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TABLE OF CONTENTS:

	PAGE		PAGE
AGRICULTURE IN SOVIET RUSSIA, by <i>U. Larin</i>	297	RESOLUTION OF PETROGRAD CHILDREN'S COLONY..	310
RUSSIA, by <i>Georg Brandes</i>	298	EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA,	
THE SOVIET POWER AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST		by <i>William M. Dambit</i>	311
FAMINE, by <i>A. Svidersky</i>	300	THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE.....	313
MILITARY REVIEW, by <i>Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek</i>	301	MEMBERSHIP OF COLLEGIUMS OF THE MAIN COM-	
RED RUSSIA, by <i>Vincenzo Vacirca</i>	304	MITTEES AND CENTERS OF ECONOMIC COUNCIL	315
THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR STATE CONTROL	305	THE RED OFFICERS.....	316
EDITORIALS	308	WIRELESS AND OTHER NEWS.....	319

Agriculture in Soviet Russia

By U. LARIN

Seven-tenths of our population are peasants. The question arises: what has been done in the two and a half years of Soviet rule in the domain of agriculture, and how has the latter changed since the beginning of the imperialistic war in 1914?

The most important thing in farming is seeds. From the variation in the amount of land devoted to seeds in recent years one can estimate the rise or decline in agriculture. In all the countries of Europe the imperialistic world war has since 1915 to a greater and greater extent brought about a reduction of the amount of land devoted to seeds. The same was true in Russia. If we place the amount of seeds in the year 1915 at 100 per cent, then in the following year it went down to ninety-four per cent. In the year 1917 it was only eighty-seven per cent of what it was in 1915. If this reduction in agriculture had continued at the same rate, we would have had in 1920 only sixty-nine per cent of the usual amount of seed-land. And if the Soviet Government were increasing disorder, as ignorant Philistines will maintain, the amount of seed would be still less.

But the revolution of November, 1917 played a great part in saving Russia from final economic downfall. To be sure the war, with its bad effect on the economic life of the nation, continued, but the new conditions which victory created for the active workers, the enthusiasm which seized all workers and peasants at the thought that they were from now on the masters in Russia, inasmuch as all misery would then only be temporary, and that it was therefore worth while to suffer—that is what worked the miracle which in a bourgeois state is unthinkable, that is what helped to bring it

about that disorganization made no further progress.

When people complain of hard times, disorder, etc., under the Soviet Government, they must first all of consider what would probably have taken place if the Soviet Government had not come into existence. Only then will it become clear whether it is approaching destruction, or, on the contrary, in spite of all difficulties, is holding it off, and has created the possibility of change for the better. In the matter of transportation, a marked improvement has taken place in the last two years, in spite of the reduction in the number of cars and locomotives, which meant such hardship to us, in spite of the fact that shortly before the November Revolution of 1917, the representatives of the Kerensky Government reported to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet that railroad traffic would positively have to be discontinued if the process of decay should continue at the same rate.

Similar were the prospects in the domain of agriculture. In 1919 we would have had only sixty-nine per cent of the seed-land of 1915 if the decay of agriculture had continued at the same rate as under the Czar and the Kerensky Government. But the Soviet Government did not allow this decline in agriculture to continue. The peasants threw off the political and economic yoke of taxation. With a quite different feeling did they approach the working of the soil, and the result was that in 1919 the seed-production was eighty-one per cent of what it had been in 1915. It was eighty-one per cent, although from 1917 to 1919 the seed production of the landed proprietors,

which formerly amounted to seven per cent of the total seed production in the territory of present-day Soviet Russia (exclusive of the Ukraine, the Don, the Caucasus and Siberia), has disappeared and has been replaced only partly by communes, Soviet farms, while in 1918 a considerable part of that land still lay fallow.

Accordingly, the yearly diminution in seed production under the former government amounted on the average to six and a half per cent; under the Soviet Government, on the other hand, to only three per cent. The Soviet Government has succeeded in retarding the decline of Russian agriculture by one-half, and that under the most unfavorable conditions that any country has ever had to endure. That has been brought about by

the intrinsic driving force of the mere fact of the existence of the Soviet power and Soviet policy. That the Russian worker, the Russian citizen is able to get bread at all is only due to the fact that, thanks to the Russian Revolution, our seed production amounts to not sixty-nine per cent, but eighty-one per cent. Millions of farms were saved from ruin.

Of course we must not rest satisfied with these results, but must strive to restore agriculture completely. The Russian peasant, who is now fighting in the Soviet Army against the Polish land-owners, knows and sees what the Soviet Government has already given him. He knows that he is not fighting in vain, but for his own interests.

Russia

By GEORG BRANDES

[The aged Danish critic, in a recent issue of the Copenhagen newspaper "Politiken" (a bourgeois paper, not to be confused with "Folkets Dagblad Politiken," of Stockholm), discusses the blockade and the intervention, both of which he opposes. While his conclusions, particularly as to the alterations possible in the character of the Soviet Government, are not invariably our own, we present this article to our readers with the comment that in the main it is one with which we agree.]

IF, in these days when important events are hidden in clouds of triviality and fumes of falsehood, we should ask ourselves the question—"Which of the countless occurrences that encumber the mind of the reading public are not only valuable but decisive for the present and for the future?" the answer would very likely be as follows:

Of decisive moment is the fact that all the armies which the Entente—without a formal declaration of war—had equipped, furnished with officers, arms and ammunition, and let loose upon the Russian Republic, hoping thus to overthrow its government, that all these armies have been crushed. First the armies of Denikin and Yudenich, then Kolchak's army, and now the Polish army led by Pilsudski. Of decisive moment is the fact that while the statesmen of England and France show an amazing arrogance which corresponds to their lack of ability and constant miscalculation, and while Germany and Austria are constrained to hand the reins of government to inexperienced men of doubtful abilities, who certainly have to face quite intolerable economic and political conditions, Russia has her civil affairs directed by an indisputable genius—Lenin—who skilfully selects his objectives and chooses his means, and against whom the newspapers can find no sharper weapon than that his real name is Uli-anov; her military affairs are directed by another genius, Trotsky, who took charge of the Russian armies when they were defeated, utterly weary, and desiring only peace, and who starting from the bottom, has seemingly out of nothing created the one army which is more victorious than any other, while the world press can find no sharper weapon against him than that his real name is said to be Braunstein.

The world press is always an imposing power, but when it begins to indulge in wit and unveils pseudonyms, then it is simply irresistible,—although not in quite the same sense as the armies of the Russian Republic.

After this long chain of defeats the Entente will have to try something new. So far, the Entente have this one indisputable triumph to their credit,—that the blockading of the Russian people has caused a famine almost equal to that in Austria, and the spread of epidemics, which take an enormous toll, while the absence of means of transport renders the resources of the great republic inaccessible.

While a large number of young men have been kept at the enormous front, farming, trade, and industry have lacked hands. Distress grows as fast as confidence of victory and hatred toward the wily politicians of the hostile governments. These governments have consistently fought Russia in an underhand manner; they egged on against Russia Czech deserters or reactionary czarist volunteers, or Poles intoxicated by nationalism. And every peace offer of the Russian Government was rejected by the united European reaction, which officially poses as the champion of self-determination of peoples.

This reaction has no leading idea. There is, however, a leading all-dominating basic feeling—*fear*. They fear that revolutionary ideas may spread from Russia both to Asia and Europe.

The coalition against revolutionary Russia resembles in many respects the coalition against revolutionary France, which was formed 130 years ago. But it has done much more harm to the general welfare, because, more than anything else, it is the cause of high prices, (which are still ris-

ing), lack of fuel and housing, and all the dire misery of the human race.

All the constantly offered reasons for the misery since the so-called termination of the war count for very little in comparison with the insane foreign policy of the Western Powers. It has made impossible the resumption of trade and shipping, the restoration and improvement of transport. It caused the system of constantly soaring taxation and the paralysis of every peaceful initiative, which weighs upon all of us, but which is felt most keenly by the largest nation of Europe, counting over 150 million human beings. Even the most fanatical shouters for what is called civilization, independence and justice, ought to understand that the famine in Russia steadily augments the misery in Germany and Austria. Hence, what is needed *politically* is not to send sandwich-baskets southward, or to take a few hundred poor children northward,* but that people shall at last turn a deaf ear to phrases and open their eyes to the truth.

On the day when not only the workers of England and France, but also the middle class—in spite of its fear of Socialism—will understand that a hazardous and inappropriate foreign policy is the real cause of the evils undermining the vitality of Europe, on that day a gleam of light will appear in the gloomy chaos in which we stagger along.

But—it may be said—will not socialization, nationalization, will not Communism come and turn everything upside down, rob us of what we own and turn us from comparatively free individuals into slaves?

It is useless to send armies against ideas.

Nobody knows what the future carries in her womb. Yet we know that what is expedient for one country will not do for another. Every country has its past, its social differences, its special culture. Never yet has any idea gone from one country to another without being transformed to suit the needs of that country. Even the parliamentary idea, at one time very strong, was taken up very slowly and adapted to the peculiarities and conditions of the different countries. The Reformation meant a seizure of the property of the Catholic church, but it had a different course in England, Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. The French Revolution brought along the confiscation of the noblemen's estates. But though most of the ideas of the French Revolution were adopted little by little even in conservative Germany, the Germans copied only that which they considered useful for themselves, and the German noblemen kept their estates.

The more absolutely Europe leaves Russia in peace, the more it allows the Russian Republic to settle its external affairs in accordance with the advice of its leading men who are backed by the

* Georg Brandes alludes here to the work of some Scandinavian and other organizations which have thus tried to do their best for suffering Central Europe, especially for the children of Vienna.

people, the more calmly will the Russians regard the rest of Europe, and let the European nations arrange their own affairs as they may desire.

Historical experience tells us that a political movement which is let alone by the surrounding world may assume milder forms, lose its violent character, and change from within until it reaches a certain equilibrium in its relations with surrounding countries.

There is one certain course to propagate Communist ideas in their crudest form, and that is the one which the Entente has adopted: ceaseless intervention in the affairs of Russia, continual rejection of appeals for an understanding, the equipping of all kinds of free-booters and newly-formed nations with English cannon, Czecho-Slovak non-commissioned officers, and French officers.

It is therefore high time now, after six years of war, to lift the blockade and to make peace.

It ought to be done, not necessarily for humanitarian reasons, but because it is in the interest of the Western Powers. They will soon have their hands full revising the peace treaty with Turkey. Or in case they should not revise this treaty, they will be a hundred times busier with the seventy million Mohammedans in India, who very passionately protest against the partition of Turkey and against robbing the Caliphate of its worldly power. The Western Powers will soon find themselves engaged to the utmost in defending civilization (which translated into English means oil-wells) and culture (in English, coal). Asia Minor and India offer so much material for thought that these powers cannot too soon establish friendly relations with Russia.

The lessons in religious psychology which the Mohammedan will soon—gratuitously—give their excellencies Lloyd George and Millerand will require all the attention that these statesmen may be able to spare. Anatolia is as stormy as Ireland. Only the Armenians will not need any attention; for them nothing has been done. They have neither coal nor oil, and they are therefore necessarily the step-children of Christian love.

“Moscow in 1920”

Under this title, Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, a brilliant writer who had contributed many articles on economic topics to German periodicals before the Revolution, and now a member of the Delegation of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany to Russia, has contributed to recent German periodicals a full account of his journeys and impressions in Russia. The first instalment of this important series, which has been translated especially for *SOVIET RUSSIA*, will appear in our next issue.

The first instalment deals with the steamer trip to Helsingfors and Reval, as well as with the arrival in Petrograd and the railway journey to Moscow; Dr. Goldschmidt arrived in Moscow on May 1, 1920. Do not fail to read this important series, which will run through six issues of *SOVIET RUSSIA*.

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Soviet Power and the Struggle Against Famine

By A. SVIDERSKY

[The following is a resume of an article which appeared in "Izvestia" (Moscow) on June 22, 1920.]

THE Soviet power is making headway toward victory over famine. Encountering thousands of difficulties, the advance toward this end is slow, but steadfast.

