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On the Caspian and in Persia

By E. V.

[The following interview with Comrade Raskolnikov,* in which he gave a brief review of the conquest of the Caspian Sea and of the capture of Enzeli by the Soviet forces, appeared in the Petrograd "Pravda" of July 15. Comrade Raskolnikov was Commander of the Soviet Caspian fleet during the period described in the interview and has since been appointed Commander of the Baltic fleet.]

The Conquest of the Caspian

THE conquest of the Caspian Sea took two navigation seasons of 1919 and 1920. In 1919 our fleet waged an active defence of Astrakhan from the Sea and from the Volga, assisting at the same time the forward movement of the Red Army along the banks of the Volga, and helping it to drive the Denikin army from both banks.

In the beginning of 1920, after the capture of Petrovsk, our fleet took up the task of clearing the Caspian Sea of the British and Denikin fleets. The base of our fleet was transferred from Astrakhan to Petrovsk, whence the fleet commenced its active operations.

The first battle of our torpedo-boat *Karl Liebknecht* with two cruisers of the enemy near the Alexandrovsk fort, showed clearly the fighting ability of our fleet and the demoralization of the enemy's forces. As a result of this battle we seized two enemy boats and the remnant of the Ural White army of General Tolstoy, which consisted of 2,000 men.

Arriving at Baku, the crews of the enemy ships brought the news of the defeat which was inflicted upon them by our torpedo-boat. The Whites in Baku were confronted by the question whether they should remain in Baku and give battle there, or should go to Enzeli. Under pressure

of the British command, it was decided to transfer to Enzeli the whole Caspian White fleet, a part of the army, and all the military stores. But a part of the crews and of the officers, who were demoralized by the defeat, resolved not to take part in the sea operations against our forces, refused to go to Enzeli, and disembarked at Baku.

When the White fleet entered Enzeli the British military command interned the White crews, believing that if the White ships were placed under British protection our Red fleet would not attack them.

At this time the British began energetic preparations to convert Enzeli into a base for their rule on the Caspian Sea. They began to send their marines and officers through Mesopotamia and Persia to provide crews for our naval ships at Enzeli. Simultaneously they began to fortify Enzeli and make it ready for defence. They hoped by fortifying Enzeli to transform it into their foremost outpost which would cover the approaches to Persia, Mesopotamia, and, what was most important for them, to India.

After an insurrection had broken out in Baku, and the insurgent workers had called upon the brotherly Red troops and Red fleet to come to their aid, our fleet was sent from Petrovsk to Baku and arrived there on May 1, almost concurrently with the Red Army.

After the proclamation of the Azerbaijan republic

* Comrade Raskolnikov, whose capture by the British was announced in SOVIET RUSSIA some time ago, returned to Russia on May 28, 1919.

lic, knowing that Soviet Russia and the Azerbaijan republic cannot be sure that the British will not make a new attack on Baku from Enzeli, I decided to seize Enzeli and to remove from there all the White ships, thus depriving the British of their main-stay on the Caspian Sea.

The Capture of Enzeli

On May 18, in the early morning, our fleet approached Enzeli and opened fire, bombarding not the city itself but Kazan, where all the staffs and military forces of the British were located. Simultaneous with the bombardment of Enzeli our torpedo-boat made a demonstration near Resht, whither the British immediately sent their cavalry.

To the east of Enzeli, about twelve to fourteen versts from the city, we landed a force which cut off the British from the road to Resht. They thus found themselves in a trap. At first the British tried to offer resistance and sent two detachments of sharpshooters against us. But after a few volleys from the ship cannon the British troops became disorganized and retreated. Finding the situation hopeless, the British sent emissaries to us to ask for an armistice.

I told the British emissaries they must immediately surrender Enzeli, in view of the presence in the port of ships and military stores belonging to Russia.

As to the future fate of Enzeli, I told them that this question would be settled through diplomatic negotiations between Russia and Great Britain. My ultimatum was reported to General Shampein, who asked for an extension of the two hour limit, pointing out that he could not so quickly get a reply from the Persian Government, whose interests he claimed to represent.

Some time after this, the Governor of Enzeli came to my ship and declared that he came to greet the Russian Red fleet in the name of Persia. He agreed to evacuate Enzeli.

Since the British could not present an answer from the Persian Government before night, I proposed to General Shampein to allow the British troops to leave the city if he would turn over to us all the marine stores which he had seized from the Denikin fleet and part of which was still at Enzeli (a part he had already removed from the city). General Shampein accepted this demand and gave a formal promise to return all our stores unharmed. Shortly after this, Indian sepoy brought thirty cannon locks and turned them over to us.

After this I gave permission for the evacuation of Enzeli by the British troops, but on condition that they should not take along the Russian Whites. When the British troops were leaving the city we watched carefully that no Denikin officer should slip through with them.

The morale of the Indian troops, the English, the Turks, and the sepoy seemed to be very low. When we opened to them the road from Enzeli they started at a run, apparently eager to get out of Enzeli as quickly as possible. Before

the evacuation of Enzeli the British announced to the local populace that they were leaving but for a short time, and that they would soon send an army a hundred thousand strong for a new occupation of Enzeli. But watching their hasty evacuation of the city and how submissively they turned over to us the military stores, the local populace did not believe their boast.

Reception by the Population, and Our Booty at Enzeli

Before the British had evacuated Enzeli, we landed troops which occupied the city. All the streets and squares were packed with people. The whole city was covered with Red flags.

From the very first moment of our entry we announced that we had no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Persia. The Persian Governor and other official representatives of the Persian authorities welcomed us as liberators from British oppression. The whole populace cursed the British as exploiters.

