TO THE BIGHT OF NOVOROSSIIYSK

Moscow, October 19, 1920.—At the recommendations of the port-commander of Novorossiysk, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs notifies the governments that the following regulations will apply to all vessels arriving at Novorossiysk with war prisoners. All such ships must communicate beforehand, to the General Staff of the Bight of Novorossiysk, the date and hour of their arrival, their nationality, tonnage, draft, character of the ship, the call and wave-length of their radio, by means of which they will communicate with our coast station whose standard wave-length is 4,000 meters. All these ships must approach the entrance to the Bight so that they will reach the harbor between sunrise and sunset at a speed of six knots. At the latitude of 44°30'N ships must notify Novorossiysk of their name, position, and hour of arrival. They will receive no reply but will be met by a boat with a pilot's flag, which will conduct them into the harbor. The pilot's flag must be raised on the incoming vessel. If the pilot's boat does not appear within three hours, the foreign ship must proceed to the Bight of Dzhubga and communicate directly with the Post, whereupon it will receive appropriate directions from the General Staff of the Bight. The General Staff refuses to be responsible for any consequences due to disregard of the above regulations.

THE FUNERAL OF INESSA ARMAND

Moscow, October 18, 1920.—Moscow saw today the funeral of one of the oldest champions of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, Inessa Armand (Helen Blonina). Her burial, which took place at the Kremlin, where all the bravest champions of the Revolution lie buried, presented a magnificent spectacle. Delegates from all proletarian organizations of Moscow came to pay their last respects. The funeral speech was made by one of the most important workers in the Russian women's proletarian movement, Alexandra Kollontay. Lenin and many other leaders of the Russian proletariat were present at the funeral.

MAILS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Russia has now succeeded in obtaining postal relations with Norway and the rest of the world, since there is now a regular postal service between Norway and Russia carried on by Russian motor boats plying between Vardo and Archangel twice a week. Mails now also go from the countries of Europe to Russia by way of Norway. The mails to Russia are sent to Christiania, and thence forwarded to Vardo. At Vardo Russian mails are sorted and placed on board the boats.—*Social-Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway, October 29.

THE NEXT ISSUE

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2. *PRELIMINARY PEACE TREATY AND ARMISTICE BETWEEN SOVIET RUSSIA AND POLAND.*
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