In order more or less tolerably to support the Red Army and to feed the populace of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities, industrial districts and the consuming provinces, the Soviet power must provide every year not less than from 4,821,000 to 6,429,000 long tons of grain. Actually it provided only: in 1917-1918, 482,100 tons (in ten months—from November, 1917, to August 1, 1918), in 1918-1919, 1,768,000 tons, and in 1919-1920 (for nine months, between August 1, 1919, and May 1, 1920), 2,845,000 tons.

True, the Soviet power is unable under the present conditions to provide as much grain as is required to satisfy all the needs of the population. But in the second year of its existence it provided almost four times as much grain, and in the third year (there is no reason to expect that the total for 1919-1920, ending August 1, will equal from 3,214,000 tons to 3,375,000 tons) seven times as much as in the first year of its existence.

Though the geographical boundaries of Soviet Russia were not the same at different moments, the territory in which the Soviet organs actually carried on the food campaign during the whole period of two and a half years did not vary to any serious extent.

The current food campaign began when our republic had moderate territorial limits, and extended only to ten producing provinces which largely provided the grain in the preceding years. A notable increase of the number of producing provinces, which would be sufficient for the food storing activity of the Soviet power, took place only in the second half of the grain campaign. But owing to the inevitable slowness in the organization of food-storing organs in the districts devastated by the Whites, the grain campaign in the newly acquired provinces has been and still is carried on but feebly, and hence they should not yet be taken into account.

The above mentioned 2,845,000 long tons of grain do not include grain obtained in Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Don. If we subtract from this figure the 252,500 tons of grain obtained in Siberia, we find that "basic" Soviet Russia furnished during the nine months of the current campaign 2,592,500 tons.

Thus, the improvement of the storing activity of the Soviet power in the domain of food is incontestable. This success appears even more clearly and vividly if we compare the results of the

allotments in the last campaign with their result in the current campaign. Last year the allotments were carried out at the end of the year to the extent of 41.6 per cent; while in the current year the allotments, which were considerably higher than last year's, have already been carried out to the measure of 53.8 per cent, and in some of the producing provinces the percentage of the allotment already realized varies between 53.8 and 91.4 per cent.

In the present grain campaign there are villages, townships and counties in the producing provinces, and provinces in the consuming districts, which have already completely filled their allotments even before the end of the fixed term. Reports to this effect have so far come from the provinces of Vologda, Kostroma, Vladimir, Penza, Simbirsk, Viatka, Kazan, Ekaterinburg, Samara and Ufa. For the consuming provinces the allotment was set at 187,500 long tons, and the result already obtained equals 194,700 long tons, that is, over 100 per cent of the allotment.

And yet one can hear reproaches among the toiling masses that the Soviet food administration does not provide any more food at the present time than it did last year. This is both just and unjust. It is just, because the consumer really does not receive from the food administration any more than he was receiving from them before at the most meager norm. It is unjust, because before the Soviet power from its small stock furnished meager rations to but several million consumers—only to the populace of the capitals, the Red Army and some famishing industrial centers, while now, having a larger stock, it furnishes meager rations to tens of millions of consumers, giving starvation rations also to that mass of consumers whom she was constrained to ignore before. While the stock obtained in the last grain campaign is almost twice as large as the stock obtained last year, the number of consumers provided by the provision organs has increased in even greater proportion. This justifies only one conclusion: the Soviet power does not provide better food, but was enabled to provide bread crumbs for a considerably larger number of consumers.

The following phenomenon is very significant: in 1918-1919 the accumulation of grain progressed in leaps,—rising at once to a considerable height, then falling abruptly and just as rapidly; in 1919-1920 the accumulation, on the contrary, progresses and continues to progress more or less uniformly. Analyzing this phenomenon, and taking into account along with the factors of the food situation also factors of a different kind, the irregularity of the accumulations in the last campaign appears as

a direct result of the unstable position of the Soviet power, caused by the successful operations of the White bands against the Red Army; and, vice versa, the uniform progress of the grain accumulation campaign of the current year is a direct result of the greater stability of the Soviet power, which has become well settled since the end of 1919.

The significance of the military operations, of their success or failure, for the struggle against famine appears clearly from the following table:

Regions:	Supplies laid in during the year ending May 1		Per cent of increase (+) or decrease (-) 1920-1919
	1919	1920	
Free from military operations of 1919-1920	103,479	186,058	+79.8
Involved in military operations	59,116	40,550	-31.4
Total area	162,595	226,608	+39.4

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

THE Poles have been advised by their French military leaders to adopt the methods of warfare employed by the Germans after the battle of the Marne. This means that the Polish army has to entrench itself along the whole battle front, on a line of perhaps more than 450 miles in length. According to this French suggestion Polish tactics will be based on the principles of trench warfare, with the idea of forcing the Soviet army to accept the same method.

There can not be any doubt that, in the present conditions of the Polish fighting forces, trench warfare would probably be the most favorable for their strategy. Although unable to support their shattered protege by reinforcements of their own troops, the capitalistic coalition of the West is still able to supply the Poles with a certain amount of ammunition and war material, though in limited quantities, thanks to the effective opposition of the European workers. Such aid as the Allies are able to give would be inadequate to the needs of the Polish army in case it continued a war of movement such as is now in progress. It is believed by many military experts, that Poland, like Germany in the middle of September, 1914, is now compelled to stop on a definite line of defense, because the Polish army has completely lost the initiative and has no hope of regaining it. The French strategists understand this very well and they see in the suggested trench warfare a way for the Poles to continue the war against Soviet Russia in the manner most economical in regard to their effectives and munitions, while very costly for the Russians, who the French General Staff believe are not fully equipped for such methods.

It is true that the Russians have avoided trench warfare and that their tactics have been based on the principles of skillful maneuvering. The flexibility of the Russian front was astonishing and attained striking successes during the Allied intervention. Since the Red Army perfected its organization this flexibility of the Soviet units has attained such a degree that the most severe military critics are compelled to pay tribute to the maneuvering ability of the Red forces.

But if the French strategists assume that the present situation of the Polish Army is similar to that of the Germans in September, 1914, they are mistaken. In the first place, the German Gen-

eral Staff adopted its plans for trench warfare against the Allies long before the war broke out. If I am not mistaken, this question was discussed and decided in Germany as early as 1906, and German specialists carefully studied all the technical methods employed by the Russians and the Japanese in 1904 during the siege of Port Arthur where the trench warfare was carried on for eleven months. Secondly, the Germans had sufficient numbers to build the most powerful and modern trenches and temporary fortifications along the whole occupied front and they possessed enormous reserves of suitable artillery. They were able to prevent the enemy from breaking through their entrenched lines, and where this happened they had ample artillery and fresh reserves in position to paralyze the effect of such a break. As a matter of fact, the line where the Germans first entrenched themselves in France was not a line chosen unexpectedly by their military command in the field, but, on the contrary, was selected many years prior to the war, studied carefully by the General Staff and inspected by their spies during peace. The French, on the other hand, were inferior to their enemy in this respect, and in spite of the support of the Allies they remained to the end inferior to the Germans in their methods of trench warfare, which was shown by the fact that the Allies were unable to reach German territory. We must remember that Germany lost her war tactically because of the sudden disorganization of her rear. Russian revolutionary propaganda was the real cause of the German collapse. On the other hand, the unrest in the rear of all the Allies with the exception of America was the real cause of their acceptance of an armistice terms which were most unfavorable from a strategic point of view. The French General Gascouin and many other French military experts have admitted that only during the war did the French artillery, first with the help of English industry, and later with American support, become strong enough to compete with the Germans. The famous French 75 mm. field gun was absolutely powerless against the trenches and practically lost its importance during the period of trench warfare. The lack of suitable artillery in time for trench warfare caused the prolongation of war for the Allies and this prolongation produced such economic and political conditions in

France and England that it became impossible for the Allied command to continue the war to a victorious end, namely, to the annihilation of the German army in the field and unconditional surrender. We must remember also that the Allies were never able to force their enemy to change their methods and on each occasion it was the German General Staff on its own initiative that interrupted the trench warfare in one or another part of the front and temporarily adopted the method of the war of movements.

The case of the Polish Army in the present war is quite different. First of all, in spite of the fact that Poland is supported and directed by its western Allies, its present military situation cannot be compared with that of Germany. Modern warfare requires long preparation in time of peace. For this the Polish Army has had no opportunity. On the other hand, the Allied industries cannot be considered as Polish industries and we have already seen how dangerous it is to count on the supply of ammunition and arms from external sources. Supplies from the outside can only be depended upon when the routes of communication are in full control of the forces to be supplied; otherwise unexpected conflicts may easily overturn all plans and bring disaster. Let us remember the fate which overtook Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenich, in spite of their facilities for supply by the Allies, which were even more favorable than are those of the Poles at present. There is no possibility that Poland, having no industry at home and suffering lack of all kind of raw materials, can be supplied by its allies with guns, ammunition, war material, and food in such quantities that its army, even if it could succeed in barring the way to the Soviet forces by means of trenches, could hold this fortified line for any considerable period. Trench artillery is not very costly and can easily be manufactured, but its use is tremendously expensive and requires a constant and timely supply of ammunition as well as material for replacement. Wherefrom can the Poles expect to get this? Naturally from France, England and America! But by what route? This is the most important question to be answered. Through Germany they cannot send a single cartridge to the Poles. It is foolish to imagine that Italy will allow such transit, or that Czecho-Slovakia will support the Poles in any way, or that Rumania will undertake the risk of war with Soviet Russia. So there remains only the same dangerous Danzig corridor which recently was cut off from Warsaw by the Soviet cavalry and is still in a very precarious condition. Such a means of communication can in no case be considered as a sufficient route for the military supply of an army which has to defend its entrenched front from the attacks of a numerous and determined enemy, which possesses its own industry and powerful artillery, an enemy which had an earlier experience in trench warfare than any of its adversaries, and whose inventions for waging such war were widely adopted by the Germans and the Allies.

Moreover, in spite of the lack of railway communications with the rear, the Soviet Army need not expect any surprises or any interruptions in the constant communication of its battle front with the supply bases. This might be slow, it is true, but it will be accomplished surely and permanently, and this is of prime importance. Only a permanent supply of the battle front assures victory. The Red artillery will never suffer for the lack of ammunition.

But will it be possible for the Poles to follow the French advice and entrench themselves along a front of 450 miles? Taking into consideration the actual military strength of the Poles, we know that they can only entrench several parts of that front.

The Soviet tactics would never allow them to accomplish even this much. By means of constant maneuver the Russians easily can prevent it. But even if we assume that the Poles should succeed in establishing an uninterrupted line of trenches along the whole front, such a line, in spite of all the artillery it might possess, would be too weak and too thin to resist the Russian advance, and, once broken through at one point, would be destroyed throughout. To keep their entrenched front intact, the Germans had at their disposal huge fresh reserves, which the Poles have not at all and cannot hope for. Poland has already lost more than half of its fighting strength, and is losing every day more and more men, while its supporter Wrangel is on the eve of complete failure, his army having almost lost its strategical importance in connection with the Russo-Polish war. The struggle with Wrangel's bands henceforth is of a local significance, still annoying to the Soviets, but in no way endangering the Polish campaign.

In conclusion I can affirm that the Poles will never be able to stop the advance of the Soviet army by means of trenches, as the Germans stopped the Allied advance in 1914. This last effort of France to build a wall between Soviet Russia and Europe is a task which Poland cannot accomplish.

Speaking on the war with Poland, at a joint meeting of the Supreme Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet of Workers and Red Army's Deputies and of Trades Unions and Manufacturing Committees on May 5, 1920, Trotsky said:

"The struggle which is before us will be hard and strenuous. The Polish bourgeoisie knows that in attacking us they stake their very existence. And those who are backing the Polish bourgeoisie know also that White-Guard Poland is oppressing the Polish proletariat, which is closely bound with Petrograd and Moscow by decades of mutual revolutionary struggle. They know that White-Guard Poland is hastening to build a barrier between ourselves and Europe. The Polish shliakhta say that the Russians, those barbarians and Schythians must be pushed eastward as far as possible. But we, on the contrary, are hurrying towards the west to meet the European Proletariat, which knows

that we can meet them only over the dead body of White-Guard Poland in an independent Poland of the workers and peasants.

"The struggle will be terrible. But if you ask me about the outcome of that struggle, I will answer that I never was so strongly convinced that we shall be victorious, completely crushing the enemy. I am absolutely certain of that.

