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The Soviet Power and the Preservation of Art

By A. LUNACHARSKY

AMONG the many calumnies that are spread concerning the Soviet power, I am made particularly indignant by the report appearing in American newspapers to the effect that we are guilty of vandalism toward museums, palaces, country homes of landed proprietors, and churches, which constitute important monuments of antiquity and frequently have a unique art value.

We can deny these accusations with pride and firmness, for we have accomplished marvels in protecting such monuments. Of course, I do not maintain that individual objects of art have not been destroyed in the course of the Russian Revolution. We have been informed of certain country seats that have been burnt down, libraries destroyed, of collections scattered, and similar incidents, but surely it will be understood that such a mighty upheaval as the revolution could not proceed without some excesses, and we must call the attention of the imperialists to the fact that during the war that was staged by the "most civilized" bourgeois armies, human property in the occupied regions was destroyed in incomparably greater measure than in our country.

In Russia this phenomenon was of temporary nature and lasted only till the moment the Government took the reins into its hands. At present, not only in Petrograd and in its environs, where immense treasures of this kind have accumulated, not only in Moscow and in the palaces situated in the environs of Moscow, which also are unique in their class, but also in the provinces, often even in the most remote corners, we find representatives of the "Section for the Protection of Monuments of Antiquity and Objects of Art"; these representatives, with the aid

of educated peasants and workers, carefully guard such property of the people as has artistic value.

American newspapers have dared to speak of plundering and disorder in the imperial palaces. I should be very happy to be able to show some foreigners what is actually being done at present in these palaces—and we did to be sure pass through a serious period when all sorts of armed forces were making Gatchina and Tsarskoye Selo unsafe, when there were no supervising organs in Petrograd at all. Under these circumstances it necessarily appeared to be a hopeless undertaking to protect the treasures of the palaces and museums which are of immeasurable value even if considered only from a material standpoint. The task was rendered more difficult by the fact that many palaces, particularly the Winter Palace, had cellars that were chock full of wine, brandy and cordials. We were obliged to destroy these stocks of liquor ruthlessly, as the excesses of drunkenness would otherwise have spread to the Eremitage* and to the halls of the Winter Palace, and might have caused unheard of damage. There is terrible temptation in alcohol, and I remember one good soldier of the Pavlovsky regiment who, together with certain other guards, had not been able to refrain from tasting the wine, hundreds of thousands of bottles of which he was guarding; in extenuation of his act he later said to me: "Put me alongside of an open chest of gold, and I will not touch it; but it is impossible to stand alongside of this wine." And yet we have managed, by destroying this wine, by applying the severest

* The Eremitage, one of the most famous museums of Europe, was built in 1840-1852 by the architect, Von Klenze, and contains valuable collections of sculpture, coins, weapons, etc. The gallery of older European paintings is particularly noteworthy.

measures, to prevent the misfortune that was then threatening.

If you enter the Winter Palace or the Gatchina Palace today, and find any traces of destruction in these places, you may be convinced that they are traces of the period when Kerensky and his young imperial cadets and Cossacks were still carrying on there. But there are practically no such scars remaining; we have already healed them.

As for the museums, they are in excellent order, in the hands of the best custodians. The museums have been much enriched by transferring to them works of artistic and historic value, of the most varied kinds, from private palaces and estates. While the best pictures of the old Eremitage were transferred to Moscow by Kerensky and are there waiting, packed in their crates, for the day when we may feel absolutely safe in Petrograd, the apartments of the Eremitage are being filled anew with wonderful works of art, partly purchased, partly taken from private store-rooms, which were formerly inaccessible to the public, and which now are being exhibited there. What marvelous works have been discovered and, at present, exhibited to the masses of the people and to school children in the palaces of Yussopov, Stroganov, and elsewhere!

The palaces themselves are devoted by us to the most varied purposes. Only a few among them, such as the artistically uninteresting Anichkov Palace and the Marinsky Palace, have been placed at the disposal of the authorities. But the Winter Palace has been transformed into an art palace. In its magnificent salons, constructed by Rastrelli and his pupils, you will always find a crowd of people listening to excellent music performed by the State orchestra or the State brass band, or enjoying cinematographic exhibitions or special dramatic performances.

One exhibition here follows upon another; some of them have really been magnificent both in the number and beauty of the works exhibited. It is our effort to make both the exhibitions and the museums real sources of culture, by combining them with lectures and attaching instructors and guides to every group of visitors. By separating certain collections of moderate size from the museums, and establishing separate exhibitions, such as Buddhist religious art, or the funeral customs or funeral superstitions of the Egyptians, we create a splendid means of object instruction, and such exhibitions are visited in our much tried Petrograd by masses of interested persons.

Other palaces have been entirely transformed into museums: particularly the gigantic Palace of Katherine at Tsarskoye Selo, and the Alexander Palace nearby. The entire history of the autocracy is here presented to the eyes of the workers and the young people who come to this place from Petrograd in streams; who walk through the parks that are century-old, and then enter this palace which is kept in apple-pie order. We are successfully pursuing the aim of carefully preserving against

damage, in spite of this mass attendance, not only the walls, furniture, and art works, but even the interesting mosaic floors, to preserve which we go so far, where we have not had enough protecting runners, to provide visitors with special canvas shoes to be put on over their boots. This practice inspires the visitor, no matter how little he may be accustomed to such surroundings, with the feeling that he is face to face with the property of the public, which must be guarded by both state and public with the greatest care.

In the Palace of Katherine he beholds the bizarre and heavy magnificence of the period of Elizabeth, and the graceful and pleasantly harmonious splendor of the epoch of Katherine II. This civilization of the imperial masters, who were the finest architects, decorators, and masters in porcelain, bronzes and tapestry, appears to attain its culmination during the reign of Paul, with its incomparable perfection in works of the First Empire.

The neighboring Pavlovsk is the best monument to the taste of that epoch. The excellent choice of art works constituting its equipment, as well as the admirable decoration of its salons, make Pavlovsk an incomparable structure, the like of which is hardly to be found anywhere in Europe.

But this art epoch has also left attractive traces in the Great Palace at Tsarskoye Selo. Utilizing the labor power of their serfs, the Czars, standing in proud seclusion at the head of their nobility, were able to exploit all Europe's treasures, alternating the Asiatic luxuriousness of their Moscow ancestors with the excessive refinement of the works of European culture.

Under Alexander I, taste goes down. In his empire we find a certain coldness, which is not, however, without impressiveness. It is the reflection of the Napoleonic imperialism of Russia, with its serfdom.

And then look at the apartments of Alexander II, distinguished, commodious, with a touch of English bourgeois taste, devoid of ostentation—these are the studies and drawing rooms of a British gentleman, a wealthy country squire. And suddenly we have Alexander III before us, a curiously awkward, pseudo-Russian style, a splendor chiefly distinguished by its material wastefulness.

This decline is already noticeable under Nicholas I, with its heavy bronzes, with its second-rate Paris trinkets, products of the Second Empire.

But the coarse, quasi-Russian style of Alexander III adds an element which brings us back to Asia. Only with the utmost effort can we here discern a glimmer of true art. All of the objects are chosen for their cost, their display, their glaring and striking effects. You feel that the nobility has outlived its usefulness and is no longer the head of society, not even in the field of material civilization, not even in its house furnishings. They are already adapting themselves to the practice of living in ugly dwellings, calculated only to impress their subjects with spacious splendor and

gilt and tinsel. We already feel that the autocracy is maintaining itself with difficulty, and no longer has confidence in itself; it seeks to dazzle the eye, and fails in the attempt; therefore its effort for enormous dimensions and outrageous cost of material.

If we have already witnessed a rapid drop in taste, proceeding step by step, from Alexander I to Nicholas I, from the latter to Alexander II, then to Alexander III, we behold a veritable collapse into the abyss when we gaze at the tasteless chambers of Nicholas II. What a conglomeration of things! A gaudy cotton print with photographs attached, as minute as in the attic room of some millionaire's maid. Here is a Rasputin alcove, decorated with gilt images of saints; here are curious little tubs, huge divans, and very peculiarly decorated "dressing rooms", which arouse in us a suggestion of gross animal sensuality; you find furniture of the worst factory taste, furniture such as could be found in the rooms of suddenly enriched parvenus, who will buy any sort of "furniture" that suits their unbridled taste.

We find here a curious combination of two tendencies—the repulsive lack of taste of a degenerate Russian nobleman, and the not less repulsive lack of taste of a German philistine woman.

And yet we are speaking of the descendants of imperial dynasties! No one can free himself from the thought, even if his attention is not called to it—that the dynasty was going down, morally and esthetically, with breathless rapidity.

Our artists proposed to preserve undisturbed all the chambers of Nicholas II as models of bad taste; we have done this, for this ramble through the past, the most recent past, the period of the collapse of the Romanovs, is really a marvelous object lesson in Czarist *kulturgeschichte*, especially if it is aided by a preparatory lecture.

Gatchina provides much instructive material in this connection. But I fear that General Yudenich and the English bearers of culture who accompanied him have inflicted great damage upon the palaces which we so carefully protected, and which are so popular with the masses of the people, now that they have been transformed into museums.

At Moscow, the Kremlin is visited by many traveling parties. This set of buildings, with the exception of a few that are occupied by government establishments, has now become one gigantic museum of instruction, including also the churches.

The country seats surrounding Moscow are being carefully preserved by us. But, whenever their totality does not represent a unified whole, everything that has artistic and historical value is removed from them—also from the monasteries—and transported to other museums which have been added to Moscow's attractions. The palaces which are valuable for their architecture, such as Archangelskoye and Ostankino, are even in our hard times places of pilgrimage for all those who wish to delight their eyes with unified monuments of the period which was so "glorious" for our no-

bility, the period when that nobility exploited and destroyed entire generations of its slaves, but was at least clever enough to live elegantly and to acquire in western Europe, in exchange for floods of Russian workers' sweat, objects worthy of decorating such fine structures.

In a country passing through a revolutionary crisis, in which the masses are naturally inspired with hatred against the czars and masters, and involuntarily transfer this hatred even to their dwellings and furnishings, without being able to judge the artistic and historic value of these things, since these same masters and czars had permitted them to continue living in ignorance, in such a country it was of course not an easy task to carry out our work. For we had not only to dam the wave of destruction, to preserve the works of art, but it was our task to reanimate the latter, to create living beauty out of mere museum specimens, so that the worker, unconsciously thirsting for beauty, might be refreshed.

It was our task to make of inaccessible castles and palaces, where dwelt the degenerate scions of once famous families—who had become bored with everything and no longer observed anything—public institutions, which, guarded with loving care, must provide hours of pleasure for numerous visitors. This was indeed a difficult task.

The Commissariat for Public Instruction and its Section for the Protection of Historic and Art Monuments, is ready at any time to render account of its activities before civilized mankind, and, may confidently say that not only the international proletariat, which is the best part of this civilized humanity, but also every other honest man cannot withhold the tribute of respect to this immense achievement. Emphasis must be laid not only on individual cases of destruction—such might occur in any country, even in the most enlightened; but also on the fact that in a country which had been kept back in a stage of barbarism through a criminal government policy, these disturbances did not attain any great dimensions, but were transformed by the power of the government of workers and peasants into a well organized possession of the people as a whole.—The Kremlin, October 23, 1919.

HELP THE RUSSIAN CHILDREN

On our editorial pages, the reader will find a presentation of the plight of the 780 Russian children who will reach New York about September 1st.

They need clothing and blankets for their journey across the Atlantic and through the Baltic Sea to their homes in Petrograd. They need food and clothing and medicaments, in addition to the expenses of their entertainment in New York before their steamer sails for Europe.

Clothing, to be accepted, must be new; and no contributions of any kind should reach this office later than August 30th.

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The "Misery" of the Russian Scientists

By V. S. SMIRNOV

Under the foregoing title *Dagens Nyheter* printed, last Sunday, an article by Dr. J. T. Arne, with the benevolent and humanitarian purpose of bringing financial aid to stranded Russians belonging to the so-called *Intelligentsia*; but his accusations against the Bolsheviks, who, he says, want to wipe out the Russian scientists, are founded upon ancient and absolutely false emanations from the ultra-reactionary *Huvudstadsbladet*, of Helsingfors, and other similar Finnish sources. As, for instance, his assertion that the famous historian, Platonov, died in jail. This story was circulated widely in September last, in Finland, and has since been proved to be entirely without foundation. In fact, a former tutor, or teacher, of the University of Petrograd, K. Tiander, recently an assiduous contributor to the *Huvudstadsbladet*, some time later published in the same paper a statement to the effect that a scientific-historical commission had been appointed in Petrograd under the chairmanship of Platonov. Tiander has been responsible for much of the news that comes from Russia through Finland. The undersigned, who studied under Professor Platonov in the University of Petrograd, met him, also, several times during the summer of 1918, while serving in the People's Commissariat for Education. At that time Professor Platonov was working with the Soviets, who accepted and appreciated his endeavors with gratitude. There was thus no reason or foundation for the statement that Professor Platonov had died in jail.