"For the last two years and a half we have been continually fighting, and during that period we have learned something. Certainly we have had in the past and we may have in the future some failures, as for instance at Zhitomir; they may be even more important than that. The western front was considered by us as of secondary importance, and our diplomats were engaged on that front in long pourparlers with the enemy. Therefore it was not a difficult task for Pilsudski to strike us on that front. But we are in possession of reserves and other reinforcements. At the time when we transferred our army into a labor army we said we were winding our military strength from the skein on the spool. But should our enemy consider that signified that we were tired and that we were ready to surrender,—then we shall reverse the process and we shall begin to wind the thread from the spool back to the skein.

"This is happening just now. Our railways warmed by the sun and reinforced by thousands of workers, have doubled their activity. Our labor regiments from all parts of Russia will go to the western front. We have taken all measures in order to insure the success of the coming winter campaign and especially in respect to the supplies.

"Our first task has been accomplished; the Communists of Petrograd are leaving today for the front. They will be followed by Moscow and by the entire country. All the Communists on the western front!

"The victory will be with us; the victory will be with the Russia of the workers!"

THE SPYING COMMISSAR

The following communication from Radek is sent to the *Rote Fahne*, on the subject of one of the adventurers of law and order in Germany:

"I read in the German press that the former prosecuting attorney, Weissmann, who now occupies the office of Commissar for the Maintenance of Public Law and Order, is publishing reports of spies in the press, according to which there took place in the dwelling of our Berlin representative, Victor Kopp, a conference of Communist and Independent leaders, in which Kopp argued for an early organization of the overthrow of the Government. The prosecuting attorney has made somewhat of a bull with these reports of spies, for it has been possible to ascertain at once that Kopp gave up some weeks ago the dwelling in which this meeting was alleged to be held, and

that several comrades who are named by the spying attorney as having been present at the secret conference were not in Berlin on the date given. And yet the German Government does not consider it to be its duty to hand his walking papers to the official who would publicly spread such lying reports against the diplomatic representative of Russia. May I further be permitted to state to this Government, that if it should dispense with the services of Herr Weissmann it would not exactly be parting with a jewel. I made the acquaintance of this gentleman when I enjoyed the hospitality of the German Government in the former prison of the Moabit section. After having been imprisoned for more than a month, after the Ministry of Justice had already obtained the removal of my chains, Herr Weissmann again ordered that I be provided with chains while taking my walks. On my own protest, and that of the *juge d'instruction*, this barbarous demand was cancelled. Immediately the attitude of the prosecuting attorney changed. He granted permission to a number of political persons to visit me, which was not at all within his jurisdiction, although they were persons whom the German Government would certainly have not liked to visit me; and all this he vouchsafed me as a return for the kind assistance of one of my friends in obtaining for him a passport viza of Swiss origin, without any knowledge that this would make the prosecuting attorney so grateful. We soon learned the reason for the profuse gratitude of the prosecuting attorney, for this good guardian of law and order had won about a million at a game of chance and was slipping his gains into Switzerland.

I consider it to be quite natural that Weissmann the guardian of law and order should be succeeded by Weissmann the smuggler of money. Poachers often become excellent wardens, and who is to defend a republic of jobbers if not a jobber? My Plutarch task is concluded. I shall supplement it with a prophecy: Just as it has been impossible to prove that Mr. Straus has made millions in profiteering games, although the entire political and business world knows all about it, and just as what is narrated above cannot be proved with documents, although every colleague of Mr. Weissmann knows all about it, Mr. Weissmann will no doubt continue to practice his task of spying. But I ask you to prevent him from molesting our diplomatic representative, and to remember what is the duty of our Foreign Office, which is not obliged to treat Herr Hilge any better than Victor Kopp is being treated.

KARL RADEK.

Note: I beg you to note the last sentence of this article.

(Signed) CHICHERIN.

Red Russia

By VINCENZO VACIRCA

THE first inhabited place that we came to after crossing the border between Esthonia and Russia was Yamburg, a village of 3,000 inhabitants, which in the preceding autumn had acquired some little fame, thanks to the White Army of Yudenich, who had made it his headquarters with a view to marching on St. Petersburg. The train stopped at the station in Yamburg, where a crowd of peasants, workers, women, children and Red soldiers were waiting for us. Almost all of them had lined up along the station, in military fashion. Nobody left their number to make his way to the train, as a crowd at home in Italy would have done. Everywhere there were banners and red flags. Suddenly a solemn singing was heard, all uncovered their heads, the soldiers stood at attention, and, with their hands at their caps, sang with the rest. It was the *Internationale*—sustained, in a deep tone, with an almost religious expression in their faces and in their voices, they sang it. It reminded me of the liturgical hymns in the church at Reval. We all listened with profound emotion.

The most sceptical among us felt a moisture in our eyes. We thought of the long, cruel, indescribable sufferings of the Russian people, a small part of which were here represented, on the threshold of the Soviet Republic.

The singing stopped. Some one, a commissar of the local soviet, called out something that we understood to be a cheer for Italian Socialism, and the crowd replied with three cheers.

Then followed short addresses of welcome. A soldier welcomed us in the name of the Red Army, a worker in the name of his factory-companions, a communist in the name of the party, the president of the soviet in the name of the local government. Serrati answered for us all and a Russian comrade translated.

We thought the train could now continue its journey. But such was not the case. The soviet wished us to be its guests for at least an hour. We mingled with the crowd, a procession was formed, and we proceeded through the broad, straight streets of the village with its small houses of wood or red brick, through long avenues lined with trees, with delicate green foliage. The procession moved forward singing. Again it was the strain of the *Internationale* pouring forth into the clear, fresh air of the Russian spring.

No shouts and no uproar. Nothing that could remind us of a political manifestation of the masses of the Latin race. If we had seen, in place of the red flags, banners with sacred symbols, we might have thought of a religious procession in a Venetian village.

In the People's House was a long banquet-table with covers for about thirty persons, on which were displayed little mountains of slices of black bread, plates with butter, excellent fresh cheese and a monumental samovar for the tea.

After breakfast we inspected the building. It was a large bourgeois residence. The owner had fled from it with his family, God knows where, and the soviet had taken possession of it. The little drawing-room was there. Everything was in its place and kept scrupulously clean, two comfortable divans, lounges, armchairs, wall-mirrors, in the corner a piano. Once the daughter of the owner had played on it. Now the sons and daughters of the workers, who also were receiving instruction in the soviet schools, were playing on it.

In the long winter evening this little drawing-room is always crowded. There they play and dance. There are still other rooms—a reading-room, smoking-room, also small rooms with sleeping accommodations. The little beds give the impression that they expect occupants. A certain reserve of beds is kept here, for the comrades who stop here, due to there not being any hotels in Yamburg.

To an old peasant whose face is framed in a heavy and curly gray beard and who looks at me with a pair of lively and restless eyes, full of goodness and understanding, I put the question: "Are there still some bourgeois in Yamburg?" "Surely," he replied. "And have you taken from them their houses, their furniture and their land?" "Oh, no! The land, yes, because they did not work it, but they have remained in their houses and no one has disturbed them."

Then I asked him if he was satisfied with the Revolution. He replied: "I have two sons in the Red Army, and I only regret that I can not contribute more or go myself to the front. They tell me I'm old and that I'll do more good by working in the factory. To be sure, the Revolution is no pastime, but it is necessary. Yamburg has been in the battle area three times, and twice under the Whites. And if we should have to come twice more under their domination, I would still say the Revolution is a sacred thing."

Another, a young worker, officer of the garrison, gave me a better explanation of what it meant to have been under the Whites—violated women, men tortured and shot to death, houses set on fire and provisions requisitioned.

"But now it is over," he continued, "Yudenich will not come again. The last lesson was decisive."

"And suppose some new Yudenich should come?"

"Then we will fight again as we are fighting the Poles, until we break the ribs of all of them."

It was a young man of twenty with whom I was speaking, blond, with blue eyes and refined face. He spoke with calm, without any outbursts of passion, as if he were relating a story that he had read in a book.

After some more addresses and more cheers we left Yamburg, greeted again by the strains of the *Internationale*, and by hands that stretched out to

us and waved to us while the train was slowly getting into motion eastward.

In Gatchina the train made two stops. First, one in the suburb, where again a crowd greeted us, more numerous and more festive than the one in Yamburg; and then another at the main station.

Here there was a huge crowd. The enthusiasm was more intense. The women, some young, and others more advanced in years, appeared in great numbers. They displayed also somewhat more elegance, and one felt already the proximity of St. Petersburg. What surprised us, however, was the long line of soldiers that formed a sort of dam to prevent the crowd from overflowing. Splendidly equipped, with their bayonets fixed on their muskets, they sternly and earnestly greeted our arrival with a military salute. It was a division of the Red Army, the full discipline of which we now saw and understood.

The Commissar of the Seventh Army, Lashkevich, a metal worker, mounted a bench, and spoke to the soldiers and the people. He is a born speaker—one of those men who are made to raise the masses to the greatest heights. Aside from what he had to say—which was briefly translated for us by our interpreter—his success as a speaker lay in the pitch of his clear-sounding voice, in his decisive, authoritative gestures, in his glance of a man who knows no discouragement, in his whole mighty form, an eloquent expression of power, conviction, courage and will, which in battle can bear up and inspire the disheartened.

There were other speakers, plain workers they

were. Yet none of them succeeded in effacing the impression which the speech of that metal worker, the political head of the army, had left with us. We understood how with such a man, forged in the glowing heat of the Revolution, sprung almost violently from a class that even until yesterday was doomed to destroy in the cruel grind of eternal slavery all spiritual and moral values forming within it, this people, in spite of the greatest obstacles that history has ever presented, would unquestionably, in order to prove their tenacity, the capacity for victory of a race or a class, come off triumphant.

When I listened to Lashkevich it seemed to me that eloquence, that wonderful instrument for making known man's thoughts, which has been corrupted only through the rhetoric and lying of an enervated and over-refined civilization, was again coming into its own as maker of history. I cannot conceive of this mighty Red Army, so great and well-disciplined, so heroic and patient, which from Irkutsk to Archangel, from Persia to Crimea, from the Berezina to the Ural, fought and is still fighting, constantly destroying a multifarious enemy that is ever being revived, I cannot, I repeat, conceive of this proletarian army, composed of men that know that they are offering their lives for their freedom and for the highest human ideal that ever was born in the minds and hearts of men, without a host of speakers similar to the one I heard, who are capable of kindling in the heart of the soldier an ardent passion for the Revolution, for which it is beautiful to live, but also beautiful to die.

The People's Commissariat for State Control

THERE has existed in Russia for more than a century a special institution with the purpose of assuring the protection of the economic interests of the country in all the principal departments of economy. Until recently, this institution was called the State Control.

Under the autocracy, the activity of the State Control was based upon the principle of non-intervention in the economic and administrative work of the state institutions. Its role was a purely passive one; it consisted in seeing to it that the calculation and collection of revenue as well as the expenditure of the state funds were made in a regular, legal, and rational manner.

But the State Control found it impossible to even acquit itself of these more than modest tasks, because a whole series of institutions remained out of the sphere of its authority; because considerable sums were declared uncontrollable; because plunderers and falsifiers of high rank, near the throne, were unassailable; and because, on the other hand, the formal conditions of the activities of the Control permitted the organs of control, in the case of the discovery of irregularities or frauds, to find a number of subterfuges, and to edit the reports

without limit, etc., etc. Complete silence surrounded the activity of the State Control, precisely because publicity would have been likely to throw light upon the illegal practices of many institutions and a number of personages of prominence.

Before the Revolution the State Control was thus nothing but the accessory organ of a rotten regime.

After the Revolution of February, 1917, it was deemed sufficient to introduce a single reform in the sphere of the State Control; the representatives of public organizations were drawn into participation in it. But the role of the Control remained very modest, and the sphere of its activity very narrow; as in the past, its duty ended with discovering irregularities already accomplished in one or another department of state economy.

After the November revolution the Soviet power decided to completely and immediately reconstruct the State Control on new foundations.

On January 18, 1918, a decree was published determining the fundamental principles governing the projected reform. It proposed essentially to "suppress bureaucratic delays and to create more living and rational forms of control which could

no longer threaten the spirit of initiative, and to permit the discovery and rapidly prevent actions of a nature to corrupt the administration of state economy." This aim was attained by the creation of the following system of control:

1) Commissions of control, elected by the employes and workers in the institutions or enterprises under control are organized locally; they are composed of persons who are not members of the direction; 2) in the government and regional centers, colleges of enrolment and control are established, organized by the Soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants deputies; 3) the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets established in the capital a Central Collegium, which directs all the activities of control in the country.

On the 9th of March, 1918, there appeared a "provisional resolution for State Control, designed to remain in force until the definite organization of the administration of the Republic on a new basis." This "resolution" contains only two classes of institutions of control: the central organs and the local organs. It establishes, for the organization of control, central as well as local, the system of *Collegiate administration*, entrusted to persons elected, according to the circumstances, either by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, or by the Soviet of the assemblies. In conformity with the "provisional resolution", the Control sees to it that the public funds are expended not only in a legal and regular manner, but also with economy and in conformity with their purpose. The State Control is henceforth independent of the Soviet administrative organs.

The "provisional resolution" subdivides the Central Control into sections: a military section, a naval section, a civil section, and sections for railroads, credit, accounts, and a general section. The "provisional resolution" of March 9, 1918, has marked the point of departure for the work of organization of the Control.

Following upon further work performed in the sphere of the reorganization of the State Control, the *Central Collegium* has become the *People's Commissariat for State Control*, which comprises the following sections: Military and Naval, Ways of Communication, Distribution, Agriculture, Finance, Instruction and Propaganda, Protection of Labor and Public Health, Administration, and finally Accounts.

The Commissariat of State Control enters into close relations with the Soviet organization and institutions. All the budget projects and the demands for credit submitted for the approval of the Council of People's Commissars must first be examined by the State Control. The representatives of the State Control participate with the right of consultation in all commissions, conferences, etc. The provision for the obligatory submission of all the Soviet institutions to the State Control has made necessary the formation of a *Section of Budget Schemes* which is charged with the examination of all the schemes mentioned.

Next, for the first time since its foundation, the

Control obtains access to the review of the technical division of economic enterprises.

This fact, as well as the increased number of important nationalized enterprises in which the control must be organized, has made necessary the creation of a special technical and industrial section. Special sections have also been created for the review of public organizations and expenditures for prisoners and the repatriated.

The new method established for juridical reports has given birth to subdivisions of jurists, while the necessity of instructing new workers in the organization of the central and local control has given rise on the other hand to a Section of Organization and Instruction. To this end there have been organized all the available forces of the State Control. Comptrollers charged with effecting new changes have been sent to all the enterprises, Soviet institutions, commissariats, etc., on the other hand, experienced instructors in book-keeping have been placed at the disposal of the local Soviets; courses for the preparation of comptrollers and also of comptroller-instructors have been organized.

Regional and special controls have been established locally, for example, for water transportation, the direction of roads, a regional control for the Western Region, etc. In many districts district controls have begun to be formed. In the capital as in the provinces, groups of instructor-bookkeepers have been created, leading to the establishment of special courses in connection with the Central Control.

For the purpose of developing technical and general education for workers in the Control, the Commissariat of the State Control has enlarged the circle of its activity in the sphere of publication. In 1918 the "Messenger of State Control", which planned a vast program, was established to spread among the great masses of the population information relative to the activity of the institutions of control, and to bring to public knowledge the abuses discovered by the Control there has been created a special press bureau which publishes the "State Control News" as well as special material of various kinds.

Moreover, further measures have extended considerably the authority of the State Control. If formerly it supervised directly the economy of the state in its various spheres, in 1919 the state administration was entirely brought under the supervision of the State Control. This supervision is exercised from the point of view of the legality and technical perfection of the state administration; it insures not only the execution of the provisions of the central power, but also the rapidity, the exactness and precision of this execution. The control watches over the local application of the provisions of the central power, and over the centralization of power. It is charged with accusing, before the tribunals, the officials guilty of negligence or offences.

Moreover, the State Control has seen fit to claim the right of initiative in legislative matters. Work-

ing upon practical observations, it draws up projects of law tending to simplify the governmental machinery, suppress the superfluous organizations, the bureaucratic red-tape, etc. Thus the Control plays an active and responsible part in the work of the new construction of the state.

So important an extension of the authority of the State Control involves significant changes in its organization.

The personnel of the Control has been modified and completed by bringing about the constant collaboration in the capital as in the province, of the trade unions and the workers' and peasants' organizations. By this union the question of mutual reports between the State Control and the control of the workers (factory and shop committees) was solved. All the existing organs of control in connection with the separate departments, enterprises, etc., are hereafter placed under the direction of the People's Commissariat for State Control.

There exist, in connection with the central State Control as well as in connection with its local sections, bureaus of complaint and claims, with the purpose of seeking all the irregularities committed by the officials in the exercise of their duties, as well as by the organs of power and the various institutions in their activity. The existence of these bureaus realizes as perfectly as possible the principle of wide public control of the activity of the power. All the citizens, without exception, can make complaints or claims, indicating the illegality, the absence of cause, or the unlawful character of any act of the power whatsoever. The deposed complaint or claim is examined immediately. One part of the complaints is sent to the interested institutions, which must furnish precise explanations with justifying documents in their support; the others are entrusted to special controllers for a "rapid review". These reviews have the purpose, on the one hand, to unmask the dishonest elements, who, in addition to their Soviet work, are doing other work, and on the other, to seek out everything imperfect and unnecessary in the functioning of the various institutions.

All these measures have been introduced by a decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars dated April 9, 1919. Following is the integral text of this decree:

1. The State Control is charged with the functions of effective control with the purpose of assuring exact, rapid execution, in conformity with the idea of the decrees and resolutions of the central power in all the spheres of the State economy and administration.

2. The State Control has the right:

a. To supervise directly the activities of all the people's commissariats and their local sections, and, in general, of all the organs of the Soviet power.

b. To verify the activity of the above-mentioned organs from the point of view of the real results achieved.

3. The State Control is ordered to accuse, before the tribunals, officials guilty of negligence or

offences and to demand their dismissal from authority.

4. The State Control is charged with submitting to the examination of the Central Power concrete proposals resulting from its observations and from its researches and aiming at the simplification of the machinery of the Soviet power, to eliminate duplication of work, lack of organization, bureaucratic delays, as well as reform the administrative system itself in this or that sphere of the political life.

5. It is essential for the realization of the above-mentioned tasks:

a. To place under the direction of the State Control all the organs of control functioning in connection with separated departments, organizations, and enterprises, to modify the machinery even of the State Control so as to adapt it to new tasks of control.

b. To attract to constant participation in the work of central as well as local control, the workers' and peasants' organizations.

c. Further, to attract systematically to participation in the various operations of the State Control citizens drawn from the largest masses of the laboring population.

d. To introduce the system of "rapid review".

e. To charge the State Control with watching over the methodical organization by each institution of the reception of complaints and claims of every kind which are addressed to it, and to insure their regular transmission, as well as to see that in connection with the State Control itself there should be organized a bureau for the deposition of claims and declarations relative to irregular practices, abuses and violations of the law committed by the officials; these claims and statements must be examined by the State Control.

THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT AND SOVIET RUSSIA

MILAN, August 26, 1920 (By Telegram to Rosta, Vienna).—*Il Messagero*, in connection with the answer given by the Italian Ambassador, Baron Avezzana, in Washington, to Secretary of State Colby, reports that the Italian Ambassador has been unable to do more than to repeat to the American Government that the Italian Government has already entered into relations with Soviet Russia, in view of the fact that the Soviet Government is at present the only actual and powerful authority in Russia.

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NORWAY is negotiating with the Soviet Government, at Christiania, for the opening of trade relations between the two countries. The Soviet Government's representative for the purpose is Litvinov, who went to Christiania from his regular post, at Copenhagen, with this in view. There has been much discussion in Norwegian newspapers as to the delays in the opening of trade relations, which the Norwegian Government had been instructed by the Storting to bring about, in June of this year. A number of organs of commercial organizations, among them *Mea*, the journal of the fishermen of Finmarken, have complained in their editorials against the policy of procrastination that was being pursued by the Norwegian Foreign Department. *Mea* on August 11 received telegrams from Honningsvaag, couched in these terms: "Great indignation here against the Government, which seems incapable of taking up official negotiations with Russia on the subject of commercial relations. Readiness is expressed to support any action that may result in the overthrow of those now in power, who are leading the country into ruin." On August 25, *Social-Demokraten*, of Christiania, prints an interesting communication from Councillor of State Meyer Bruun, Minister of Commerce, who attempts to defend the attitude of the "present government" of Norway, and to give the impression that it has done everything it could to inaugurate commercial relations with Soviet Russia. The expression, "the present government," used by Mr. Bruun, seems to express an effort to throw the odium of the unpopular policy on earlier cabinets. Mr. Bruun goes on to say that if Norwegian fish is rotting in the storage-houses, for lack of a purchaser in Soviet Russia, it is because of the deficient initiative of the Norwegian fishermen, who seem to expect the government to do all their work, even their selling, for them. Mr. Bruun strongly recommends, in terms that seem strangely antiquated now, that the fishermen recognize the fact that it is now time for "private initiative to do something," etc. We have the text of Mr. Bruun's letter on file, but shall not print all of it unless conditions should later make it necessary, nor shall we publish the

able editorial answer appearing in the same issue of *Social-Demokraten*. We shall content ourselves with this little quotation from Mr. Bruun: "That Norway should proceed to an official recognition of the Soviet Government, before the latter has been recognized by any of the great powers, is more than anyone, as will be readily understood, can ask."

Not everyone may understand it. And yet, on reflection, in the days of the "League of Nations", it is probably one of the rules of "self-determination" that a small state may determine by itself whatever it likes, while large states may not only determine, but also act, the distinction of the "self-determined" small state being that its function is restricted to "determination". Not only governments hostile to that of Soviet Russia, such as the government of the "Republic" of Poland, must travel to Paris and London for instructions concerning their relations with Soviet Russia. Even little Norway, which was not an "associate" in the "League of Nations", which does not owe its existence to the "League", and which gained not an acre of land in the division of the loot, must obtain permission from France and England for the acts of its own Department of Commerce, or, if negotiation be the question at issue, its Foreign Department.

But Soviet Russia appears not to insist on negotiation. Soviet Russia wants only peaceful relations, wants only the mutual advantages to the nations that would result from a free exchange of commodities, and is willing to forego the joys of diplomatic uniforms and formal ceremonial requirements, if the Entente can take any satisfaction out of withholding these things from her. Mr. Bruun, by the way, seems, rather arbitrarily, to assume the identity of recognition and commercial intercourse, and to make rather ingenious use of the resort to "great powers", above quoted, which is made accessible by this confusion. For he could not pretend—certainly not if he is acquainted with the statistics on this subject that appear in the current issue of *SOVIET RUSSIA*—that the "great powers" are not engaged in commercial relations with Soviet Russia, while he might truthfully deny that they have recognized that country diplomatically.

LITHUANIA, in its swift ontogeny, is passing through the whole gamut of the phylogeny of nations; which musically and biologically expressed truth means this: Lithuania is rapidly reflecting, in its short existence as an "independent" nation, the historical stages that were characteristic of national developments in Europe during the nineteenth century. Of course the analogy is by no means perfect, as it was possible for a few of the large European nations in the nineteenth century to develop as units that were curbed only by other powerful nations, while the tragedy of the "new" political organism is that it is entirely a creature, at least in its present form, of the "great powers" interested in its existence. But the history of the Lithuanian national movement is an interesting parallel to the national movement of any big or little nation, whether it be Russia, Germany, or

Czecho-Slovakia. In many individuals, the discovery of the importance of the fact that he is a Lithuanian comes only when he is well along in his education—and those who know will tell you the same was the case in other countries. Perhaps he meets with a philological discussion of an Indo-European word, and finds that the Lithuanian form is more similar to the Greek than is the Latin, Celtic or German. Or, passing through the fields of primitive mythology, he may discover that the chief of the old Lithuanian gods was one who wielded the thunder and who, like Jove, ruled the heavens. It is difficult for one of romantic imagination—and what young man has not a romantic imagination?—to resist the implications of a racial relation that is urged with much delicate fervor and supported with much apparent science. A long-nursed hostility to clericalism, or an even Voltairian scepticism, will do much to help the incipient national movement, and there was no lack of these in the Lithuanian movement of the last decades, as anyone knows who has met its advocates. A one-sided love of the native language, the native traditions, folk-songs, and so on, is often enough, once it has been planted, to warp the intellectual nationalist for the rest of his life.