Among other scientists who were supposed to have died of privation in Petrograd Mr. Arne also mentions Professor Shlyapkin. I can also say from my own knowledge that Professor Shlyapkin, who lived on the Finnish border, died long before the March Revolution. Further mention is made of the well-known historian and academician, Lappo Danielevsky, "starved to death in Petrograd." This statement, for which Tiander is also responsible, although it was published in a more moderate form in *Huvudstadsbladet*, also lacks foundation, since, being an academician and a professor, Danielevsky was in such economic circumstances that it was entirely improbable that he died of hunger.

From these examples it ought to be clear that information which comes from the Finnish reactionary press concerning the misfortunes of Russian scientists under the so-called repressions of the Bolsheviks can scarcely be depended upon. That severe food and fuel situations existed in Petrograd and Moscow as a result of the world war, civil wars, and the Entente blockade, is generally known, and is no secret. That under such conditions the scientists suffer, along with the rest of the population, is but natural. But to accuse the Bolsheviks of bringing about these privations and of subjecting especially the scientists to them is at least illogical.

Those who are familiar with present conditions in Russia know very well that the Soviet power, on the contrary, does everything in its power to make life as comfortable as possible for scientists, artists, technicians, and others. This is admitted by all honest representatives of the Russian *Intelligentsia*. For instance, issue No. 3, 1920, of *Vyestnik Literaturi* (The Messenger of Literature), a magazine published by Dr. Kauffman, in Petrograd, contains an article under the title, "A Well-Deserved Tribute," which is a tribute to the Commissar of Education, Z. G. Grinberg, who was transferred from Petrograd to a similar position at Moscow. Almost every literary and scientific institution in Petrograd, with the Academy of Science at the head, participated in this tribute. During the farewell meeting and banquet held at the "House of Arts," many hearty and most touching speeches were addressed to Grinberg, in all of which his great efforts in behalf of useful enterprises were emphasized. Among those who spoke were the chairman of the Society for Literature and Science, Professor Kauffman; Hariton; the chairman of the Turgenev Society, the well-known former senator, Koni; the critic, Chukovski, and several others. All these speakers emphasized his especially humane relation to scientists as well as to literary persons. The two above mentioned houses (of arts and literature), are large clubs which owe much to Mr. Grinberg, and their aim is to give thousands of scientists, artists, and writers, and their families, the possibility of receiving help in the form of foodstuffs, and the opportunity of carrying on their scientific, literary, and artistic work. Similar institutions, as for instance the House of the Press, may be found in Moscow and other centers of culture in Russia.

Professor Kauffman emphasized in his speech that the scientists have never had, nor could they hope to have, a better Minister of Education than Grinberg.

Here I must state that Grinberg, who was my fellow worker during the entire time of my service in Petrograd, is a faithful Communist. Just as wonderful as he are the People's Commissars for Education, Lunacharsky and Maxim Gorky, who are at the head of the great national proposition, the "Literature of the World," and several others. During the severe food shortage in Petrograd last January, a special commission was formed with the purpose of improving the position of the scientists. On account of the decision of this commission, 1,800 scientists at Petrograd had a larger food ration than the other inhabitants of the city. Besides, this commission decided to establish a "House of Science" in the former Palace of Grand Duke Vladimir, in which several rooms were kept heated and illuminated, in spite of the fuel shortage, for the needs of the scientists.

All these measures ought to make it sufficiently clear that the Soviet Government is not and has

not been neglecting the fate of the Russian *Intelligentsia*, which loyally cooperates with it. Dr. Arne is very much grieved that a few professors were arrested and executed, compelled to flee abroad, etc., but he neglects to inform his readers that these participated actively in various plots against the Soviet Republic.

It is a little too much to expect that such men as Kartashev, Kuzmin-Karavayev, Milyukov, Struve and others, whom he especially enumerates, should be allowed to remain unmolested in Russia, since at the same time they are members of various White Russian "governments." The two first mentioned belonged to the "Northwestern" government of Yudenich; Struve is Foreign Minister in the Crimean Government of Wrangel; Milyukov is head of the "White" Conferences at Paris, etc. Naturally the professors in Soviet Russia have no special privilege to conspire against the Soviet power. In this regard they are on the same basis as other Russian citizens.

I can assure Dr. Arne that nobody in Soviet Russia is so stupid,—as he seems to imagine—as to wish to create any special proletarian mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, etc. By "proletarian culture," one understands in Russia nothing so absurd as he seems to believe, but proletarian art and proletarian literature, which are actually being created in Russia now. But a more extensive elucidation of this subject is not within the scope and purpose of this article. In one thing, however, I agree with Dr. Arne, and that is that science, like literature and art, has in Russia reached a very high plane, in spite of the most un-

favorable conditions, even much higher than he knows. Beside these branches which have been enumerated by him, and which have attained a general recognition all over the world, I could add many more, such as, for instance, the history of literature, linguistic research (not only Oriental), and natural science. (Dr. Arne mentions world-famous Russian mathematicians and physicians.) Within the sphere of natural science there was, for instance, the Darwinist and biologist, Professor Timiryazev, who joined the Soviets as soon as they were constituted, and whose long life ended at eighty; he was a faithful Communist and contributor to the *Communist International*, to *Pravda*, etc., etc., who had attained world-wide fame.

Partly on my own account, from my own experiences as superintendent of the high school department of the Commissariat for People's Education in the northern Communes of Russia, at Petrograd, I can bear witness to the fact that the Soviet Government laid great stress not only upon the spreading of education among the masses,—as Dr. Arne asserts,—but also upon the promoting of science in every respect. The paper shortage and other consequences of the blockade organized by the "democratic states of culture" cannot of course contribute to the flowering of science, art, and literature at the present time. Nevertheless, no government in the world is doing as much as the government of the workers and peasants in Russia which is so maligned by "bearers of culture" elsewhere.—*Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, Stockholm, July 2, 1920.

Russian Women in the Red Army

THE Russian women—peasant, working-class and bourgeois—have played an important part in all revolutionary movements which have swept through Russia. Amfiteatrov, the Russian writer, acknowledges the importance of the Russian women's efforts, looking towards the emancipation of the working and bourgeois classes in Russia, in the following words: "The women have taught the Russian people to read and write, they have established new teaching methods and have borne the whole martyrdom imposed by the work of enlightening the proletariat." As a matter of fact, the Russian women are entitled to a large share of the credit for the liberation of Russia's working classes. Their solicitousness, their devotion and spirit of self-sacrifice, intensified to the point of fanaticism, enabled them to bear quietly and with patience all these tortures which were a consequence of illegal activity—the only possible method of agitation and propaganda in czarist Russia. For many decades the woman revolutionist stood watch at her quiet, hidden, and often most dangerous post. She organized secret printing shops, manufactured bombs, planned assassinations, (fighting methods brought about by the peculiar

conditions existing in Russia), carried on the propaganda in the army, fought on the barricades—everywhere, at all dangerous posts, we meet the Russian woman revolutionist, whose self-sacrifice and revolutionary energy served as an example for others.

After the fall of czarism the energetic revolutionary activity of the women continued. Unfortunately it was put to a base use by the bourgeois democracy. The so-called "Battalions of Death", composed of inspired women of the bourgeois democracy, were used chiefly in the fight against the revolution of the proletariat. And in these fights against the revolutionary laboring class the famous women's "Battalions of Death", defending the bourgeois democracy with tenacious energy, were almost completely destroyed.

The successors of the bourgeois women in the bourgeois-democratic era were the women of the proletariat, whose readiness to fight and determination in all things revolutionary were the means of lighting the spark of the revolution of the proletariat. For it was the strike of the women textile workers in the large factories on the Vyborg side of Petrograd which gave the impetus to the

Bolshevik uprising in October, 1917. These very women, leaving their places in the textile works in a body and pouring in a seething mass into the inner city, gave the signal for the beginning of the proletarian revolution in Petrograd.

It is sufficient to cite these incidents to explain why Russian women of the proletariat are to be found in the Red Army. But here there are no separate battalions of women. The women volunteers (during the general mobilization they swarmed in great numbers) are attached to various units and sent to the front. Side by side with their men comrades the women soldiers of the proletarian army fight their battles, fight them with the same degree of fearlessness and heroism as the men. And all this is done quietly—modestly. No one in Russia thinks it necessary to make special mention of the fighting spirit and the fearlessness of the women—or to praise them: it is all taken for granted.

The women soldiers are chiefly active in the auxiliary service. Thousands of women were attached to the sanitary branch of the service. They were first thoroughly trained and then sent to the front or to field hospitals as hospital troops and to hospitals in the interior as nurses. These female sanitary troops perform their duties at the front with marvelous fearlessness. They do not wait until the front is moved forward—while still under fire they rescue the wounded from the line of battle and thus save the lives of many of their comrades in arms.

Women soldiers are also utilized in the auxiliary service behind the lines—at the supply stations, in the transportation service, as couriers, at the army offices and post-offices—everywhere women are to be found, everywhere they offer their strength and their labor in the defense of the Soviet Power. The women spare no efforts and no sacrifices and willingly submit to the rigid war discipline, for well they know that their services constitute a strong support for the defensive system of the proletarian state.

But in all other agencies, too, that serve educational purposes, women are used almost exclusively. For the troops of the Red Army have their libraries, reading rooms, etc., besides which they are treated to lectures, meetings and debates for the purpose of socialistic enlightenment and education. All this affords the women a further field for their activity. How much the efforts of these women at the front have accomplished is shown by the marked self-discipline and fitness of the men composing the Red Guard. Above all the troops are taught self-respect, and they are thoroughly imbued with the realization of the honor, the privilege that is theirs in defending the cause of the revolution and of Socialism; but it is not forgotten to also impress them with the obligations which this honor places upon them.

The women inhabitants of large cities like Petrograd, Odessa, Samara, and others were given the opportunity to take a hand in the defense of

these cities. They were mobilized for the auxiliary service and it was chiefly their task to replace the men, who were leaving for the front, in factories, offices, and other places of employment. Many women even volunteered for the actual defensive service under arms, were equipped and drilled, and by the side of their male comrades of the proletariat, awaited the approach of the White Guard, ready to defend their proletarian homes to the last drop of their blood.

According to their ability the women are being trained for military service. In fact, military service is just as obligatory for all organized women Communists as it is for their men comrades. Once or twice a week armed detachments, composed of both men and women, may be seen marching to the district training posts, where they are drilled in the use of firearms, and where a general military training is imparted to them. The labor organization, "General Military Training", the "Voevobuch" as it is called, counts among its members many hundreds of women proletarians. On May 1, when the volunteer labor battalions paraded, there could be seen in their ranks splendidly drilled detachments of women soldiers. Women members of the "Voevobuch" do garrison and guard duty in the cities, and women soldiers are today a familiar part of the daily life of these cities. Women are also trained for officers in the proletarian officers' training schools. It was in the fall of 1919 that the first woman officer left for the front—one of those women from the ranks of the youthful working women who form so large a contingent of all volunteers.

The Russian working woman performs her duty with enthusiasm, limitless devotion and quiet modesty. Hunger, privation, and cold are forgotten, family cares and affairs are pushed aside when danger threatens the Proletarian State. They are not willing to give up without a struggle the fruits of their heroic fight with their former oppressors, their deliverance from capitalistic exploitation, their complete economic and political equality. The very thought of a return to the old slavery of the working woman, to the yoke put upon woman by a tyrannical state, appears unbearable to them. It is for this reason that they fight with such passionate enthusiasm at the front of the Russian Proletarian State, why they so willingly bear all the burdens and hardships of the auxiliary military service. Not for the defense of capitalism do they wage their fight, as was the case during the war in the west and middle-European states: their fight is for the preservation of the fruits of the proletarian revolution.

And the women of the Austrian proletariat? Do they realize that the shells, which, in the munition factories, are loaded by women workers, will also tear the bodies of daring, self-sacrificing proletarian women fighters? Do they realize that the heroic Russian women workers willingly sacrifice their lives under the fire of shells and machine guns, in order that the women proletarians of other countries, too, may be free?

The destruction of the Russian Proletarian State through military force will result not only in the abrogation of all liberties achieved to this day by the women of Russia, but will make the liberation and emancipation of the proletarian women in other countries impossible for decades

to come. The fight of the Austrian women workers against shipments of ammunition, destined to be used in battles against proletarian Russia, is just as much a fight for her own ultimate deliverance from the yoke of capitalism.—From a recent issue of *Die Rote Fahne*, Vienna.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

August 22, 1920.

“La victoire est aux gros bataillons.”—Napoleon.

“THE victory is with the big battalions,” said Napoleon, “it can be obtained only by force and no force is too strong to bring victory.”

When the Polish military leaders began their offensive against Soviet Russia four months ago, with Moscow as their strategical objective, they believed that their army was strong enough to accomplish this difficult task. The Russians, on the other hand, although their military strength was superior to that of the Poles, allowed the invasion to proceed, while they mobilized an army with reserves sufficiently strong and numerous not only to check the Polish advance in Russia, but also to resume a decisive counter-offensive.

Following the classical doctrine of Napoleon, the Soviet strategists looked with indifference upon the situation of the Russian frontiers, still unsettled and uncertain, and did not trouble to guard them, thus leaving open the gates of the Republic. The attention of the Russian Supreme Revolutionary Council was concentrated on the importance of uniting all the fighting forces of the Soviets in one army, which should operate under one trusted leader. This leader was Comrade S. S. Kamenev.

Since the beginning of the Polish campaign, the firm hand of the Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Army could be discerned in every movement of the Red Army, during their most dangerous and daring manoeuvres, and especially in their retreats. The latter, on every occasion, were accomplished in extraordinary good order; there was never panic or confusion. Even the enemies of the Soviets considered the flexibility of the Russian front as remarkable.

The Soviet's military command, with no desire to achieve a cheap victory, very skilfully evaded the battles in which their enemy was anxious to engage the Russians, and did not hesitate to do this even when the Reds were numerically superior to the invaders. The main strategical aim of the Soviet command is the complete annihilation of the enemy forces, and, in order to accomplish this, suitable circumstances must be created. When these circumstances were lacking, the Russian commander held his forces in check even at times when he would have been able to inflict on the enemy's attacking army some considerable tactical

reverses. Let us remember Kiev. There cannot be any doubt now that the Russians could have defended the city and stopped the Poles west of the Dnieper, as well as prevented their crossing the Dvina and Berezina. The huge Russian reserves were already in full readiness about fifty miles east of the Dnieper, and there was no difficulty in moving them to the battle front in time. But Kamenev knew well that a battle for Kiev would certainly be followed by the complete destruction of this historic city, and, moreover, that it would have been less favorable for the Russian strategy to engage the Poles west of the rivers than to counter-attack them after they had accomplished the rather difficult crossings, which they would be compelled to repeat during their retreat under vigorous pursuit by the victorious Red Army. Furthermore, thanks to the confusion which overtook the Polish army when it was forced back across the Dnieper, Budenny was able to penetrate in the rear of the Polish battle-front, and thus to accomplish the gradual annihilation of the Polish field army.

That this annihilation has been accomplished is proved by the fact that the Russian Soviet army not only was able to reach the gates of Warsaw on August 15, but, as I predicted, entered, on August 17, the northeastern part of that city, situated on the right bank of the Vistula, and known as Praga. More than that: the fortifications of Modlin (Novo-Georgievsk) were under the fire of the Russian siege artillery. These fortifications, newly built to replace the former Russian fortress, are situated about twenty miles northwest of Warsaw, where the river Bug joins the Vistula, and presents one single stronghold, ably protecting the entrance to the city. Furthermore, the appearance of the Russians at Plock, about thirty-five miles west of Novo-Georgievsk (Modlin), on the Vistula, and later in Wloclawek, northwest of Modlin, thus completely cutting off communications between Warsaw and Danzig, both along the Vistula as well as by the Warsaw-Bromberg railway, proves that the Reds have accomplished a gigantic movement, encircling the whole Polish army in that region.

From a military standpoint, the Soviet troops had already reached Warsaw on August 17. The Russian cavalry, having crossed the Vistula at several points, entered Praga, as I have said, and we must note that Praga is even closer to Warsaw

than Brooklyn is to New York. Being masters of the east of Warsaw, of Novo-Minsk (twenty-two miles from Warsaw); Tluszcz (eighteen miles); Radzimin (twelve miles); and of several points within range of field artillery of the city, and, at the same time, encircling Warsaw on the northwest and northnorthwest, there could be no doubt in the mind of any military expert that Warsaw was bound to fall, after the bombardment of the city, the usual procedure in such cases.

I expected that at any moment we should hear of the shelling of the city, which, from the tactical point of view would have been a normal development of the military operation.

We must not forget that Warsaw is not a fortress, as I have already explained in my former article. The population of this town is about 1,000,000, and it must have grown even more, thanks to the presence of great numbers of refugees. I must point out an important fact: in most cases the military command of a besieged town is far from any idea of surrender, and is forced to raise the white flag either to avoid the useless bloodshed of the civilian population, or compelled by the latter to capitulate to the enemy under a menace of revolution. Military history is full of such examples. The national spirit of the Polish people in Warsaw was at a high level of patriotism, which was strongly supported by the Catholic clergy. Therefore the bombardment would have had to be of a most vigorous character, and consequently would have caused tremendous loss of life and property.

As I have often pointed out, however, the Soviet strategy aims not at the occupation of one town or another, but rather at the annihilation of the enemy's fighting force. Destruction of the enemy's forces can only be accomplished in the field. It has already been clearly shown in repeated instances that the Soviet strategy does not aim at unnecessary destruction. The recapture of Kiev was accomplished without bombardment—the Poles left it when they lost their battle in the field. Not one bomb was dropped from the air on Warsaw, while leaflets covered all the streets of the city, after they were dropped by the Russian airmen in great abundance.

Thus it is clear that the Russian military command decided to forego the cheap and easy victory of reducing Warsaw, by terrible destruction, in favor of the larger strategy of drawing the Polish army out for complete destruction in the field.

Once more the Russian General Staff has succeeded in deceiving the Franco-Polish command, as was also the case during the "great offensive" of the Red Army in April, which was considered by the Allies as a decisive movement on Warsaw.

The absence of bombardment by the Russian artillery was explained by the Polish military leaders by a lack of guns in the hands of the Reds. Finally, as was anticipated by the Russian command, the Poles undertook a desperate sortie from Warsaw, a movement which has been erroneously called in the papers as Polish offensive.

In such cases usually a sortie is a very fierce venture, and as the Reds are weak in number, they must lose ground in that sector and retreat towards Brest-Litovsk, and even further to the east.

So, practically, Warsaw remains without any garrison, as the latter was sent out to the field, while the city remained still encircled and seriously threatened, from the north and north-northwest, without any hope of support from outside.

Simultaneously, the Polish command ordered the garrison of the fortress of Ivangorod (sixty miles southeast of Warsaw, on the Vistula) to start a movement on Brest-Litovsk. At the same time, their column left Lublin (southeast of Ivangorod), directed on Vlodava and Kholm. The column which started from Lukov has occupied Biala and forced a front by joining the troops which had reached Vlodava, where fierce fighting with the Reds was lately reported, and finally Brest-Litovsk was evacuated by the Russians as it is alleged.

Suffering from a lack of reserves, and using even battalions of women, the Polish center is approaching the river Bug, where fresh Red reserves are in full concentration to meet the enemy's foolhardy attack.

The southwestern Russian front is gradually advancing on Lemberg, which is now within range of the Soviet artillery. I am absolutely convinced that the complete defeat of the Polish armed forces is a matter of but a short time, for the following reasons: 1. The Poles have already lost their field army, during the constant battles since the beginning of March, 1920; their reserves were already almost annihilated during their flight from Kiev. They have at their disposition a newly-formed militia, and the troops which garrisoned the fortresses, which they are now using for their so-called offensive. 2. They have Haller's army in Galicia, of considerable value, but part of that army was removed to Warsaw at the request of their French military advisers. 3. The situation in West Prussia is very alarming for the Poles, and requires serious consideration, because the hostile feeling of the German population against the Poles is growing there, as may also be noticed throughout Germany. 4. That the British intend not to interfere with the Soviets is becoming apparent, and Danzig may even be guarded by the British navy from any attempt by the supporters of the Poles to send them arms, ammunition and men; this is sufficient for an understanding of the grave situation in which the Polish strategy is now placed. 5. The Polish command knows very well that it cannot count on any reinforcement from the Allies, nor does it count at all on Wrangel's army in South Russia, especially since England has pronounced her decisive word and the workers of Europe have made their final decision to prevent a war with Russia. 6. The morale of the Polish army is very high, supported as it is by the national and religious feeling of the imperialistic

portion of the Polish population. The truth is hidden from the Polish people very carefully, and the time is near when it will come out; then the morale of the people must collapse, and finally it will collapse in the army also. 7. Three separate Polish armies, or rather groups, are fighting the Russians now, and in no case is the latter's army broken up; it is the Polish army that is broken into pieces that have to act independently, in several sections of the theater of war. Should one of these groups be beaten, the remaining portions will perish, one after another.

Some of the military critics tried to find a similarity between the Battle of the Marne and the so-called "release" of Warsaw. Such a parallel is absolutely erroneous.

First of all, the Allies were in superior numbers to the Germans during the Marne battle, and the Germans were forced to abandon Paris altogether.

Paris is itself a fortress, while Warsaw is not. Moreover, the Poles never can be superior in number to the Russians.

"I have not, however, any doubt that Warsaw will fall if the war continues," declared Major-General Sir Frederic Maurice, in the *Daily News* of August 18. "By throwing in their reserves, the Poles can drive back the Russian advanced troops and gain time," he continues, "but the advantage of gaining time is small unless there are fresh resources that can be brought into play, and these the Poles have not got. The Russians must win through in the end, and the sooner that plain fact is recognized, the better for every one."

Such a statement by this important British general is of great significance and absolutely corresponds with my standpoint, so often repeated in SOVIET RUSSIA, as well as in the American press.

The hours of the Polish army are numbered.

Combatting the Disorganization of Transport

1. MILITARIZATION OF RAILROAD MEN

The Council of Defence of the workers and peasants has decided to militarize, throughout Russia, the work of persons aged eighteen to fifty and employed or formerly employed within the past ten years, in the railway service, as mechanics, assistant mechanics and firemen of every class and category, as well as the workers repairing boilers, the superintendents, and laborers working in the railway shops.

Persons working in the above-mentioned occupations and filling responsible posts in the Red Army or working, according to their specialty, in the institutions of the War Commissariat or on the construction of railroads, as well as persons now occupied as railroad men and holding the positions enumerated above, are exempt from militarization.

Persons liable to militarization and not presenting themselves within the time fixed, are tried before the revolutionary tribunal and punished by confinement for a maximum period of five years in a concentration camp.

2. MOBILIZATION OF COMMUNISTS

The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has addressed a circular to all the party organizations, announcing the mobilization of the Communists for the combatting of disorganization in transportation.

"The civil war which has been imposed upon us," the circular reads, "and which has lasted more than two years, has brought our country to extreme ruin. Our industry cut off for long months from its sources of basic materials, deprived of fuel and releasing a large number of expert workers for the Red Army, finds itself paralyzed. Our transport suffered especially. The number of newly constructed locomotives and cars is altogether insignificant, compared with that of the period before the war and our actual needs. The damaged

locomotives considerably exceed in number those which have been repaired. The number of cars and locomotives out of service is growing from day to day. In the localities which were invaded by the bands of Denikin and Kolchak almost all the railroad bridges have been blown up, a great number of works have been destroyed, the railroads damaged, telegraph poles torn up, etc.

"All these ravages, together, render the situation of the railroads extremely dangerous. The catastrophe of a complete cessation of the movement of trains threatens us, if by heroic efforts we do not succeed within a short time in working a radical change. In view of this enormous and mortal danger, the Central Committee is utilizing a means which was tried with success during the years of the revolution.