But, in the case of the small nation, these feelings are permitted to operate only when the powerful "protecting" (let us say, "determining") nation decrees that they shall be released. Lithuania reached this point in her existence a few months ago. Her march to the sea was satisfied by a tapering boundary converging toward the Baltic and ending a few miles of seacoast including the former German town of Memel and the famous Russian town of Polangen. Her desire for offensive and defensive alliances expressed itself in numerous arrangements with powerful "protectors". She has been hard put to it by attacks on the part of Polish imperialism, and she evidently now has a liberal government that is beginning to see the desirability of mutual arrangements with Soviet Russia. In her sufferings at the hands of the nations of the past, and in her hopes of friendly relations with the land of the future, Lithuania parallels many a community of much larger size and power.

SOVIET RUSSIA has succeeded in obtaining an interesting article from a Lithuanian authority, who discusses the relations between Poland and Lithuania. This article will appear shortly.

* * *

CORNELIUS VANDERBILT, JR., a newspaper correspondent, in a "Special to the New York Times" from San Francisco, dated September 15, and headlined: *Says Big Massacre Will End Red Regime*, does indeed quote a former Czarist military officer as predicting such a termination for the Soviet Government. Lt.-Gen. Sakharov, whose former Czarist *milieu* is enveloped in much glamor of detail by Mr. Vanderbilt, and who, like the former German Kaiser, is writing a

book on Bolshevism, seems to have led a rather finely pompous life as head of the Court Guard in the old days, and now delivers himself of these pregnant words:

"It is my opinion," he said today, "that Bolshevism will not last much longer, and that as soon as it starts to go to pieces, it will tumble with such a great fall that not any or all of the Red element in the world can ever put it together again. When it commences to crumble there will be a massacre of its tyrants that will appall the nations.

"But the fall of Bolshevism will come only from within the great walls of Russia herself. I have talked with peasants, with the great middle class of my country, with merchants and with priests during a wandering trip on horseback, and, when I could, by automobile, from the Volga to the Pacific Ocean. They are all against the type of government set up in Moscow, and which is shutting them off from the rest of the world. They are all tired of fighting, and soon they will rise in revolution that it will be impossible for the Bolsheviki to suppress. There are no large classes or parties in entire Russia who are for Bolshevism, which is imposed merely by a cunning, clever group of men who are strong enough in arms to keep down the timorous, sheeplike peasants. Personally, I think it is impossible for Bolshevism to continue longer than this winter."

Well, let us say six months. Six months is the favorite figure, and it will be easier to check up Mr. Sakharov if we force him into the Procrustes bed of his fellow prophets of the Russian counter-revolution. We shall come back to Mr. Sakharov in March or April, 1921.

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Resolution Passed by Petrograd Children's Colony

[The following resolution was passed by the children and teachers of the Petrograd Colony just before sailing on September 11.]

We, the undersigned, Executive Committee duly appointed by 780 children and thirty-seven teachers who accompany the said children, at the meeting of the said children and teachers held this day at Fort Wadsworth, Staten Island, United States of America, after being duly authorized and commissioned by the said assembly, do hereby certify that the following resolution was unanimously passed by the said children and teachers and that we were directed to forward said resolution to the parties mentioned in the said resolution:

"During the year of 1918 while a famine was threatening the city of Petrograd we were sent by a committee of the Soviet Government and of our parents, to the Ural district in order that we might there receive proper nourishment and support. We were then settled in small colonies of children in that district. When the Czecho-Slovaks began their campaign against Soviet Russia, late in 1918, their operations cut off our colonies from communication with European Russia, and as Kolchak and his Czecho-Slovak allies were then already beginning their retreat, we were moved along with the retreating armies across Siberia, without our consent and contrary to the repeated protests of our parents. We were shifted about in the vicinity of Vladivostok and finally the remnants of our colony, after disease and death had decimated our ranks, were interned on Russki Island, opposite Vladivostok, whence 780 of us have now been brought to New York by the American Red Cross, on the Japanese steamer *Yomei Maru*.

Now that we have literally encircled the globe, and have been hoping that after two years of separation we might again see our parents and homes, we are informed that we are not to be sent directly to Petrograd—and all of us lived at addresses in the vicinity of Petrograd, as the American Red Cross indicates in its lists of the addresses of the children's relatives—but to some Baltic port.

After many disappointments we are about to embark on a journey for a Baltic port which we are informed is to be Copenhagen. We trust and rely entirely upon the promises of the American Red Cross. Realizing that no obstacles should ordinarily lie in the way of a Red Cross organization to get into communication with even a belligerent government, we cannot conceive of any reasons why a ship flying a Red Cross flag should not sail directly for the port of Petrograd which is our home city. Having taken all these matters into consideration, the colony of children and teachers, this day in assembly convened, has declared the following to be its unanimous resolution:

RESOLVED, That the colony of the children and teachers accepts the word of the American Red Cross officials and their promises and interprets the same to signify that they will be returned to their homes in Petrograd without any further delay;

That the colony demands that a communication be sent to a committee of their parents in Petrograd through the Representative of the Soviet Government in New York. The colony is informed by the said Representative that he will gladly cooperate with the American Red Cross to make that possible;

That having been taken by different belligerent forces without their consent, having been held by Red Cross bodies for a period of about two years, without their consent, having been kept away from their families for over two years, and shifted from port to port, the children's colony feels that in the decision of all matters of importance, such as the destination where they are to be taken, they will not be obedient to the orders of any other body except their own parents' committee.

That the communication aforementioned be sent

through the Representative of the Soviet Government in New York, shall be to the effect that the American Red Cross will meet the parents' committee at some convenient Baltic port and through the committee of parents arrange for the final transportation and disposition of the children's colony.

Further resolved that a committee of five consisting of S. Bobrova, E. Mazun, L. Debner, G. Zavodchikov, O. Kamenskaya, be appointed at this meeting and that the said committee be authorized to transmit a copy of the resolution to the Atlantic Division of the American Red Cross, to Woodrow Wilson, President of the American Red Cross; to the International Red Cross in Geneva; to the Representative of the Russian Soviet Government in New York City, to the Secretary of State of the United States of America, and to the Committee of Russian Organizations;

And be it further resolved: That the children's and teachers' colony is deeply appreciative of the charity and hospitality of the American Red Cross and of the numerous favors and acts of kindness shown to them and it is the hope of the children's colony's assembly that the children can take with them and cherish unimpaired this feeling of gratitude and appreciation to the American Red Cross.

(Signatures)

S. BOBROVA,
E. MAZUN,
L. DEBNER,
G. ZAVODCHIKOV,
O. KAMENSKAYA.

ANTI-BOLSHEVISM

By A. E. C.

The following poem, taken from an English weekly, makes references to London newspapers:

The anti-Bolshevik Press	A sensualist,
Has many wonderful	A fanatic,
Tremendous	A Puritan and a debauchee,
Arguments	Drinking babies' blood
Against Bolshevism;	And writing pamphlets
So full of logic and correcti-	On Fraternity.
tude.	And pacifist Trotsky,
The <i>Morning Post</i> and <i>Times</i>	Who
Are fearfully upset	For peace at any price
Because in Russia	Sold his country
No one works or toils,	At Brest-Litovsk,
But also	And leads Red armies,
Are very distressed	A full-fledged
Because in Russia	Blood War-lord,
Everyone is compelled	Wading through carnage
to Work;	To Imperialism.
In Russia, no strikes	And the remaining Bolsheviks
Are allowed.	Are so uneducated, so illiterate,
Here a free country,	As to want to teach
A man can quit his job,	The peasant
And when he strikes and does	How to read;
Quit	And so uncivilized
The <i>Times</i> and <i>Post</i> inquire	As not to believe
Why doesn't the Government	The words
Club the dogs back to work.	Of Western statesmen.
Thank God for English	But surely the
Law	Great and freedom-loving
And Order.	Constitutional
Bolshevism has no law	British working class,
Nor order:	Knows our armies
All chaos and anarchy:	Are not for oil and steel and
A country	gold,
Where all are compelled	But to teach
By stringent	The Backward peoples
Decrees and State regulations	The Art
To the bidding	Of Self-determination.
Of tyrant usurpers.	But why they don't rally
It must be chaos	To freedom-loving Wrangel,
Where so many laws	And poor innocent Poland.
Are severely enforced.	And peaceful Mr. Churchill
And that tyrant,	Passes the comprehension.
Lenin,	But perhaps
Living in luxury	Those organs of Trade Union-
On a diet of fruit	ism,
In a whitewashed cell,	The <i>Morning Post</i> and <i>Times</i> ,
Seated, it is said,	May yet find
On a throne	That you can't dope
Of skulls,	Even the British workers
	Of all the time.

Educational Achievements in Soviet Russia

By WILLIAM W. DAMBIT

THOUGH a number of correspondences in the American dailies have justly appreciated the educational work of the Soviet authorities, one still finds in some of the conservative press-organs arguments to the effect that the Soviet Revolution has destroyed schools, culture, and civilization in general. To contradict those misrepresentations, it is quite timely to summarize the state of educational affairs in Soviet Russia, and also, to compare them somewhat with the educational situation in pre-Soviet Russia and America, in order to reveal more conspicuously the defects or the achievements of the educational work done by the Soviets.

The Soviet regime, aiming at the abolition of economic and other class privileges, could not afford to preserve them in education. If the acquisition of education is dependent upon the money-resources of those who aspire to it, it constitutes largely, if not exclusively, a privilege of the rich and well-to-do. It was true to a very large extent in the old imperial Russia, where all the secondary and higher educational institutions charged high tuition fees, and where even most of the city and a number of the country elementary schools were pay-schools. The admission to the higher schools was unreservedly conditioned by certificates and diplomas held chiefly by the children of the propertied classes. Besides, the higher schools in old Russia (and, undoubtedly, elsewhere) could be attended, mainly only by students whose living expenses were covered by the good incomes of their parents or relatives. The sons and daughters of the poor were with a few exceptions excluded, though they might have finished the course of the secondary school. Likewise the children of wage-laborers and peasants in Russia (and not in Russia alone) often were kept from attending even the elementary school, because the necessity of providing them with food and school-supplies constituted too heavy a burden for their poor parents.

In view of such facts, the Soviet Revolution, in order to provide equal opportunities of education for all, had before it, as its first task, the elimination of those privileges in education. For that purpose the Soviet state itself took over, or nationalized, in 1917 and 1918, the whole educational system. At the very beginning of this change, elementary and secondary education was made gratuitous and compulsory for all. In addition, the Soviet authorities, since 1918, have been supplying the primary and secondary schools with free textbooks and other school appliances; and in August of the same year, the School Health Department of the People's Commissariat of Education ordered that each school child be provided gratuitously with lunch "containing, at least, 20 grammes of protein, 12 grammes of fat, and 100 grammes of carbohydrate."

Though this free feeding was at first necessitated by the extraordinarily bad food conditions in the cities, it finally became a permanent integral part of the Soviet public school system. In relation to higher education, a decree of the Soviet Government promulgated in August 1918, abolished tuition fees in the higher educational institutions, and prohibited the use or requirements of certificates and diplomas as the prerequisite for admission, stipulating that all persons of both sexes over sixteen years of age were entitled to admission without any diploma. Subsequently, the Soviet Government decreed to pay from the state resources to the students of the higher schools regular monthly allowances sufficient to cover moderate living expenses. Every student having no means of subsistence and showing success in his studies is entitled to these allowances during the whole period of his studies. Thus, the Russian nobility, rich peasants, and bourgeoisie lost the advantage of preferentially placing their children in the higher educational institutions. Their doors, since the reforms reviewed here, were thrown open to every workingman, peasant, and any one else who was ambitious enough to aspire to higher education.