"We appeal to the masses of the workers, to you, especially, comrades, members of the Russian Communist Party. It is you who have led hundreds of thousands of Red soldiers in the great and sacred fight for the proletarian power, for Communism. You have done this by your heroic example, by your unlimited devotion to the cause of the workers. Whenever the situation on the front became threatening, our party ordered a mobilization of the Communists, and always this mobilization regenerated the front. The Red soldiers, who were even yesterday dispersed by the first attack of the enemy, are very different today, when a fresh force of Communist workers has entered their ranks. They have become heroes and accomplished great feats, competing among themselves in daring and courage.

"At the present time, comrades, we are on the eve of a new mobilization, but this time for an internal peace front. Cost what it may, we must regenerate our means of transport during the coming months. It is by this effort and only by this effort, that we can deliver the working centers

from the terrible suffering of famine and cold. This effort, if it succeeds, is the assurance of the regeneration of our whole industry and the definite consolidation of our victories against the national and world counter-revolution.

"To this end, the Central Committee announces a new mobilization of 5,000 members of the party, for the work of transport.

"Let each city and district aspire to be in the front ranks of the fight against the danger which is menacing the revolution, a danger which must be met.

"Let every mobilized member of the party report at the peace front with the same disposition to heroic acts, and the devotion of which tens of thousands of our party members have given proof on the fronts against Denikin and Kolchak.

"We must construct three new locomotives for one, and repair a hundred instead of ten.

"Forward, Comrades, to a new heroic battle on a new front. The victory which we shall win there will be a victory on the whole line, and, especially, a general battle won against famine and cold.

"We must win this victory, and we *shall* win it!"

3. THE PRODUCTION OF A WEEK OF INTENSIVE LABOR

The week devoted to transportation has produced very satisfactory results on the railroad lines Nicholas and Murmansk.

Railroad men and volunteer workers participated, working particularly on large and small repairs, in order to put into circulation, with the least possible delay, the maximum number of locomotives and cars. The workers dismembered a number of cars and locomotives which were irreparably damaged, employing the useful parts for other cars; they adapted numerous freight cars for passenger service; they collected fuel, loaded and unloaded trains, cleared the tracks of snow, and selected the exchange parts and useful material.

8,844 listed workers and 400 supplementary workers were employed in the Nicholas railroad shops on the repair of cars. They repaired 295 freight cars, twenty-six baggage cars and nine passenger cars. In the central shops for the repair of locomotives 2,500 men worked during this week. They completed almost all the capital repairs on eight locomotives. Labor production increased on an average of seventy per cent. On the same Nicholas railway in the course of the week devoted to transport, the work was pursued not less energetically. They succeeded in repairing almost 900 trains and continued, moreover, the usual routine repairs on locomotives. They adapted more than 100 freight cars for passenger transportation. In short, the transport week has increased the quantity of rolling stock by nearly 1,000 units.

The transport week also produced very satisfying results on the Murmansk railroad. They were successful in repairing thirty locomotives, necessitating ordinary repairs, and a tender, and two

locomotives were recovered. The parts of twenty-one passenger cars were inspected, 168 freight cars repaired, forty-three cars for the transport of wood converted, the boards of 448 train-platforms railed, and 660 stove-pipes prepared. The increase in labor productivity on the Murmansk railway amounts on an average to sixty per cent.

4. THE RAILROADS OF UKRAINE

After Denikin's retreat, the Soviet power found the railroads in the region of Kharkov in a deplorable state. The entire technical personnel had been removed and the drafts, designs, and tools carried off. The Whites burned everything they did not have time to remove. Typhus raged among the few employes who remained. In depriving the railroads of the technical personnel, they did not succeed, nevertheless, in doing it soon enough to catch up with the Red Army, which advanced rapidly, always liberating new sections of railroad. The situation of the railroad bridges was particularly critical. South and north of Kharkov, forty-seven bridges were destroyed. The workers of the railway service accomplished miracles, in order to rebuild them. A special information section was formed, to organize local reconstruction squads which were formed with the immediate help of the service section of the railroad. Reconstruction was much hindered by the lack of material and the absence of a transport operating regularly to bring material. It is thus for example that the demands for wood, addressed to Orel and Kursk were not met except at the end of two weeks. In view of this state of affairs the reconstruction section of the southern railway service began itself to exploit the forests. As a result twenty-nine bridges of the forty-seven destroyed by the enemy were repaired in June.

5. RESUMPTION OF INTERNATIONAL RAILWAY COMMUNICATION

The economic activity of the country becoming more intense upon the raising of the blockade and the conclusion of peace with Esthonia, a question of first importance arises, and one concerning the very near future, that of the railroads, as one of the principal economic factors.

In anticipation of this, the financial and economic section of the Commissariat of Ways of Communication elaborated a program of work relative to the questions of transport economy.

This program is occupied, principally, with the organization of new direct international transport of passengers and freight and the reestablishment of the old transports. Measures will have to be taken henceforth to establish these transports with the aid of the Esthonian railways.

The program next describes the financial situation of the railroads and enumerates the measures designed to improve it; it then discusses the comparative study of the situation and of the role of the economy of the railroads among the other branches of the national economy and occupies itself with a new distribution of the railways in accordance with the economic situation.

6. "ECONOMIC LIFE" ON THE QUESTION OF TRANSPORTATION

Economic Life, a daily appearing at Moscow, and serving as the organ of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the Commissariats of Finance, of Provisioning, and Foreign Commerce, devotes its Sunday issues exclusively to the question of the fight against the disorganization of transportation. In the number of March 7, the journal explains the purpose of these periodic articles.

"The worker having taken into his hands, following upon the October Revolution, the direction of the national economy, must understand and form a clear idea of the importance of the transport and its regular functioning. Every locomotive, every train, becomes, from this moment, a valuable thing for the working class. The difficult conditions in which we are forced to live render the question of transport very urgent for the working class, and it demands immediate solution. In effect, only the satisfactory solution of these questions will enable the worker to improve the present difficult situation and destroy all the chains which prevent him from constructing his new economic life.

"The fundamental task of our Sunday members is to inform the large working masses, the organizers of the national economy, of the state of our transport. We want, constantly, to attract the attention of the workers to every change in the transport situation for better or worse. We do this in order to keep the workers constantly alert, to call them to the fight against the disorganization of transport, for only victory over this public calamity will permit the strengthening of the proletarian power and consolidate the conquests of the October revolution."

The same number contains interesting information on the situation with regard to rolling stock on the railroads of Soviet Russia.

"We must recognize," writes the journal, "that only a very insignificant quantity—but a few hundred—remains to us of the number of locomotives which were in use in 1914.

"There were constructed in our factories and received from abroad nearly 4,000 locomotives in the period from 1914 to 1919, inclusive. That means nine locomotives for 100 versts of exploited railroad, considering the system which we possess at the present time (normally, there would be thirty locomotives for every 100 versts). This number of locomotives is four times less than that available in 1914, and two and a half times less than that available in 1916.

"We must logically deduce from this that it is not only necessary actively to repair the locomotives out of service, but that it is also indispensable to increase at all costs and in the shortest possible time the number of locomotives in use, by constructing new and very powerful engines. This second circumstance is even of more importance than the first.

"Such a critical situation with regard to our rolling stock naturally brings up the following question: are our factories for the construction of locomotives and trains in a position to furnish us the necessary quantity on the condition that they be supplied with metal, fuel, and other indispensable materials. On the condition, also, of their having at their disposal a sufficient number of workers provided with food and equipment? And then the question: how soon will our factories be able to achieve this task?

"Let us suppose that we have a system of 50,000 versts of railroad. For 100 versts in use, we must have an average of thirty locomotives, the proportion which obtained before the war. For 50,000 versts we must have 15,000 locomotives. The working conditions on our railway system makes thirty freights cars necessary for each locomotive. Thus, a minimum of 450,000 freight cars must be available. We now have about 10,000 locomotives and 250,000 cars. We need, therefore, 5,000 additional locomotives and 200,000 cars.

"In 1912 and 1913 the committee charged with the distribution of orders studied in detail our factories for the construction of locomotives and cars. It follows from this examination that the maximum annual production of all the factories could be estimated at:

Locomotives from 1,700 to 1,800
Cars " 40,000 " 46,000

"About 1,300 locomotives and 30,000 cars are annually put out of service. Thus the factories can, in the course of a year, increase the total quantity of rolling stock in use by the construction of Locomotives 500 at most
Cars 15,000 " "

"To construct all the rolling stock that we lack, would require: 5,000 locomotives at the rate of 500 a year=10 years, and for the cars (200,000 at 15,000 a year)=12 years and a half. But in reality we would have to triple or, at least, double this figure, because, first, the machinery in most of our factories is worn out and must be replaced; second, to restore working conditions such as they were in the factories in 1912 and 1913—the period of the greatest production—a considerable length of time will be needed."

MEDICAL RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

The Soviet Russia Medical Relief Committee will hold a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, New York, on Thursday, September 2, at 8 P. M., for the purpose of calling attention to the necessity of raising funds to purchase and forward medical and surgical supplies to Soviet Russia. Among the prominent speakers who will address the mass meeting are Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, and Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek. The admission fee is thirty cents.

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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.

LEMBERG, in Eastern Galicia, will probably be already in the hands of the advancing cavalry and other forces of the Soviet Russian army, under General Budenny, by the time these lines reach the reader. Anyone who knows the history of the relations between the Poles and Ruthenians in that portion of Galicia will not be surprised to learn that the Russian troops have been greeted as deliverers by the population of Lemberg and the surrounding districts.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, recently dissolved, by action of the Versailles conferences, into a number of component and non-component parts, included, as one of its largest crown provinces, the country known as Galicia, which barely more than touched another Austrian province (Moravia), and was separated by high mountains (the Carpathians) from Hungary, with which it had a much longer common boundary-line. All of Galicia had once been "Polish", by the rather extensive definition of the boundary-line of 1772, the date of the first partition of "Poland". The 1772 boundary of "Poland", which the Polish imperialists have set up, it appears, as their least desideratum, included great areas populated by conquered or purchased peoples: Lithuanians, White Russians, Ukrainians, Letts, and others. With the successive reductions of Polish territory involved in the three partitions toward the end of the eighteenth century, and with the final incorporation of Poland proper with the Russian Empire, the right to tyrannize over these subject populations passed from the Polish aristocracy to the Russian Czarism and its more efficient exploiters, as well as to the no less able tyrants in Prussia and Austria. In Prussia it resulted that the uniform pressure of the Prussian lords was felt by the entire annexed population, the Poles themselves being the chief sufferers; in Austria, however, this interesting condition came to pass:

Austria-Hungary was a monarchy with a population of over fifty million, of which the dominant section was a German-speaking area with about ten million population. It is well-known that this apparent primacy of the German element in Austria was the result of various compromises with other racial elements, and one of the most permanent and stable of these interracial bargains was the one concerned with Galicia. Western

Galicia, with Cracow as its center, is largely, almost entirely, Polish in population; Eastern Galicia, with its capital at Lemberg, is almost as exclusively Ruthenian. The Ruthenians in language and customs are difficult to distinguish from the Ukrainians, or Little Russians, who inhabit much of the south of Russia. The ruling class in Austria consented to grant to the Polish element in Galicia the control of all of Galicia, retaining the single capital at Lemberg, instead of dividing the country into two provinces, an eastern province with a Ruthenian government at Lemberg, and a western province with a Polish government at Cracow. This arrangement worked satisfactorily, on the whole, both for the imperial bureaucracy at Vienna, and for the Polish nobility and intellectuals in Galicia, although it will be readily seen that the Imperial Government could (and it did) make excellent use of threats of concessions to the Ruthenians whenever it was necessary to secure the support of the Polish faction in the Imperial Diet for some government measure.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire fell, and the German section lost its privilege of playing off one racial element against the other. But the Eastern Galicians, in spite of many protests, met with a worse fate than had been theirs in Austria, where they had been a bone of contention between the empire and the Poles. They were handed over by the Peace Treaty to be administered "temporarily" by Poland for twenty-five years, after which definite disposition would be made of them. Of course the Poles, in Eastern Galicia as well as in any other Ukrainian districts they have from time to time occupied in the course of their recent campaigns, continued the program of tyranny and polonization which they had always pursued under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where they had been a sort of favorite element, with the exception that now there was no curb whatever on their imperialistic and exploiting appetites. It is well-known that their present occupation of Eastern Galicia and of the capital at Lemberg was resisted by all the Ruthenians by force, and that they did not succeed in taking Lemberg until they had laid siege to it.