Another fundamental educational task for Soviet Russia has been the increase of the facilities for education, as the number of schools and their equipment was very inadequate in pre-Soviet Russia! Therefore, the Soviet authorities set to work to build new schools, to equip them better, and to enlarge the school extension activities. In this respect the Soviet regime has made remarkable progress. According to the most recent available official data of the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, in the school year of 1918-1919 alone, 5,700 new schools were opened, the number of students amounting in all the elementary grades to 2,618,000, in the secondary grades, to 200,000. This number makes a good showing in comparison with that of old imperial Russia where the number of children in schools never exceeded twenty-five per cent of the whole number of the children of school-age. Of course, in the subsequent school year of 1919-1920 the number of scholars was surely much higher. Lincoln Eyre, the well-known correspondent of *The World*, whom nobody would accuse of exaggerating the achievements of Soviet Russia, makes the statement (*The World*, March 25, 1920), based on his personal conversation with Lunacharsky, that 3,000,000 children in Soviet Russia were attending the primary schools and half of that number the secondary schools. Obviously, the figures given by Lincoln Eyre represent the first half of the school year of 1919-1920 and, consequently, a more recent school situation. It shows that the Soviet Republic, in pro-

viding facilities for elementary and secondary education, seems to have greatly surpassed the pre-Soviet regime.

As to the higher schools, the Soviet Government as early as August 2, 1918, passed a decree urging "in case the number of applicants for admission to the higher educational institutions should exceed the usual number of vacancies, to undertake extraordinary steps insuring an opportunity for study to every one desiring it." In consequence, many new smaller colleges, technical high schools, special rural universities, and universities of the usual type were opened. The number of larger universities alone has increased from seven (in Czarist Russia) to seventeen under the Soviet Republic. Moscow, the present cultural center of Russia, in 1919 had 22 colleges with 69,916 students, of which 25,972 attended the University of Moscow alone.

In regard to equipment, among other things, school museums were collected, established, and consolidated, and special workshops for the production of museum articles and laboratory facilities were erected.

The educational extension work of the Soviets embraces different kinds of classes and courses in the usual academic subjects, sciences, arts, technology, agriculture, social activities, labor and peasants' organization problems, etc., and in combating adult illiteracy. For the last-named purpose an anti-illiteracy decree of the Soviet Government provides that all Russians between the ages of eight and fifty must learn reading and writing in Russian or in their native tongue. All literate persons may be ordered to assist in teaching illiterates. For the adults receiving instruction in reading and writing, the working day is shortened by two hours. In pursuance of the stipulations of this decree, almost every city and country school is used in the evenings, as well as during the day, for teaching illiterate adults; in addition, newspapers, posters, and special propaganda trains disseminate a conception of the importance of everybody's knowing how to read and write.

The organization, courses of students, and curriculum of the schools likewise have undergone the most remarkable progressive changes. According to the program for school reform, the ordinary schools should be preceded by the kindergarten, which is now being organized on the basis of a mixed Froebelian and Montessori system. In old pre-revolutionary Russia, the kindergartens existed only in the larger cities, almost entirely as private charitable establishments for the poor, or as luxurious institutions for the rich. Now they have been opened both in the cities and the rural communities, for all children without discrimination, amounting in number at the end of 1919 to some 2,000 schools, with an attendance of over 200,000. The public school itself embraces the school years from eight to sixteen, and is made up of a primary school (eight to twelve years) and a secondary school (twelve to sixteen years), the scholars passing automatically from the primary to the second-

ary grades, and from the latter to the higher schools. The curriculum has been thoroughly modernized by the introduction of modern social subjects and the elements of the sciences, already in the primary school, and by school excursions, auditorium assemblages, play activities, shop work, and domestic science, both in the primary and secondary grades. In old Russia, these modern subjects of the curriculum were taught only in a comparatively small number of schools, of the best type; the Soviet Revolution made them an essential part of the whole public school system. Furthermore, the Soviet public school is conceived as a *work school-commune*, where the children themselves perform the work for its upkeep and maintenance, taking part in the preparation and serving of their food, engaging in play, self-activities, and rest, and, together with the teachers, representatives of the parents, and school employes, constituting an organization for the administration of the affairs of the institution. Thus, the school represents, in miniature, a socialized, self-active, self-supporting society, serving as a means of practical education in productive work and civil activities.

The proper vocational education is provided by special secondary technical schools, to which the pupils pass after their graduation from the secondary schools. The Soviet authorities, however, contemplate, by extending the number of school years and enlarging the curriculum, to transform in the course of time the primary, secondary, and vocational schools into a unique polytechnic school, where the usual academic subjects, sciences, art, and vocational training constitute a combined unique system of elementary compulsory education.

The curricula and the organization of the higher schools also have been affected by considerable changes. In addition to the traditional courses extending over many years, there are now in existence various short college courses giving instruction in the usual academic subjects, education, and vocational branches, and thus meeting the urgent educational needs of the people for a speedy preparation of trained workers in the field of economic and civic activities. Simultaneously, special labor faculties and special labor universities have been opened. Their aim is to educate from among workingmen and peasants, faithful to the Soviet regime, thoroughly trained specialists in Soviet administration affairs, the organization and management of industrial enterprises, Soviet estates, agricultural communes, cooperatives, and in other branches of the economic and social life. To those labor faculties and universities the students are appointed by the Soviet authorities, the Communist Party, labor unions, agricultural communes, cooperatives, and other workers' and peasants' organizations, the students receiving the means of subsistence from the state or respective organizations. For the promotion of science and higher learning in general, new special scientific institutions for research and experiments in chemistry, biology, bacteriology, agriculture, mining, electro-

technics, etc., have come into existence. A number of the higher schools have been consolidated, in order to enrich the equipment of the enlarged institutions. The students of the higher schools possess the right to participate in their administration, having at the same time ample opportunities for self-activity, and initiative in their studies.

As to methodology, the People's Commissariat of Education and its subordinate organs have spared no effort to introduce into the primary, secondary, and higher schools modern, scientific methods: observation, self-activity, selection of studies by the scholars, experiment, and research, as the basis for the determination of the best methods to be employed. Some of the work school-communes have been assigned, and a number of higher educational institutions established, mainly for experimentation purposes.

It is obvious that the Soviet regime has been and is hard at work in completely democratizing education, diffusing knowledge amongst the masses of the people, in order to enrich their mental life, to equip them with scientifically trained minds, with efficiency in production, and with self-activity in every line of life, for the development and welfare of the republic. The school reforms of Soviet Russia are in accord with the greatest modern educational principles, which, in substance, advocate the complete democratization of education, training in efficiency, and the application of experiments and innovations. Particularly the Soviet work school-commune contains many features of the best American public schools (the introduction of manual training and domestic sciences, the school auditorium and play, the self-activities of the scholars, the junior high school, etc.), together

with radical innovations such as those advocated by pedagogues like John Dewey. But the introduction of free feeding and of communal work in the public schools, the abolition of fees, the simultaneous payment of monthly allowances to the students in the higher schools, and the ample provision for the workingmen's higher education in Soviet Russia, surpass the most progressive educational achievements in any other country.

Finally, in evaluating the educational work of Soviet Russia, one must take into consideration the widely known efforts of the Soviet authorities in the distribution of cheap editions of classic works of literature (some 6,000,000 volumes in the last two years), in the establishment of a whole system of new libraries, in the collection and preservation of art works, and in the provision of exceptionally wide opportunities for the masses of the people to obtain aesthetic education through art and music schools, concerts, and theatres.

Does this look like a "destruction of civilization", so stupidly alleged and realleged by some of the conservative anti-Soviet press organs? On the contrary, the Soviet regime has brought civilization into the very midst of the masses of the people, has enriched and developed it. Of course, the war, exhausting the material and human resources of the country, has largely handicapped the Soviet authorities in carrying out completely their educational program. Therefore, the number of schools, teachers, and equipment, is as yet by no means adequate in Russia. But these limitations can not be ascribed to any alleged inefficiency of the Soviet educational policy, which under the circumstances has proved to be very efficient.

The Collectivization of Agriculture

The Department of Collective Farming in its present form was organized after the First All-Russian Congress of the Departments of Agriculture, of the committees of poor peasants and of the communes, which took place in December, 1918, and began to work regularly only about the end of May, 1919. Until then the work of collectivization of agriculture was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Communes, which had been formed in May, 1918.

The first task of the Department was the formulation of a model constitution for the communes, for which purpose the Department made use of the abundant material of the local constitutions. Simultaneously the Department worked out rules regarding the registration of agricultural collective enterprises and drafted the regulations regarding loans to these enterprises.

In the beginning of July, 1918, the Department of Communes of the Commissariat of Agriculture had registered only 342 communes with 9,985 members; about the end of August 523 communes were registered; on October 15, 700, and on No-

vember 1, 1918, there were already registered 912 communes and artels, with 32,199 members. They had in their possession 73,809 dessiatins of land, of which 40,038 dessiatins were cultivated. Almost daily the department was visited by delegates from the communes, who came there for information on collective farming.

The First All-Russian Congress of the Departments of Agriculture, committees of poor peasants and communes was in session from December 10 to 20, 1918. Although the congress considered the communes of paramount importance, it nevertheless worked out "Regulations for social exploitation of land" as a transition measure to collective agriculture. Thus, the methods for the realization of socialist agriculture were considerably widened. In accordance with this the activity of the organs directing the work for the collectivization of agriculture unfolded.

By November 1, 1919, there had been registered 1,921 communes with 100,037 consumers, and 4,445 cooperatives and other societies with 320,367 consumers.

Lately, the population has taken a friendly attitude towards the communes, particularly in those localities where the communes have demonstrated their ability to exist.

For instance, the peasants of a commune in the Government of Penza furnished of their own accord, 150 wagons for the transport of timber. Reports are being received from various localities, to the effect that members of the communes are being elected to the District Executive Committees, and that, in general, they are being favored as responsible workers, for they have the reputation of being non-partisan and just.

In the district of Tarusa, the Government of Kaluga, a kindergarten was established in the commune "Liberty", to which not only the children of the commune members were admitted, but also the children of the other comrades in the village. In the Government of North-Dvinsk, the communes have risen much in the estimation of the population because they employ mowing and harvesting machines. And the organization of model communes has contributed not a little in producing this result.

There are communes which have, out of their own resources, created repair shops, oil mills, and other establishments of similar nature, which min-

ister to the needs of the population, and in this way a friendly relation is established.

During the last few years, the membership of the communes has mostly been made up of proletarian elements from country and city. The well-to-do did not participate, as the feeling for property is still strongly implanted in them, and besides they were not convinced of the permanence of the Soviet Government. These elements prefer to own their own property even if it is a small one.

As can be seen from the following table, reports concerning the growth of communes had not been received from all the provinces on January 1, 1920. However, the material at hand proves that there has been no cessation in the growth of the communes, but that, on the contrary, they are becoming more firmly established. (See following table.)

In view of the fact that at the present time the poorest classes of the agricultural population have already been admitted to the communes, and that these at present are also improving in quality, it can be asserted that the movement is becoming more and more deeply rooted, for now a new less mobile class of peasants from the ranks of the so-called middle, formerly "established peasants" are being attracted to them.

Provinces:	Number of Operative Collegiums				Number of Consumers Under the Operative Collegiums				Area of Land Belonging to the Operative Collegiums			
	Communes	Cooperatives	Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy	Total	In Communes	In Cooperatives	Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy	Total	In Communes	In Cooperatives	Farming in Common and Other Forms of Collective Economy	Total
1 Astrakhan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
2 Archangel	1	.....	2	3	42	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 Vitebak	47	139	.....	186	2,225	.....	.....	6,953	8,698	7,739	.....	16,437
4 Vladimir	46	92	21	159	2,358	11,026	1,735	15,119	1,468	2,035	351	3,854
5 Vologda	16	72	20	108	845	5,557	1,486	7,888	4,709	2,968.5	888	8,565.5
6 Voronezh	10	38	3	51	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7 Viatka	57	84	21	162	2,301	4,701	2,189	9,191	2,030.17	1,326.24	2,188.1	5,744.51
8 Homel	70	180	20	270	5,110	11,325	1,010	17,445	8,723	15,794	1,640	26,157
9 Ivanovo-Voznessensk	38	198	.....	236	1,270	21,124	.....	22,394	2,547.5	2,923.5	.....	5,471
10 Kazan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
11 Kaluga	37	77	158	272	1,690	11,322	3,109	16,121	4,082	11,692	1,759	17,533
12 Kostroma	63	311	96	470	1,970	14,667	5,597	22,234	4,925	36,740	1,978	43,643
13 Kurak	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14 Moscow	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
15 Nizhni-Novgorod	17	88	36	141	856	6,622	7,595	15,073	.....	.....	.....	.....
16 Novgorod	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
17 Olonez	9	36	10	55	341	1,025	374	1,740	.....	.....	.....	.....
18 Orel	57	357	.....	414	4,000	25,181	.....	29,181	5,003	33,771	.....	38,774
19 Penza	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
20 Petrograd	59	152	17	228	1,420	5,821	443	7,684	6,267	18,440	1,176	25,883
21 Perm	28	1	.....	29	1,598	34	.....	1,632	4,216	.....	.....	4,216
22 Pakov	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
23 Riazan	.....	.....	.....	87*	.....	.....	.....	11,811*	.....	.....	.....	56,777*
24 Samara	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
25 Saratov	63	135	.....	198	4,892	13,764	.....	18,656	13,369	21,692	.....	35,061
26 North-Dvinsk	29	65	.....	94	1,482	3,623	.....	5,105	.....	.....	.....	.....
27 Simbirsk	22	26	.....	48	1,834	931	.....	2,765	2,378	548	.....	2,926
28 Smolensk	360	121	273	754	15,923	5,450	12,076	33,449	21,033.5	7,670	18,008	46,711.5
29 Tambov	43	191	1	235	1,893	20,627	316	22,836	.....	.....	.....	16,062*
30 Tver	120	180	30	330	4,509	5,640	1,933	12,082	13,815	14,039	2,091	29,945
31 Tula	30	78	5	113	2,073	8,230	133	10,436	2,986	3,577	.....	6,563
32 Cherepovetz	49	122	15	186	2,455	7,317	1,253	11,025	3,017	9,146	1,556	13,719
33 Yaroslav	40	143	34	217	1,197	6,954	2,370	10,522	3,066	3,719	800	7,585
	1,311	2,886	762	4,959	62,284	195,669	41,716	299,669	112,369.17	194,020.24	32,512.1	338,901.51

* Not included in the total.

Membership of the Collegiums

of the Main Committees and Centers of the Economic Council

According to the results of an investigation of fifty-three production committees and centers of the Supreme Economic Council, the number of members of the main committees and centers consists of 232 persons, as can be seen by the following table:

<i>Members of the Collegiums</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total Members</i>
Workers	83	35.8
Engineers	79	34.0
Directors	1	0.4
Clerical Workers	50	21.6
All Other	19	8.2
Total Members of 53 Committees	232	100.0

Among the 232 members of the collegiums there is only one single former Director. The largest group of collegium members is formed by genuine workers who number 83 persons, or about 36 per cent of the entire membership. But upon closer consideration, the number of proletarian elements in the membership of the collegiums of the main committees and centers proves to be still larger, as a considerable number of the clerks, of whom there are 50, or almost 22 per cent of the entire membership, consists of office workers, book-keepers, etc., who absolutely must be regarded as proletarian elements and have always been regarded as such. Besides these, the other members of the collegiums are 79 engineers, or, to express it differently,—specialists, who constitute 34 per cent of the entire membership, and 19 persons (eight per cent) of various callings, as, for example, literary men, lawyers, etc., who were for the most part active in the party for many years.

From the professional membership of the collegiums functioning in the main committees and centers, the conclusion may be drawn that the power of the proletarian influence in the collegiums is sufficiently well grounded. This fact will be still more evident if the party affiliations of the membership of the collegiums of the main committees and centers are investigated. From this standpoint, the members of the collegiums of the main committees and centers may be divided into the following groups:

	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Communists	115	50
No Party	105	45
Members of other parties (Mensheviks)	12	5
Total	132	100

These figures prove that a large number of the engineers and clerks belong to the Communist Party, while on the other hand a large number of the non-partisans are sympathizers with the Communists. The number of party members in the existing collegiums of the main committees and centers, also shows that the Russian Commun-

ist Party plays an unqualifiedly leading role in them.

Let us turn to the question of how many members the said collegiums consist of. It can be seen from the following table, that in 80 per cent of the main committees and centers (in 43 out of 53) there are not more than four or five members and that, on the average, to every main committee, there are not more than four members in the collegium. Only in particularly large main committees and centers, such as the Main Committee of the textile industry, which has 10 collegium members, does the collegium consist of more than five people.

<i>Number of Collegium Members</i>	<i>Number of Committees</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
1	3	6
2 or 3	18	34
4 or 5	22	41
5 or 7	7	13
Over 7	3	6
Total	53	100

The members of the collegiums of every main committee and center are subject to the constant supervision of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council on the one hand, and the Union Organizations on the other.

The collegium of every main committee and center is confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council, after an obligatory preliminary agreement with the Central Committee of the corresponding Union Organizations or with the All-Russian Central Soviet of the Union Organizations. Every single member of a collegium has a strictly defined set of duties, and carries to the fullest extent personal responsibility for the services rendered by him.

THE GRAIN STOCK IN SIBERIA

The Moscow *Pravda* published the following data on the grain stocks in Siberia:

According to the data of Kolchak's ministry of supplies, the free surplus of grain for 1918-1919 amounted to 77,054,000 poods more than the total needs for Siberia. The surplus of the 1919-1920 harvest in excess of the needs of the local population is estimated at 71,753,000 poods. Thus, the total surplus for 1920 amounts to about 140,000,000 poods.

CENSUS IN SOVIET RUSIA

CHRISTIANIA, August 29.—A message from Moscow dated August 28 states:

A general census begins in Soviet Russia today, which is to be not only a census of the population, but also a total inventory of the workers' and peasants' republic. The object of the reenumeration is to determine the character and the capacity of agriculture and manufactures, the distribution according to occupations, and the efficiency of the population of Soviet Russia.

The Red Officers

The miracle of the Red Army astounded the whole world. Built in a country completely disorganized and ruined by the world war, and attacked on all sides by mighty enemies, the Red Army has become, to the amazement of both friend and foe, perhaps the best, certainly the most reliable army in Europe. There are many puzzling features about this army, for the outsider, and one of them is the question of officers. The old, czarist officers were counter-revolutionary, and could be expected to do and did their utmost to overthrow the rule of the workers and peasants. Even the few czarist officers who joined the Soviet army could not be relied upon and had to be watched by Soviet commissaries. But what about the tens of thousands of officers that were required for the lower command and that could not be watched by commissaries?

The Soviet Government solved this problem by taking hold of the old military schools and by opening a large number of short courses for military instruction. We offer to the readers of SOVIET RUSSIA a number of statements by the chiefs of the Soviet army and the Soviet military schools, which were published in the "Izvestia" of June 6, 1920. June 6 was the "Day of the Red Commander" at Moscow. On this day Moscow was giving a great send-off to a few hundred of Red officers, new graduates of the Moscow military schools, who were leaving for the western front. The "Izvestia" used this occasion to publish statements from the Soviet chiefs, extolling the Red officers and calling up the workers and peasants to fill up the military schools, to provide a reserve force of officers for the front. Some of these statements the reader will find below.

PROVIDE RED COMMANDERS FOR THE FRONT

By L. TROTZKY

The war with the Polish nobility is a serious war. Poland is not alone. She is backed by the mightiest nations in the world. The Anglo-French imperialists not only linked Pilsudsky with Wrangel, but Pilsudsky with Ebert and Scheidemann as well. The Polish command removed its troops from the German frontier and sent them against us. New armies are being hastily formed in all the provinces of Poland.

Of course, Poland is worn out and ruined. But the Entente is furnishing all the necessary supplies for the creation of White divisions. France supplies instructors: The United States lends equipment at a low price. England, in accord with the October contract, supplies cartridges and shells to be used against the Russian workers and peasants. All this mighty international combination has put too great a task on Poland. Those are wrong, therefore, who say and write that the Polish army is on the eve of annihilation. No, the struggle is only beginning. *The Polish army is still powerful and is being strengthened with new units.* We can conquer White Poland only through the heroic efforts of all the toiling people. The Red troops on the western and southwestern fronts must have a continuous flow of reserves, and these reserves must have a commanding staff.

The Red courses for commanders are the forges where our coming victory over Poland is now being forged. We must have a large reserve of Red commanders. There must therefore be no vacancies in the courses for commanders. The party organizations, the trade unions, the young people's organizations should launch a vigorous agitation among their members, to urge their best young men into the courses for the commanding staff.

Work in the courses should be carried on with trebled energy. The enemy is strong and well trained,—and we must have an efficient and competent commanding staff, capable of initiative.

Therefore let the workers and peasants of Russia whole-heartedly help their courses for commanders, their foundries of victory.

STATEMENT OF S. S. KAMENEV

Commander-in-Chief of all the Armed Forces of the Soviet Republic

Today, on the "day of the Red Commander", we are sending off a new group of Red commanders to battle against the Polish nobility. There, at the western front, our new commanders will have to apply their knowledge and ability to battle against the enemies of Red Russia. In this struggle, in this best school of war for the Red commander—for the Polish army, built from parts of the armies of all nations which waged the war of 1914-1918 and possessing the experience and the methods of all of them, is a serious and able adversary,—the Red commander will display with particular splendor and vigor his basic traits, his enthusiasm and conviction of the righteousness of this great final struggle, as well as his firmness and unexampled daring.

Waging this struggle and dying for the cause of the workers, departing comrades will be sure that the Russian workers who have already endured three years of desperate struggle under impossible conditions and who comprehend the importance and the necessity definitely to liquidate the attempts of the Polish nobility, must and will give new groups of working class youth to replace those who will be forced out of the ranks and to complete and secure their bloody and difficult task.

Even now the necessity to fill the ranks of the Red commanding staff is already clearly felt, and the working class youth must and—I am sure—will enroll in the schools for Red commanders, for this is demanded by the interests of the working class struggle and the duty to Soviet Russia.

On this day I cannot help recalling the service which many of the departing students already rendered to the Red Army, which they performed at the time when the students of the Moscow and

Petrograd courses for commanders, sent in a body to halt the bands of Yudenich, accomplished this task, defending Red Petrograd with honor and thus giving us time and enabling us to concentrate ample forces completely to crush the enemy. A similar feat, though on a smaller scale, was performed at the height of the Polish offensive by the students of the Minsk courses for commanders, who twice halted the Poles before Gomel and prevented its falling into the hands of the enemy, thus saving for us this important railway junction.

The departing comrades know all this, they remember and they highly value the name and honor of the Red commanders, they know that the workers' Russia is proud of them, and we are sure that these new fighters for the cause of the workers will soon vindicate our pride in them.

STATEMENT OF COMRADE RATTEL

Chief of the All-Russian General Staff

We have a considerable number of courses and schools to train Red commanders for the workmen's and peasants' army. These courses have already trained several tens of thousands of workmen and peasants for the commanding staff, who have proven with their blood their loyalty and faithfulness to the workmen's and peasants' Republic. Among those who are now graduating from the courses for the commanding staff there are many workmen who are well along in age, and there are quite a few who are very young. All of them studied in the courses with unusual exertion, eagerly assimilating the practical and theoretical knowledge offered to them. In the ranks of the army, the Red commander is welcomed with particular affection and confidence, and in general they work splendidly. The great advantage of the Red commanders in the army is the absolute confidence in them of the mass of the Red soldiers, and their fearlessness in battle.

Their weak side—which is, of course, explained by the short term of instruction—lies in the fact that on the whole the training in military science is poorer than that which former officers had. But many of them very quickly learn from practice what they could not learn in the courses for commanders, owing to the brief terms of instruction.

The army is in extreme need of a Red commanding staff, emerging from the ranks of the workmen and peasants; the army needs them in large numbers, but with longer terms of training, and for this purpose it is imperative that the courses for commanders shall be filled with students. As experience has shown, the Red commanders emerging from the ranks of the workers have proven especially valuable in the army, and more easily and quickly assimilated the military science and practice.

We must use all means to urge the workers and peasants—especially now, when the struggle on the western front will be difficult and protracted, requiring a large commanding staff—to fill the courses for commanders and keep flocking to those courses. Our reliance is on the Red commanding

staff of workmen and peasants who have received adequate training in the courses.