But the exploitation of Ukrainian populations by Polish overlords goes much further back in history than the compromises governing the operation of the now defunct dual monarchy. The relations between the Ukrainians and their Polish masters have been as sharp and bitter, for many centuries, as those between English lords and Irish peasants, and the present liberation of Lemberg, and, more particularly, of the surrounding peasant populations, from the Polish yoke, will be as welcome to the oppressed people as a liberation of the Irish people from England would be to the Irish.

* * *

IT IS AS liberators, therefore, and not as conquerors, that the Soviet troops will enter Lemberg. To be sure, the original intention of the Soviet Government, which still remains its fixed

policy, was to let the subject populations decide for themselves what form of government they would live under, and with what other country, if with any, they would join. But the necessities of war have forced a new condition on the Soviet Government. The necessity of self-defense against Poland has forced Soviet armies to invade this subject-land of Poland, as it has invaded other lands similarly handed over by the "Peace Treaty", to the tender mercies of the Polish tyrants. Newspaper readers still recall with what joy the Soviet forces were received in the "corridor" torn from Germany by the Treaty, when the German population of that district had an opportunity to express its feelings toward the advancing Russian troops. Here again, interference in the relations between Poland and Germany had not been Soviet Russia's intention, but had been brought about by the necessity only of replying to Poland's acts of aggression against Soviet Russia.

* * *

KATTOWITZ is a prosperous city near the southern tip of what was once the Prussian province of Silesia (which had been forcibly annexed from Austria in 1740). The newspapers tell us that although Kattowitz is surrounded by largely Polish populations, which would have been ready to be joined with Poland if the plebiscite area of which Kattowitz is the center had been given an opportunity to vote immediately on this subject, they have been so estranged by the recent acts of the Polish government, culminating, the other day, in the dispatch of Polish regiments to patrol Kattowitz against the rising tendency to throw off the Polish occupation, that they will probably vote to remain with Germany when the elections are actually held (July 1, 1921 is the latest permissible date). In fact, so sure are the German partisans of their ground, that they are beginning to clamor for an election at once. In this section also Soviet troops, if they should enter, would be very welcome. Already it is impossible, in view of the anti-Polish sentiment in this district, to forward munitions to Poland from the west through this route.

In Posnania (*Posen*, Prussian Poland), the case is similar. Unlike the Kattowitz area, this country was handed over to Poland directly, without even a plebiscite. Its population is now beginning to feel what it means to be attached to imperialistic Poland's war-chariot. Already Poland needs men; Russia is defeating her, and the European imperialisms are afraid to draft men to aid Poland out of their populations, and so Posnania experiences the first "benefits" of annexation by Poland; she must furnish 300,000 new troops to resist the punishment rightfully threatening from Russia, and, in order to raise this number of soldiers, all men of the age of seventeen to fifty years are being drafted in the Polish army. Thus the unhappy lands of Europe are being depleted of men in order to enable Poland to carry out France's orders, to force Soviet Russia to pay the

Czar's loans back to France, to maintain a buffer-state against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

POLAND is represented as desiring peace; the Soviet Government is declared, in the hostile press, to be opposed to peace and engaged in the pursuit of imperialistic aims. Thus, we are told that the Soviet Government is delaying the convening of the armistice commission by refusing to accept the credentials of the Polish delegates. The facts of the matter are well told in the following account, in the London *Daily Herald*, of August 4, contributed by the Christiania, Norway, correspondent of that paper:

CHRISTIANIA, Tuesday.—The mystery of the delay in the Russo-Polish peace negotiations, which has been causing so much anxiety to the Allied statesmen, is now cleared up. The cause of the trouble is another characteristic piece of Polish duplicity.

The Poles are gambling for a catastrophe on the chance of Allied intervention.

The Polish delegates were invited to a conference with the Russians in order to discuss peace preliminaries and armistice terms. From beginning to end of the Notes that have been exchanged, there has been no ambiguity about this.

Chicherin's Note to Lord Curzon on July 11 promised that "if Poland addresses to Russia proposals to enter into peace negotiations, the Soviet Government will not reject the proposal, and will also consider in the most friendly spirit any subsidiary proposal as to an armistice." Similar phrases have been used in every one of the succeeding Russian Notes.

In Lord Curzon's Note of July 20 to Warsaw, the Polish Government was advised "to send a formal message asking for an immediate armistice and proposing peace." Finally, the invitation by the Soviet High Command asked the Polish delegates to come and "to enter into negotiations on the question of an armistice and peace between Russia and Poland," and mentioned that the Russian Supreme Command would send "representatives furnished with full powers."

The Polish delegates passed through the Russian front on July 30. But when, on August 1, they presented their credentials, the Russians found to their astonishment, that the Poles were only empowered to discuss an armistice and that the credentials were only signed by the military command.

The Russians thereupon demanded that the Polish delegates should be provided with proper credentials from their central government for negotiations both for armistice and for peace preliminaries. They suggested that negotiations should begin at Minsk on August 4 and that, to save time, the Polish Government should notify the Russian Government by wireless that a courier with new credentials had been sent.

Again, to the astonishment of the Russians, the Polish delegates refused this suggestion, and declared that they must go back to Warsaw to confer with their government. They therefore left yesterday, and the Russians are still awaiting the arrival of delegates with proper credentials.

It seems clear that there is more than a mere technical question at issue. Recent declarations in Warsaw have made it obvious that the Poles are desirous of securing an armistice, not as a beginning of peace negotiations, but as a means of preparing for a renewal of the war, in which they hope for Allied aid.

The Russians, on the other hand, made it perfectly plain from the beginning that any armistice arrangements must be actually part of the peace preliminaries. In view of the extraordinarily shifty manner in which the Poles have handled the whole business, Russia cannot discuss armistice terms unless some guarantee is given that they are honestly intended to lead to the establishment of peace.

Petlura and the Vatican

MR. MORKOTUN, a member of the Paris Ukrainian National Committee, which is a Denikin organization, favoring a united Czarist Russia, and opposed to movements pursuing separatist aims, makes the following disclosures:

Russia—the Chief Enemy of the Vatican

The Vatican believes that a monarchist system, established with the aid of the church, will replace Bolshevism in eastern Europe. Eastern Europe will then become the mainstay of reaction for an offensive on the democratic and "godless" West. The chief peril for the Vatican is a strong democratic Russia, for that country might wreck all the plans of the Vatican. To dismember Russia, and to seize parts of it, creating small states under its influence—such is the policy of the Vatican.

The first victims of this policy are Ukraine and White Russia, which the Vatican hopes to bring under its power, relying on the support of the Polish magnates and on the ignorance of the peasants. The clerical plan counts on surrounding Poland with catholicized Ukraine and White Russia, and on using Polish imperialism to subject these countries to Poland, thus strengthening and bringing into power in Poland the definitely clerical group of magnates and military.

The Pope as Mediator Between Petlura and Poland

In the spring of 1919 Petlura was in a desperate situation. His territory extended over seven versts, and he was threatened on all sides either by the Poles or by Denikin. Among the persons surrounding Petlura, the priest Boom (of Belgian descent)—an official Jesuit, was of great importance. Boom persuaded Petlura that the only way for a rapprochement with Poland was through the Pope.

To gain the Pope's support for Ukraine Petlura, on Boom's advice, appointed Count Tyshkevich as his representative to the Vatican. Count Tyshkevich is a great Polish magnate, a Jesuit, who in the interests of the Church first gave his attention to the Lithuanian question and later to the Ukrainian question. At the Vatican Count Tyshkevich was under the special protection of Benedict, and Cardinal Gaspari began to direct his policy.

The Pope Sends a Letter to Petlura

Soon after his appointment Count Tyshkevich transmitted to Petlura a letter from the Pope which contained the recognition of Ukrainian independence. Boom then persuaded Petlura to appoint Count Tyshkevich as his representative to Paris, in place of Sydorenko, who was incapable of acting in foreign affairs. In August this appointment became a fact.

Count Tyshkevich's son, who also belongs to the jesuit order, was preparing the ground at Paris for his father. In the summer of 1919 the President of the Committee of the Polish Magnates of Ukraine, Count Grokholsky, who was at Warsaw, began to work for a union of Ukraine and Poland.

The catholic magnates of Ukraine conceived the idea of making Ukraine, subjected to Poland, the base of their monarchist plans: entrenched in Polish Ukraine, the catholic reaction would seize Poland. Count Grokholsky found the petty adventurer Pavluk and presented him to the Entente missions at Warsaw as a representative of the Polophile Ukrainians. Pavluk went to Petlura as an agent of Count Grokholsky. Count Tyshkevich's son traveled between Warsaw, Paris, and the Vatican, keeping his father in touch with Count Grokholsky's part.

Tyshkevich's Mission at Paris

Soon Count Tyshkevich arrived with a double mission: from Petlura—to obtain recognition of the independence of Ukraine; from the Pope—to work for the reestablishment of relations between France and the Vatican. In Paris Count Tyshkevich acted under the direction of Monseigneur B., a high representative of the political Church, and one of the leaders of the clerical party. One of the first steps of Count Tyshkevich was a statement in the clerical newspaper *La Croix* of September 5 about the establishment of a church Union in Ukraine and the despatch thither of catholic missionaries. This statement led to a written protest signed by the members of the Ukrainian mission Lozinsky, Matushenko, and Dedushka, which is in the possession of the author of this article. Canon Simbratovich—a Jesuit—served as the connecting link between Rome, Count Tyshkevich, and Petlura. Count Tyshkevich's program was—a church Union between Ukraine and the Vatican, and a political union with Poland, and the establishment of an aristocratic monarchy in Ukraine. Count Grokholsky's agent, Pavluk, was empowered to act as Petlura's representative at Warsaw, and renounced Galicia and a part of Volhynia in favor of Poland.

Petlura's Compact with the Polish Magnates

In the latter part of 1919 Petlura was forced out of Ukraine. On December 2, 1919, he came to Warsaw. He concluded a treaty with Poland in which he recognized the inviolability of the land estates of the Polish magnates, which were to be excepted from any agrarian reforms (paragraph 3, of the first part of the treaty). In addition Petlura agreed to an administrative protectorate of Poland over Ukraine, that is, a political union with Poland.

Petlura Represented at the Vatican by a Jesuit Priest

At the end of 1919 priest Boom was appointed Petlura's representative at the Vatican. In the beginning of March, 1920, Count Tyshkevich gave an interview for the *Matin* and *Journal* in which he spoke of the Latin culture of the Ukrainians. According to information from reliable sources, Count Tyshkevich tried to convince the French Government that the Ukrainian population was ready to accept Catholicism. (In the past only

czarism prevented the Ukrainians from becoming Catholics.) If the French Government wanted to bring Ukraine into the sphere of its political influence it should support the Catholic as well as the Polophile aspirations of the Ukrainian people and defend it against the barbarians, the Muscovites. The Vatican would help the French Government, of course, if diplomatic relations were established between them.

French Clericals for Petlura

The support of an independent Ukraine became

the official policy of the clerical and right French parties. On February 5, 1920, Deputy Bonsel spoke in favor of recognition of an independent Ukraine. On April 12, 1920, Cardinal Genochi (?), the Vatican Minister to Ukraine, left together with Father Boom for the Ukrainian region under military occupation. The vast sums of the so-called Polish fund of special contributions, which were paid by the catholic landed proprietors to the Vatican since 1830, were presented by the Church for the conversion of the Ukrainians to Catholicism.

Poland and Ukraine

By KARL RADEK

[The following remarks by the famous Polish-Russian political theorist are now a little superseded, but they acquire a new timeliness from the fact that we now know that the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics are both represented in the armistice commission that is ready to meet with the Polish delegates.]

THE Polish press has of late been devoting considerable attention to the Ukrainian question. The Polish landed proprietors, who held the Ukrainian peasants in bondage for ages, and who are now waging war against the Ukrainians in order to secure for the future the opportunity of exploiting the Ukrainian landless peasants, and the poor of Eastern Galicia, who are seizing Podolia and Volhynia in order to save the estates of the Branitzkys and Pototzkys from the Ukrainian peasantry, who are shouting that the Ukrainian nationality was invented by the Austrian Governor-General Stadion,—these Polish landed proprietors have suddenly begun to worry about the fate of Ukrainian culture and democracy, which—they say—is threatened by the Bolshevist peril.