RED STUDENTS AND RED COMMANDERS

By D. PETROVSKY*

Today the young Red commanders who are leaving for the western front to fight the Polish nobility will assemble on Theatre Square. They number hundreds. They are the result of the feverish work of the workmen's and peasants' courses for commanders. On the Square will be assembled infantrymen, cavalymen, machine-gun operators and artillerists, Red technicians, and artillery and supply experts. There will be among them commanders of platoons and of companies, of squadrons and battalions. And all of them come from families of toil, for whom the November Revolution opened the schools, which train the proletariat to become the dominant class in order to abolish the existence of classes. The whole country is covered with such schools. And on the Theatre Square of Moscow will be assembled only a fraction of the Red commanders who are leaving today from all parts of the country, to defend the front of the revolution.

Each of these schools has a fine legend of its own. To be sure, they have only existed 25-28 months. But we live in the time of the greatest revolution, when the country is rushing ahead like a hurricane, when an hour is equivalent to a year, and a month to a decade. Of course, the time has not yet come to summarize the results of our activity. This will be the work of future generations. We are too close to the picture of social triumph to be able to analyze correctly. But something can and should be said of the importance of the new schools.

At the Fifth Congress of Soviets it was already shown that the Red officers are the most loyal and the most determined soldiers of the Soviet power. This was at the dawn of our revolution. Since then, much blood has been shed, and the Red commanders, as well as the Red students, have earned unfading glory.

The first treacherous attack on the Soviet power—the insurrection of the left Socialists Revolutionists—was repulsed by the Red students. Since then these students took part in numerous great battles. They were the mighty support of the revolution in the struggle against the insurrections of the rich peasants, and against the Russian and world counter-revolution. They stood unflinchingly in front of the capital of the Social Revolution—Red Petrograd. They were the mainstay of the armies at all fronts. The immense importance of the schools for Red commanders is felt at every front of our revolution. The students are the most fearless soldiers, and the commanders became the armor of the revolution against which all the intrigues of our enemies within the Red Army itself went to pieces.

The regenerating power of the Soviet military

* Educational Director of the Moscow Military School.

schools was revealed with particular force at the hour when it seemed that toiling Russia, at the price of great sacrifices, had won for herself the right to a respite, which she wanted to utilize to heal her wounds. The Red students and the Red commanders were the inspiration of that passionate impulse for toil which began to spread through the country with the force of a whirlwind. With every blow of the hammer they proclaimed to the world:

"We are not soft-handed, we are not professional officers. We took the sword to conquer the right for the hammer and the plough." And the records of the toiling artels of the military schools furnish clear and unmistakable evidence of the future for which Soviet Russia is fighting.

Today all Russia is cheerfully and confidently sending off her best sons to battle and to victory. The workers should immediately, today, enroll in the courses for commanders, in order to fill the vacancies and to prepare valiant commanders for the valiant army.

THE MILITARY COMMISSARIAT OF EDUCATION

By V. ROSOVSKY

Today, on June 6, when the Soviet Republic is sending forth into the ranks of the glorious Red Army several thousands of tried proletarian Red officers, hardened in battles and politically developed, who are armed with knowledge of military science, it is but right to give at least a general outline of the work of the General Board of the Military Schools, of the Red "Guvuz",* or, as it is called by many, not without reason, of the "Military Commissariat of Education."

The "Guvuz" is one of the institutions which retained the old name, but has nothing in common with the old "Guvuz", either in spirit, or in the methods of the work in the courses for commanders.

Constant communion with the Red soldiers and workmen, orientation in political questions, unqualified loyalty to the working class, self-reliance, training not only in military science but also in political and economic problems, and in the organization of production—in short, they are Red officers for defence and toil—such are the distinctive traits of the pupils of the present military schools, of the Red students, who are workmen and peasants.

It need hardly be mentioned that the Communist Party furnishes the greater part of the students. The groups of the Party include, in most of the schools, from eighty to ninety per cent of the student body.

The most remarkable feature is this, that the students not only overcome their lack of education and various vices (drunkenness, gambling, etc.), but accomplish far more than that. They win over to their ideas the (old) commanding staff. Most of the latter have already been at-

* "Guvuz" is an abbreviation of the preceding full name in Russian, formed from the initials of its parts.

tracted to the educational work of the courses and they form a single friendly family with the students. There are also tens and hundreds of the best commanders, who have already joined the Communist Party. The cooperation of the non-partisan commanding staff with the students during "saturdayings" is convincing evidence of how much has been accomplished in this direction.

COMPOSITION of PETROGRAD SOVIET (In the First Half of 1920)

There were registered in all districts, including the representatives of the Petrograd Party Committees (eighteen comrades), altogether 1,924 persons. Of these there are:

	<i>Persons</i>
Communists	1,431
Candidates	17
Sympathizers	55
No Party	402
Social Revolutionaries of the Minority.....	10
Left Maximilists	1
Left Social-Revolutionaries	1
Anarcho-Syndicalists	2
Anarchists	1
United Labor Party.....	1
Bundists	1
Social Democrats	2

The data concerning the length of membership in the party of the Communist majority may be of interest. To the party have belonged:

<i>Since the year:</i>	<i>Comrades</i>
1896	1
1897	1
1900	1
1901	3
1902	6
1903	12
1904	7
1905	17
1906	3
1907	3
1908	4
1909	6
1910	2
1911	1
1912	6
1913	2
1914	10
1915	6
1916	1
1917	220
1918	300
1919	480
1920	10

The remaining comrades who number over 300, have not reported as to the length of their membership in the party.

The largest number of our party members in the Petrograd Soviet joined the party during the years of revolution, 1917, 1918, 1919, and 1920. This fact is very significant. Our party grew at a period of the utmost difficulty for the party. We were surrounded within and without by class enemies, we had inherited from bourgeois society a completely disorganized economy, a similarly disorganized transport system, hunger, cold and disease. During this period, so difficult for us, the new members joined our party, our revolutionary ranks filled up.

Wireless and Other News

APPEAL OF THE RUSSIAN WATER-TRANSPORT WORKERS

(Private telegram to the "Rote Fahne", Berlin.)

STOCKHOLM, August 10.—To the transport workers of all countries, to the International Secretary of Transport Workers' Unions in Amsterdam, to the Secretary of the British Transport Workers' Union, Robert Williams, London.

The All-Russian Union of Water-Transport Workers has received news of the shameful acts of violence which the British Government commits against Russian seamen who enter its territory. The protest of the Seamen's Committee in Cardiff, in the *Daily Herald*, describes the methods employed by the British Government. It treats the Russian seamen as its colonial slaves, in that it takes from them the right of domicile, dooms them to unemployment, and deprives them of their legal rights. And this does not happen in some remote corner of India or the Pacific Ocean, or the Colonies, but under the eyes of the English workers, right on the British Isles.

We understand the hatred of the bourgeoisie for the working class, but we do not understand how the British workers still stand and look on while their class brothers are being treated in this hostile way. All the beautiful speeches about the sympathy for the Russian Revolution and the Soviet system, which your representatives have long ago made, have so far remained idle talk. But the cup of sorrow of the working class is overflowing in all countries. The shamelessness of the bourgeoisie knows no limits, because it meets with no active opposition from you. We appeal to you to take a stand against the shameful treatment of Russian seamen by the English authorities. We hope for the success of your action and are convinced that you will translate into deeds your solidarity with the Russian Water-Transport Workers which you have expressed in words.

MUNITIONS DELIVERED TO POLAND

Moscow, August 2 (by wireless)—*Pravda* reports that while the official organ of the Czechoslovak Republic declared that all nations wanted to live at peace with Soviet Russia, French arms and munitions were passing through Czechoslovakia to Poland.

THE RUSSIAN WIRELESS

Moscow, August 2 (by wireless).—In the Moscow district a large wireless station is being erected for communication with America. It will bear the name of Khutorov. Another, smaller wireless station, will be erected for the European wireless service.

GERMAN ARMS FOR FINLAND AGAINST RUSSIA

Swedish newspapers inform us that the German sailing vessel *Merkur*, has arrived in the harbor of Hango, with a crew made up exclusively of former German officers, and carrying war material of all kinds on board. The cargo was destined for Major von Coler, a former German officer, now in the Finnish army, and Chief of the garrison troops of Hango.

It is peculiar that the guard kept by the Entente Commissions over the rivers and harbors of Germany never discover when war material is loaded on German ships to be sent to the coalition against Russia. Peculiar also is the fact that Mr. Mannerheim had so much freedom of action while on German soil, that he could charter German ships for the transport of war material for his own purposes and could organize on German territory a Finnish military organization composed of former German officers.

THE POLISH WHITE TERROR

Socialdemokrats, the central organ of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Latvia, which did its best in an effort to reach an "understanding with Poland" in their fight against Soviet Russia, in its issue of June 4, 1920, gives the following facts about the Polish terror in White Russia:

"The Polish occupational forces in White Russia, in their willingness to terrify the people of White Russia who began to fight the Polish occupationists in armed insurrections, are not only using the *death penalty against the rebels*, but have made the infliction of the death penalty a *public holiday*. So in Minsk, as stated, every day from seven to ten men are shot. The shooting takes place in the day time. The men condemned to death are driven around the streets before their shooting and the inhabitants are invited to attend the killings, which are held in the suburbs of the city, at the so-called Kararovka (Romanovka?)."

IN DEFENCE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

At the conference of the shop councils in Stettin, Germany, the following resolution was adopted:

The general meeting of the shop councils expresses its full satisfaction with the resolution passed in Stettin by the dock-workers, not to load any ammunition. This resolution indicates the spirit of solidarity which the workers of all countries must manifest in their attitude towards the proletariat of Russia. The workers of Stettin are following in this instance the good example of the workers of Italy, England, France and Czechoslovakia, who are obstructing shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against Russia. These transports are utilized for counter-revolutionary purposes and will bring new wars or reinforce the reaction in its struggle with the proletariat. These weapons are never used to arm the workingmen, and therefore they must prevent the export of arms and ammunition.—*Naye Arbaiter-Sztyme*, Warsaw, June 28, 1920.

A BUREAU FOR SCIENCE

STOCKHOLM, August 15 (Rosta, Vienna).—From Moscow the following is reported: A bureau for foreign science and technology is being organized, for the purpose of acquainting Russia with present-day science and technology. The bureau is counting on the support of all workers and communists of all countries in its work. It has in view to organize in all countries scientific-technical missions to be constantly connected with the central management.

RUSSIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

London, August 10.

While the game of the diplomats as to the resumption of economic relations with Soviet Russia still moves to and fro, while the whole world is still disputing the fact that Soviet Russia really has any products at its disposal for the purposes of exchange, English commercial statistics already record a very active trade with Russia. The *Europäische Wirtschaftszeitung* of Zurich, prints some data concerning this trade. According to this journal, the goods imported into England from Russia in May, 1920, are valued at 1,185,305 pounds sterling, while, according to the figures of the Russian-British Chamber of Commerce

there was sent to Soviet Russia British goods to the value of 1,085,158 pounds sterling. The principal products furnished by Russia were: flax, wood, butter, hides. There were exported to Russia manufactured products of all kinds, especially metal goods, cotton goods, and scientific instruments.

The Paris journal *Information* furthermore printed a July 12 message from Stockholm, stating that the Swiss National Bank had received a considerable quantity of Russian gold. As the *Europäische Wirtschaftszeitung* learns, this gold is designated as "Swedish gold". Trade with Russia is already also in full swing. The Canadian Government will probably create a special office for trade with Soviet Russia.

DEFENSE AGAINST POLAND

1523. May 14, 1920.

In all the provinces the communist committees and trade unions, the troop corps and the whole population are enrolling volunteers for the Polish front *en masse*. The movement embraces all Russia and the most distant provinces of Siberia and Turkestan. The provisioning sections spontaneously reserve special supplies of flour and meat for the west front.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. THE ACTIVE OFFICIALS OF THE PETROGRAD UNIONS. *An interesting statistical study classifying the officials of the Petrograd Trade Unions by trade, education, party affiliation, etc.*
2. "MOSCOW IN 1920," by Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt. *The first instalment of an interesting series of six articles.*
3. PROFITEERING A HINDRANCE TO ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA, by Professor George Lomonossov.
4. A LETTER FROM RUSSIA, by G. M. Serrati.
5. REGULAR WEEKLY MILITARY REVIEW, by Lt.-Col. B. Roustam Bek.

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