In December they were negotiating with Petlura. Petlura was assuring his braves that these negotiations were only fictitious, but that they were necessary as a cover for his flight from Denikin to Warsaw. But the Polish press now reports that these negotiations are very real, and that Petlura really sought aid from the Poles. That Petlura is capable of doing this, is beyond doubt. He is irresistably rolling downward, since he is unable to retain power with the forces of the handful of intellectuals who are his only support.

In February, 1918, the Ukrainian Rada sold out to German imperialism. They reasoned as follows: German imperialism wants the Ukrainian produce, but is indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainian landed proprietors. The Rada must remain a peasants' party, at the same time seeking protection from the German government. But, unable to give anything to the peasants, the Ukrainian Rada was also unable to furnish the produce to the Germans, and was therefore discarded by them. In its place, the Germans installed Skoropadsky, whose mission was to create for German imperialism a basis of support in the Russian and Polish landed proprietors. The illusion of

the compatibility of a peasant democracy with German imperialism collapsed.

Petlura tried to repeat this experiment with regard to the Anglo-French imperialism, but the Allies—who were gambling on the counter-revolution of the Russian landed proprietors—did not give Petlura the opportunity to feel on his own hide that Allied imperialism differs in no way from the German. Petlura was beaten by the Red Army, was beaten by the Denikin bands, and, realizing his absolute impotence, he now intends, it seems, to throw himself into the arms of the Poles. This is but the play of one who is hopelessly bankrupt, for Petlura cannot have even the slightest hope that, remaining a peasant ruler, he can at the same time accept help from the government of the Polish landed proprietors who have in Ukraine more enormous estates than had the Russian landed proprietors. And if Petlura agrees to a bargain with the landed proprietors, he thereby unreservedly renounces the social and national program which was the basis of his policy. Petlura and his adherents have only one thing left—to fight for their own hides.

Offering their friendship to Ukraine, the Polish nobility and landed proprietors are simulating no less, if not more, than the German imperialists. For the German military had yet to demonstrate to the Ukrainian workers and peasants its attitude toward them, but the Polish landed proprietors the Ukrainian people know only too well, know them through long experience, and with regard to them there certainly cannot be even the slightest illusions. The Ukrainian people will rise against the Polish nobles more promptly and energetically than they rose against Denikin.

The fact that with an extremely disorganized transport and in the absence of any important aid at all from the Allies, the Polish Government dares to undertake such an adventure, proves anew

the truth of the proverb: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

The Russian and Ukrainian Soviet governments made a peace offer to Poland. They expressed their readiness to discuss peaceably all disputable territorial questions which might arise. And if the Chief of the Polish State, ex-revolutionary Pilsudski, whose head has been turned by the victories on the weak western front, intends to seize Ukraine under the pretext of liberating that country, we have no doubt that this adventure will end very sadly for him and for the Polish landed proprietors and French capitalist circles whose puppet he is.

The Russian workers and peasants know that the Soviet Government did everything possible for a peaceful settlement, and the Polish workers and peasants will know that the government of the Polish landowners did everything to get war. After all the sufferings that the Polish people underwent, they unquestionably desire peace. And we have no reason to worry about the outcome.

The judgment of the Polish workers and peasants on the adventurous policy of the Polish landed proprietors will at the same time be a judgment on the Polish conciliators and compromisers. Pil-

sudski is even now a member of the Polish Socialist Party. That party bears the full responsibility for his policy. It is helping the Polish landed proprietors in their vile undertaking, and representing Soviet Russia and the Soviet Government as a government of national violence and national aggression.

By exploiting the justified suspicion on the part of the Polish people toward the Czarist government, in order to create a distrust of the Russian toiling masses, the Polish compromisers are assisting the Polish landed proprietors in their policy, which aims at the conquest and enslavement of Ukraine, masking themselves with the idea of uniting around Poland the Ukrainian states, which would serve as a screen for the Polish imperialism precisely as the renowned Tariba served as a screen for German imperialism.

The Polish compromisers talk of peace with Soviet Russia and simultaneously create conditions for a war against her. If this war should become a fact, it will be the end of these henchmen of the Polish bourgeoisie and Polish landed proprietors just as it will be the end of the bourgeoisie and of the landed proprietors themselves.

Women Workers in Soviet Russia

The women workers' movement has become an important political factor in Soviet Russia. The work has been most successful in Petrograd, Moscow, and in the governments of Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznessensk. But undoubtedly, the women workers of Petrograd are more class-conscious and better organized than the others. In other governments, also, the work has been introduced, in many places with considerable success.

The women workers have shown excellent talent for organization, and have shown that they are capable of accomplishing things. In spite of the unprecedented external difficulties, they have already vigorously supported the Soviet institutions by founding a number of nurseries, kindergartens, schools, public dining-rooms, etc. And when the male worker has to go to the front, in order, within the ranks of the Red Army, to defend Soviet Russia from the attacks of Denikin, Yudenich, and the imperialists of the Entente, the woman worker who remains behind, not only takes his place in the factories and the workshops, but also in the Soviets, the unions, the militia, etc. The number of those who wanted to fight the White Guards, shoulder to shoulder with their brothers at the front, is also not small.

Faced by the imperialist enemy, the woman proletarian has proved herself worthy of her brother proletarian. Immovably the women workers stood, ready for any sacrifice, in order to wrest the power from the bourgeoisie. Of course, it is hard for us—they said to the workers—but go to the front, don't think of us, we will take your places, we will manage. During the last attack

by Denikin, the women workers of Tula, at a non-partisan conference, declared unanimously that Denikin would enter the city only over their dead bodies. Similar resolutions were passed in other cities.

The entire working-class of Russia rose against Denikin and Yudenich. It is ready for the most intense efforts, the deepest sufferings to defend its Soviet Government. Deep are the roots of the Soviet Government in the proletarian masses; they go down into the lowest classes of citizens. It has been able to rally even the least progressive, the most uneducated elements for its protection. In this fact lies the best pledge of its strength, of its invincibility.

The bourgeois women hate the Soviet Government; they try by all possible means to blacken it in the eyes of the masses; they do not shrink from the most ridiculous and incredible lies. Last spring, the representatives of French and English imperialistic circles spread the foolish and worthless lie of the "nationalization" and "socialization" of women by the Soviet Government. For this reason, the ladies of the Parisian and London monde and demi-monde thought it advisable to appeal solemnly to the imperialistic "tiger," Clemenceau, to protect the Russian women from the wicked Soviet Government. This accusation against the Communists is nothing new. Did not Marx, in the immortal words of the "Communist Manifesto", brand and ridicule this invention of the bourgeoisie? Obviously, all these attempts to alienate the women from the party, to provoke them against the revolution will have no effect.

Transporting Naphtha from the Caucasus

By U. LARIN

WHEN the first news came of the recapture of Baku with its hundreds of millions of poods of naphtha, the sceptics made very much of the difficulties of transportation. But already in the middle of May the Glavtop (the Supreme Fuel Commission) formulated a plan to transport five million poods within a month and a half (May 15-July 1).

The Fuel Commission, which was formed on May 11 (with representatives of the various fuel and transport organs), coordinated also the data, plans and actions of the different organs and institutions with regard to naphtha, and the results are quite favorable. One of the important decisions of the Fuel Commission was to give to the Supreme Committee of Water Transportation (Glavod) fifty per cent of the incoming naphtha (within the limits of seven million poods a month), in order to rehabilitate at once the water transport, without which the transportation of naphtha in large quantities would be impossible. The Fuel Commission also decided in favor of the Glavod the old question regarding the transfer into its jurisdiction of the naphtha pumping stations, and facilitated the transfer from the military organs to the Glavod of the whole work of transporting naphtha on the Caspian Sea.

The Fuel Commission, as early as June, planned to provide naphtha for the railways, for which no arrangements were made before, and for this purpose to intensify the work on naphtha, so as to have on hand during the period of May 15-July 1 not five million, but twenty million poods. Among the other organization measures should be mentioned the creation of a distribution base at Astrakhan on the plan of the distribution bases for provisions which had been created a few months earlier on the initiative of the chairman of the Supreme Council of Provisioning, Comrade Markov.

According to the reports of the Glavod to the Fuel Commission, naphtha is brought into Astrakhan in ever increasing quantities. Since the opening of navigation there arrived.

	Until May 25	Until May 29
Naphtha fuel	4,279,000 poods	7,297,000 poods
Kerosene ...	777,000 "	1,156,000 "
Machine oil.	83,000 "	264,000 "
Benzine	2,500 "
Total	5,139,000 poods	8,719,500 poods

It should be remarked that almost all of this comes from Baku: 8,111,000 poods came from there, from Grozny through Petrovsk came only 103,000 poods and from Emba through Rakushi 506,000 poods. There is a remarkable lack of special products—lubricating oils and benzine, which furnish only a small part of the transport. The

Fuel Commission found it necessary to take measures to obtain a considerable increase of these products. The ready tonnage assures the daily delivery to Astrakhan of about 800,000 poods. The whole transport of naphtha in the Baku-Astrakhan region is now united under the direction of the representative in the Glavod collegium of the union of water transport workers, Comrade Bovin.

The export of naphtha products from Astrakhan up the Volga was begun on May 11, when the first naphtha barge left with 415,000 poods; the barge passed Samara only on June 2. After this the work moved more rapidly. Up to May 30, boats left Astrakhan carrying 4,600,000 poods of naphtha fuel, 994,000 poods of kerosene, and 51,000 poods of machine oil—a total of 5,645,000 poods. We can therefore rest assured that the railways of European Soviet Russia will receive in June the 2,000,000 poods of naphtha which the Fuel Commission found necessary to furnish them every month for the present (1,000,000 for the South-Eastern railways, 600,000 poods for the Riazan-Ural line, 300,000 poods to the Syzran-Viamza line and 100,000 to the part of the Tashkent line near Kinel). This will make it possible to transfer the coal which the Riazan-Ural line was getting, to the Moscow-Kursk line, and to transfer the whole line up to Moscow to a coal basis about July 1. Moreover, it will no longer be necessary to bring wood from far-off districts, carrying it for many hundreds and sometimes even for many thousands of versts, for the following roads, which heretofore were in the worst position with regard to fuel: the Riazan-Ural, Syzran-Viazma, and Moscow-Kursk lines. The railway situation will be considerably improved and the rear supporting the western front much stronger. And in July we will begin to furnish naphtha to the factories and workshops which were selected for this purpose, the order of delivery being determined by the Fuel Commission in agreement with the Central Industrial Commission of the Supreme Council of National Economy.—*Isvestia*, June 15, 1920.

THE PROTECTION OF LABOR IN SOVIET RUSSIA

By S. KAPLUN
of the Commissariat of Labor

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

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SOVIET RUSSIA

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

The Communist Party in Russia

By ARVID HANSEN

In all countries there are at present in the workers' movement *Putschists**—people who think, or say they think, that knowledge, study, preparation, are worth nothing, while action, immediate action, is everything. Look at Russia, they say, a people of illiterates, who really put over their revolution, instead of talking about it. It is not education, it is action that is demanded.

Reasoning of this kind may look very attractive at first blush. The only hitch is that it is not the illiterates who made the revolution, but, on the contrary, the most educated, most intellectual portion of the working class, those who not only could read and write, but also *think*, people who had acquired a firm Socialist education and understanding, and who had already shown themselves to be the possessors of an organizing talent great enough to enable them to do away with illiteracy in the near future.

The Communist Party in Russia is not a very numerous party. It counts not more than half a million members, but it is a party that has no members on paper, a party of active units who are not only masters of the language alphabet, but also of the alphabet of revolution. Only through a united organization can the party control the situation.

In the larger cities, there are higher educational institutions for the training of Communists, schools in which instruction is given in history, particularly in the history of revolutions, in social economy, and social politics. Without a certain education, and without having passed through a

practical test, no one is admitted to the Communist Party. Voluntary courses in the Communist Party program are now to be found in most of the schools in Russia. The young candidates to the party are sent out as state employes on the most varying errands, and are tested through a period of three months; only after passing the test can they enter the party. They are then sent as party members all over Russia, as commissars in order to exercise control over the administration. In every single school, every single hospital, every single railroad train, etc., etc., you will find at least one Communist. The Communists have better opportunities than others for advancing and are more certain of getting decent bread. But in return, they must devote their lives to Communism. It is one of their privileges also to be sent to the firing-line, to the most dangerous positions, when the Soviet Republic is threatened by any enemy. During the combined offensive of Yudenich and Denikin, 20,000 Communists were sent to the front at once from their work in the institutions, and it was 300 young officers in training, with revolutionary inspiration from the Moscow War School, who prevented the Yudenich vanguard from cutting off the railway line between Petrograd and Moscow. Very severe demands are made on the absolute unselfishness, zeal and idealism of the Communists. Even a slight transgression of the party program destroys one's future. A crime of selfishness, such as speculation or embezzlement, if perpetrated by a Communist, is punished inexorably by death, at least in the more serious cases.

René Marchand in Russia

THE former correspondent in Russia of the Paris, *Figaro*, Mr. René Marchand, has given a most interesting account of his conversion from nationalist chauvinism to international communism. As the correspondent of a French bourgeois journal, he lived in Russia during the war and through both revolutions without any suspicions that all was not happening strictly according to the orthodox bourgeois version of these events which he and his colleagues were reporting to their papers. He confesses that he failed utterly to comprehend what was going on before his eyes. He made the rounds of the Allied Embassies and was gulled at every stage by the official version: the Bolsheviks were German agents and Allied intervention was an act of beneficent friendship towards the Russian people. A partial report of how this honest but thoroughly deluded man stumbled upon the truth has already appeared in

* From the German noun *Putsch*, an unsuccessful and premature attempt at revolution.

these pages in a letter which he addressed to the President of France. He retells the whole story of his disillusionment with great frankness and humility in a pamphlet entitled "Why I Side With the Revolution." We give the story of his culminating discovery in his own words:

"A meeting at the Consulate General of America, which existed at that time at Moscow under the Swedish flag, was to enlighten me in regard to a whole series of facts and actions of which I had as yet no idea whatsoever.

"The intervention which I supported (even in my blindness when it appeared to me as realized against the Bolsheviks) had constantly remained in my mind as directed first and foremost against German imperialism and destined to give economic aid to the Russian people . . . But never had the suspicion even entered my head that our representatives in Russia might have in view an intervention of a different kind . . . such as must surely bring about frightful sufferings to the Rus-

sian people and which, to culminate matters . . . could not, even indirectly, affect German imperialism . . . What I accidentally learned at the meeting at the American Consulate General shocked and revolted me to the last degree, by throwing a completely new light on the real plans of our representatives . . . No longer against German imperialism (for they no longer discussed that question) . . . but simply and in fact, whether they fully understood what they were doing or not, against the unfortunate Russian people themselves . . . Without doubt this meeting was not, as I have already pointed out, an 'official conference'; it bore the character of a private business conversation. But that does not alter and never can alter in the least that, in the presence of the official representatives of the United States and France, Consuls-General Poole and Grenard, without being reproved for one single instant by the latter, an English officer (whom the Extraordinary Commission for combatting the counter-revolution later identified as Lieutenant Riley) was able to explain to a French agent the details of a project, according to which he proposed to blow up the railway bridge which crosses the river Volkhov a little way from the station Zvanka. What is particularly singular is that Lieutenant Riley . . . observed quite coldly that the wrecking of this bridge cuts off Petrograd from all communication, not only from the north, but also from the east, whence Petrograd exclusively received all the trains of wheat and cereals and, in general, almost all its provisions, already so precarious, so insufficient for its population. And Riley himself concluded that the wrecking of the bridge could have as its direct consequence the complete starvation of Petrograd . . . Nevertheless, the frightful prospect did not prevent him from continuing the study of this infernal plan, any more than it for one second troubled the peace of mind of the Consuls-General of the United States and France, who, probably, had not heard of this affair for the first time. The French agent,

to whom Lieutenant Riley addressed himself, more particularly than to the other persons present, was M. de Vertamond . . . The latter, in point of cynicism, was not in the least behind Lieutenant Riley. He declared that he had attempted, but without success, to blow up the bridge at Cherepovets . . . Afterwards he expatiated on the measures which he had taken in order to effect the destruction of rolling stock and obstruct the principle railway lines . . . After this stupefying conversation which, I repeat, had not provoked either on the part of Mr. Poole or M. Grenard the slightest objection, Lieutenant Riley concluded, addressing himself to M. de Vertamond, that it was necessary for them 'to divide the work' . . . Our Consul-General, who had until then kept silent, commenced to speak, and, addressing himself more particularly to M. de Vertamond, said: 'At present there is one question to which I should like to call attention: the great interest in compromising Bolshevism in the eyes of western Socialism. There must certainly exist some kind of agreement between the Bolsheviks and the Germans . . . A telegram emanating from the Commissariat of War, or some other document of this kind, would be most valuable for the political motives which I have just mentioned, and it seems to me that it should not be at all impossible for us to place our hands on a document of this kind which we could advantageously make use of.'

"Espionage of the most contemptible kind, plots and outrages cunningly devised in the dark, inducements held out to agents anxious to make a career in order to 'find' imaginary documents, to such methods had the persons who had the honor of representing France before the Russian people arrived! These were the machinations to which they resorted, acting in security under the protection of neutral flags, whilst accusing the Bolshevik Government, in the face of the whole world, of giving evidence of 'bad faith' towards them."

Mr. Marchand went forth from this meeting a wiser man.

Zinoviev on the Situation in Ukraine

[In an article entitled "The Polish War in Ukraine and the Don Territory," published in "Izvestia" and "Pravda" of June 2, Zinoviev has given his impressions of a journey into Ukraine and the Don district. In view of the present political situation the article, which we reprint, is very significant.]

"If the Polish gentlemen did not exist it would be necessary to invent them." Beginning with this formula I find it easier to recount the impressions I obtained from my trip through Ukraine and the Don district.

The whole population in the towns, with the exception of the Polish spies, who are paid, and the men who are otherwise profiteering, is entirely on our side in our war against the Polish league of nobility.

Among the workers at Kharkov the Mensheviks have hitherto had a certain influence. At one of

the most important factories in the town, engaged in the manufacture of locomotives, the Mensheviks received at the election to the Soviet of Kharkov a few months ago, about two-thirds of all the votes. In the Kharkov Soviet the Mensheviks have 200 delegates of the entire thousand there. The situation has already changed, and continues to change daily.

Some little time ago I had an opportunity to attend a labor meeting at this same locomotive factory, in addition to a few thousand locomotive workers, there were workers gathered from six

nearby factories, making in all a gathering of 8,000 men. The Mensheviki had sent their speakers, who had unlimited freedom of speech. These speakers adapted themselves to the sentiment among the workers. They spoke against the Poles, they declared that they would go to the front to defend the Soviet Power in its struggle against the Polish bourgeoisie, and they made only one "change" in our resolution. The alteration reads as follows: "To win an increased success in the struggle of the Soviet Power against the Poles, all Socialist parties must form one front. It is necessary that the Communists take the initiative in this union . . ."

Obviously, on this basis, it would appear easy to win at least some of the workers, especially those who for one reason or another had hitherto belonged with the Mensheviki. But the workers immediately apprehended the Polish tone, and understood that if the Mensheviki were honestly willing to fight against the Poles, no special agreements about unity in the matter would be necessary. And the large meeting demonstratively rejected the change of the Mensheviki leaders, with a crushing majority, and joined our side.

Such is the situation in the railroad and other factories. The Mensheviki loudly declare that they are for the Soviet power at the present time, and that they are ready to go out and fight against the Poles. But at the All-Ukrainian Congress they were conspicuous by their absence, because they were insulted that the Soviet of Kharkov had not given them a minority representation. The workers of Kharkov had understood that one can see anything except honesty and consistency in the present attitude of the Mensheviki towards the Russian-Polish war. And those places which a few months ago elected Mensheviki to the Soviet of Kharkov are now recalling one after another of the Mensheviki delegates and replacing them with our party comrades. The sentiment among the workers is everywhere the same, a concentrated increasing hatred for the Polish gentlemen who have interrupted us in our peaceful reconstruction.

A labor meeting at Lugansk, which was attended by 20,000 people, was aroused to passionate demonstration at the mere mention of the Polish bourgeois forces. Among the rural workers in Nikitovka, where 10,000 people had gathered at a meeting, the same condition existed. The labor meeting at Rostov was especially grand. We had not had in a long time such an audience to address. Upon the immense open place outside the town not less than 40,000 people had assembled. A real proletarian audience. And everyone was animated by the same thought, to defeat the Poles and to assist the Soviet power. A half-hearted attempt of an anarchist to bring about dissension met with unanimous opposition among the assembly. For fifteen minutes after the meeting was over it was impossible to leave the place, young and old participating in an improvised enthusiastic demonstration for the Communists.

But the sentiment among the peasants is of still

greater importance. Our chief difficulty in Ukraine up to that time had been that we lacked sufficient support among the population in that country. And now we can say "there is nothing so bad but that there is some good in it." The campaign of Petlura and Pilsudski has, without doubt, created a closer connection between the peasants and us. One must have seen the numerous peasant representatives at the fourth congress, one must have heard the delegates who came from the governments of Kharkov and Poltava, and who appeared at the Congress and made their simple but sincere speeches against Polish gentlemen, one must have read the numerous resolutions which came from the peasant meetings out in the country districts, and one must have been at the congress when the manifesto concerning the Polish offensive was read, which went through the whole audience like an electric thrill. One must have seen the peasants from the vicinity of Kharkov, assembling with rapture to the banner consecration of the Ukrainian Republic, one must have seen the recently mobilized men from the district of Kharkov,—in number 120 per cent larger than estimated. It is clear to the Ukrainian peasants that Petlura and Pilsudski have split Ukraine into three parts, one for the Poles and two for the Ukrainian land owners. These Polish and Ukrainian gentlemen have already this year confiscated the crops from the farms of the peasants. The peasants understand, and that is enough.

BELGIAN-RUSSIAN AGREEMENT

BERLIN, June 24.—B. T. communicates as follows:

The Belgian Minister of Commerce, who has returned from London, has delivered a report to the Ministry Council on his negotiations with Krassin. The Council decided to reopen trade, postal and telegraph communications with Soviet Russia. Belgium will ask from Russia the guarantees asked by Lloyd George.—*Naye Arbayter Shtimme*, June 25, 1920.

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

By GEORGE CHICHERIN

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Official Communications of the Soviet Government

ENGLAND STILL SUPPORTS WRANGEL

Moscow, July 26.—The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, has sent a communication to the Russian trade representative, Krasin, at London, stating that, simultaneously with the declaration of the British Government to the effect that no more war supplies would be delivered to Wrangel, new shipments have arrived for Wrangel's army. One of Wrangel's generals, Fevishin, was taken prisoner and declared that Wrangel was receiving supplies, cannons, rifles, and other arms mostly from England and secondly from France. Large British and small French warships are defending Wrangel on the sea; they give him support from Batum. If the Entente continues to support the enemies of Russia, it will be hard to honor the claims of the British creditors. England's criminal policy brings to nought all efforts made up to now in the Central Executive Committee.

REGARDING KOLCHAK'S END

Moscow, July 26.—In order to correct the news spread in the foreign press, the Soviet Government has published all details regarding the end of the Kolchak government in Siberia. According to this report, Kolchak was shot by the local revolutionary committee of Irkutsk when an attack of the counter-revolutionists was threatening the revolutionary government. The Soviet troops had at that time not yet reached Irkutsk. Together with Kolchak were shot one of his ministers and three agents of the secret service; later on twenty-five more officers were shot. At Omsk three of Kolchak's ministers were sentenced to death by a revolutionary tribunal and shot. Besides this there were very few death sentences carried out in Siberia.

THE BEATEN WRANGEL

Moscow, July 22.—The Finnish and Swedish dispatches about the victories of General Wrangel are entirely invented and fallacious. Wrangel landed some time ago with British aid, and supported by British troops west of Taganrog, succeeded (as the Soviet Republic had withdrawn most of their troops to the Polish front) in driving ahead about eighty kilometers as far as Oryekhov. There he was beaten; a part of his troops fled to the south, the other part to the north, where, cut off from all supplies, they will be surrounded within the next few days.

Moscow, July 22.—Regarding the British demand that the Crimea remain for the future neutral, and that General Wrangel take part in the negotiations, the Soviet Government has informed the British Government that, in view of its desire to establish friendly relations with Great Bri-

tain, it is ready to guarantee security of life to General Wrangel and his troops, in case of their immediate surrender.

POLISH BARBARIANS

Moscow, July 17.—During the Polish retreat numerous pogroms were instituted by the Poles in the localities evacuated by them. At Popovicini twenty-six Jews between seventeen and sixty-two years of age were killed. Most of the villages in the Kiev region were burnt down by the Poles, and Jews and peasants driven into the burning villages.

STOCKHOLM, July 14 (A despatch to the Berlin *Rote Fahne*).—Similar to their destruction of Borissov and Kiev the Poles devastated Bobruisk. Before evacuating the city the Poles pillaged the stores, shot down ten party workers, and burned down the freight station, the harbor, and the bridges. The factories were dynamited. All cattle and draft animals were carried away.

REPATRIATION OF AUSTRIAN WAR PRISONERS

VIENNA, July 17.—The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has received from Moscow the following radio:

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs communicates herewith that nothing stands now in the way of sending home the Austrian war prisoners.

In pursuance of the exchange treaty concluded at Copenhagen an order has been issued to the Russian Central Bureau for War Prisoners in respect to an immediate renewal of the repatriation of Austrian war prisoners.

A request is made for, as far as possible, an immediate repatriation of Russian war prisoners who are in Austria.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Moscow, July 12.—The industrial reconstruction of Soviet Russia proceeds favorably. The railroad works of Kremenchug which in January were rebuilding six locomotives and five tenders daily, have reached, in June, a daily output of fourteen locomotives and as many tenders. The factories in Rostov-on-the-Don operate almost on a peace scale.

Moscow, July 12.—The railroad line, Kazan-Yekaterinburg, has been opened again.

NANSEN IN MOSCOW

Moscow, July 12.—On July 6, the newly elected Moscow Soviet was inaugurated in the presence of Fridjof Nansen who was greeted by Maxim Gorky.

ENGLISH REFUSE TO ALLOW RUSSIANS TO GO HOME

Moscow, June 30.—70,000 former Russian officers and citizens, members of the middle class, who had immigrated to Greece, appealed to the English authorities to make possible their return to their native country and to obtain for them an amnesty from the Soviet Government. The English declined to act as mediators.

THE TARTAR REPUBLIC

Moscow, June 30.—People's Commissar Vladimirsky has arrived in Kazan with a member of the Turkish Communist Party and the representative of Mustapha Kemal. The Tartar Republic will be solemnly proclaimed at Kazan.

WRANGEL WITHOUT SUPPORT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT

A radio from Krassin to Chicherin, dated June 10, 1920.

"Today Wise visited me and made in the name of Lloyd George the following declaration:

"The government of Great Britain received news that Wrangel started an offensive against you.

"In agreement with a prior declaration, the British Government has called off its representatives who had been with Wrangel and has given instructions not to render to Wrangel any support either in money, gold, or ammunition.

"The offensive was taken against the plans and counsels of the British Government which in this manner does not bear responsibility for Wrangel."

"To a question of mine whether a telegram concerning this matter will be sent from Curzon to Chicherin, Wise asked to regard his communication as official and to send it to Moscow. To my question whether the British Government will make public this communication, Wise said that Lloyd George would make today a corresponding declaration in Parliament. I on my part promised to send this communication to my government."

KRASSIN.

EXTRA-SCHOLASTIC INSTRUCTION

1524. May 14, 1920.

Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, placed at the head of the section of extra-scholastic instruction of the Commissariat of Public Instruction, communicates the following information: "Before the war Russia had eighty-five per cent illiterates, and primary instruction was in a lamentable state. To regain lost time Soviet Russia must instruct not only the young generations, but begin or complete the education of the adults. The masses themselves rush upon science. Since the revolution, every factory has constituted a club, a library, a school. Without waiting for the intellectuals the working class itself accomplished this enormous work of creation. At present this thirst for instruction penetrates into the country; the peasants give free land and buildings for libraries, people's houses and

schools. The Commissariat of Public Instruction centralizes and organizes all these initiatives through the mediation of the extra-scholastic sections of the local soviets. The heads of these sections meet at periodic conferences two or three times a year. In addition there was held about a year ago the All-Russian Congress for extra-scholastic instruction, with six hundred delegates. At the same time the Military Commissariat, the syndicates, the Communist Party, the League of Communist Youth, and the cooperatives also possess extra-scholastic sections working in always closer contact with the Commissariat of Public Instruction. The practical results manifest themselves in the form of schools, courses for the illiterate, or semi-illiterate, popular universities, conferences, reading-rooms, libraries, clubs, people's houses, museums, excursions, houses for the peasants coming into the city, etc. It has been determined that within two years in the cities, and four years in the country, there should not be left in Russia one illiterate, and to this end the Council of People's Commissars has given 4.5 billion rubles. This program, despite its grandiose extent, will be realized, thanks to the collaboration of the whole organized population. Everywhere the illiterate have already been registered, courses are multiplying, extensive propaganda is under way to persuade the most recalcitrant, young and old, to learn to read and write. In the advance guard are the provinces of Petrograd, Moscow, Tambov, but, above all, that of Cherepovetz, where six thousand schools out of ten thousand planned are already operating. In the province of Tambov forty-eight thousand illiterates had already completed their courses on the first of April. There are eighty-two popular universities giving more advanced instruction. The villages have reading-rooms receiving regularly two or three journals which are read aloud. The libraries are organized, unburdened of all the rubbish, and completed with new books. There are courses for librarians. On the first of January, 1917, there were eleven thousand ninety-four libraries; on the first of July, 1919, twenty-five thousand five hundred, dependent upon the section of public instruction, without counting all those of the cooperative syndicates, garrisons, political groups, etc. The present number certainly exceeds one hundred thousand. Clubs of every kind, for adults, adolescents, factories, etc., multiply. They often form integral parts of people's houses in which there are also theatrical performances, halls for meetings, conferences, concerts, etc. The province of Homel alone has sixty houses furnishing beds for the peasants coming into the city, who can find there also all kinds of information of a political, agricultural or other nature. Moreover there is noticeable in general a rapprochement of the city and the country. Often the telephone unites the cantons with the capital of the district, the villages receive the journals, they are visited by propaganda trains and ships, and by touring parties from the urban centers. The propaganda trains and ships

bring with them cinematographs, stocks of pamphlets, exhibits, etc., with representatives of all the commissariats, which assure a living bond with the center. Every day are created new forms of extra-scholastic education. Thus the propaganda wagons are sent by the capitals of the districts into the most distant hamlets where they organize meetings and distribute journals. Thus the information bureaus are created in all the places of passage of companies of refugee travelers, etc. Local and individual initiative play the most considerable part. In one word, thanks to the Soviet power and the Russian working masses, one will soon see the disappearance of the age-old ignorance, and Russia will attain a level of culture unknown by all the other countries so far as concerns the great mass of the workers."

AGAINST THE POLISH ATTACK

1531. May 16, 1920.

Semashko, returning from a tour of the southwest front, states in *Pravda*: "The sanitary condition of the front is entirely satisfactory, the typhus epidemic is diminishing with astonishing rapidity. Cholera, even in the form of isolated cases, does not exist. The medical personnel is sufficient in numbers. There is a great number of vacant beds, about forty per cent, and a considerable quantity of sanitary trains. The administration of the health service operates in a satisfactory manner." On this subject Semashko mentions the shameful conduct of the Polish troops, who pillage and massacre not only the civil population but even that which is under the protection of the standard of the Red Cross. "One of these reports, relating how Polish officers under the orders of the most serene Prince Radziwill pillaged a sanitary train, shot a number of the personnel and robbed the rest, has already been published. But reports of this kind arrive every day."

The central bureau of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the minority publishes an appeal to all citizens to join their efforts and repulse the enemy. "The working people must win their right to peace and independence. The incursion of the Polish bandits must be settled so that Russia may enter the grand road of socialist construction. All to the aid of Soviet Russia. All forces at the disposition of the Soviet power for the front and for the work in the rear."

All news from the occupied places report the unbelievable atrocities of the Polish White Guards. At Zhmerinka, Russian railway men were replaced by Polish legionaries, and ordered to leave the place within twenty-four hours and carry nothing away. Many were arrested and most of them shot secretly in the night. The Poles have exterminated all Red soldiers falling into their hands, not sparing the wounded and the sick in the hospitals. In the region of Mozir the Polish proprietors have regained their domains and take cruel vengeance on the peasants whom the Polish authorities treat like beasts.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

The Soviet of Moscow has decided upon the administrative fusion of the capital and the province. A preparatory commission of the members of the Moscow Soviet and of the Soviet of the Province has fixed at fifty the number of the members of the executive committee of the future unified Soviet, thirty for Moscow and twenty for the province. The fusion of the corresponding committees of the Communist Party is arranged in the same way. This measure in tightening the bond between the city and the country will be favorable at once to the economic and moral progress of the province and the provisioning of Moscow with milk, vegetables, and fodder. It is one step further in the direction of the great organic rapprochement of the cities and the country.

THE SOVIET POWER AND CULTURE

The Executive Committee of the province of Samara has allotted the little daughter of the celebrated writer Aksakov a relief of twenty-five thousand rubles.

STATEMENT FROM REVAL

The following is the text of a statement issued by the Russian Soviet Delegation at Reval on July 21:

The Russian Delegation, which is composed of Leo Kamenev, Chairman; Leonid Krassin, Deputy Chairman, and Vladimir Milyutin, and which by agreement with the British Government was en route to London is leaving Reval today; Kamenev and Milyutin are returning to Moscow, and Krassin is going to Stockholm in connection with commercial affairs initiated there by the Soviet Government. These departures are explained by the fact that the British Government, at the very last moment, chose to condition their admittance to London upon acceptance by the Soviet Government of an armistice with Poland. It is very characteristic that when Lloyd George formulated conditions for the resumption of trade relations, no mention was made of Poland, although the Polish aggression against Russia was then in full swing. The coming debacle of Poland was then not so evident to the British and French governments as now. This putting forward of entirely new conditions after an agreement had been reached, following protracted negotiations, and when the delegation was already on its way to London, flouts all international rules, and throws a revealing light upon the "impartiality" of the British Government in the Russo-Polish contest. The delegation does not doubt that British public opinion, especially that of its laboring masses, will very well judge for themselves whether it is in the interests of the British people and of a general peace that their government now causes a new postponement of the negotiations—a postponement which has undoubtedly been prompted by the French protectors of the beaten Polish adventurers.

THE INTERNATIONAL BATTALION

On May 31, Acting People's Commissar of Interior, Comrade Kornev, reviewed at the Moscow-Kazan railway station the international battalion which was on the way to Ukraine to fight against the imperialistic Polish magnates. The battalion arrived from Siberia in seven days and was to continue on its way to the south. It was decided to take advantage of its passing through Moscow to review the battalion.

One could not fail to be impressed by the splendid appearance of this battalion, consisting entirely of Red internationalists, among whom are Hungarians, Germans, Galician Ukrainians, and Poles. The battalion fully deserves the name Communist, for almost a half of it, about 400 comrades, are either members of the Russian Communist Party or candidates for members. Seventy per cent of the battalion are workers. In the fight in the East against the Kolchak bands, as well as in the review, the battalion displayed an example of iron discipline and unflinching proletarian firmness.—*Izvestia*, June 3, 1920.

EASTERN REPUBLIC AND JAPAN

The Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Eastern Republic has informed the Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Government that the Japanese Government is ready to recognize the Soviet Republic and the independence of the Eastern Republic in all economic and political questions.

PRISONERS OF WAR PROTEST AGAINST THE POLISH OFFENSIVE

REVAL, May 30 (From the Rosta Correspondent).—The *Russkoye Dielo* of May 18 contains the following protest by former Russian war prisoners against the Polish-Ukrainian offensive:

"We, former Russian war prisoners of all nationalities held at Camp Yosephov (Czecho-Slovakia), Great Russians, Ukrainians, White Russians, Poles, Tartars, Armenians, Georgians, Estonians, Letts, Jews, Lithuanians, and others, separated from our families for over six years by the endless inhuman war and living only with the hope of its speedy conclusion and the coming of peace between all peoples, protest with every fibre of our being against the brigand attack of the Polish landowners and Petlura's Ukrainian adventurers on bleeding, toiling Russia, which is in vain holding out the hand of peace. We protest against the new fratricidal war, which again shattered our hope for a speedy restoration of a normal life of toil and the friendly fraternal collaboration of the toilers of all nations. We ardently call upon the Czech workers and peasants, upon the Czech democracy, upon the workers, peasants and democracy of the whole world, to protest most energetically against this criminal attack. We call upon them to exert all their power and to use every possible means to prevent the success of this base attempt. Let there be an end to bloodshed! Long live the peace of the whole toiling world!"

Attached are 809 signatures.—*Izvestia*, June 3, 1920.

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