In Enzeli we captured an enormous military prize: Denikin's whole fleet which had been armed by the British, and which consisted of armed ships and transports, came into our possession. In addition to this we captured over fifty cannon, 20,000 shells which were brought from abroad, 160,000 poods of cotton which had been removed from Krasnoyarsk and sold to the United States, but which is now being sent to Astrakhan, 8,000 poods of copper, 25,000 poods of rails, forty cars, over twenty ship radio stations and three field radio stations, six hydroplanes, and four destroyers. It is impossible to enumerate the smaller materials. We have removed these military stores to Baku and Astrakhan.

Kuchuk-Khan

After the occupation of Enzeli we entered into negotiations with Kuchuk-Khan, urging him to advance on Resht. When the British heard of this they hastily evacuated Resht and retreated toward Bagdad.

Kuchuk-Khan had been at one time a mullah, but disillusioned of religion and seeing how his people were exploited by the British, he changed the cassock for a rifle. Escaping into the mountains, he gathered a small band of reliable men and for seven years waged bitter warfare against the British, fighting for the liberation of Persia. The British repeatedly dispatched against him much stronger military detachments, but to no avail. The local populace supported Kuchuk-Khan and always notified him of the approach of British troops. After making a sudden attack on the British and inflicting heavy losses, Kuchuk-Khan would retreat into the mountains through paths which his pursuers could not use.

The arrival of the Red fleet at Enzeli enabled Kuchuk-Khan to seize Resht and to form there a revolutionary government of Persia. The revolutionary government formed by Kuchuk-Khan was greeted with enthusiasm not only by the poor, but

also by the landowners and even by a part of the khans, who had suffered under the British yoke.

Kuchuk-Khan is an idealist and revolutionist. He will act in cooperation with the wealthy classes until he drives out the bourgeois Persian Government and turns over the land to the poor. He does not like to be called khan, declaring that the khans are the oppressors of the people and that he is simply a representative of the people—*Mirza Kuchuk*.

Comrade Raskolnikov expressed the belief that the struggle of Kuchuk-Khan for the liberation of Persia from the British yoke would be successful, for the Persian Government has no real power in the country. The Persian cossacks and gendarmerie, the best organized troops of the bourgeois government, are in sympathy with Kuchuk-Khan and against the British. Knowing that the people of Persia hate them, and fearing a rebellion in India and Mesopotamia, the British will not dare to send any help to the Persian Government.

To fight the British, Kuchuk-Khan formed a revolutionary military council, of which he is a member. Kuchuk-Khan himself is fairly well acquainted with military operations, but he is more

capable in guerrilla warfare than in field mass warfare. But since the topographical conditions preclude any other but guerrilla warfare, Kuchuk-Khan's victory seems to be assured.

Kuchuk-Khan's government is revolutionary in its composition and is made up of men who, like Kuchuk-Khan, fought for years for the liberation of Persia. Closest to the Communist Party is Comrade Ecsanula, who is the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of revolutionary Persia and a member of the Persian revolutionary military council.

The government itself acts in close contact with the Communist Party of Persia. The government understands that the Persian revolution cannot be confined within narrow national forms, but must aid also in the liberation of other peoples of the Orient. The government is in touch with the revolutionary movement of Mesopotamia.

Kuchuk-Khan himself is an ardent sympathizer of Soviet Russia. "When I was leaving," concluded Comrade Raskolnikov, "he asked me to give his sincere regards to Comrade Lenin and to tell him that he will act as his disciple, and that the alliance between Soviet Russia and revolutionary Persia will never be broken."

Moscow in 1920

By DR. ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT

(Fourth Instalment)

The English Speak

AGAIN the Great Opera House. Something was being done with the English, they were being fawned on, pawed over, petted and tickled with inscriptions, warnings, challenging placards. "We are for children, for future, for humanity." Or: "We started the social revolution, we started it alone, let us go together to the end."

Or, they were welcomed in view of the new color of Russia: "Welcome, comrades, to Red Russia."

They were being played up to, they were being belabored with their own principles, to convince them. They were not loved and yet they were flooded with kindness. All this was to spur them on. It was unnecessary in my estimation. For English trade union leaders look upon things with clear eyes, they have an appraising eye, that sees a thing as it is. They do not look for the goal far away, they are no problem hunters, no emotionalists, but they see things as they are. They see the present rather than the future, even when they seem very revolutionary.

Several of them spoke in the Great Opera House, surrounded by many Soviet leaders (Lenin was not present). They spoke very violently, very revolutionary. They spoke and sweated, they shook their fists, they set one firm foot forward, they spoke themselves hoarse, and they were cheered wildly. No one understood them, but they spoke from conviction, urged by the flame of the moment, before this public hungry for help, this peo-

ple abandoned by the world, that desires peace with such consuming fervor. England is lord over war and peace, and the English labor leaders in England are no inconsiderable factors. They do not approve of a great many things in Soviet Russia, but they want to help the country, and this government. They do not desire that system for England, but they approve of it for Russia. They would have approved it even without the challenging posters, without petting and lashing. For they are shrewd, but not cold-blooded. This visit was really a victory for Russia.

So they spoke: red overhead, red at their feet, and before them a people yearning for help. Here and there a word of censure, a cutting remark, some bitter comment. But the workers listened quietly and cheered. The last to speak was Mrs. Snowden, a lady correctly booted, delicate but not lovely, confident but not cold. Not a woman storming for a goal, not a woman with a red flag, but a rosy-tinted woman, powerful of word, but pale of color. She said what she meant. She declined: "Go your way, we go our way to Socialism."

After every speech the content was translated for the hearers. At first Balabanova translated. Clearly, fluently, without hesitation, almost word for word. A fabulously gifted linguist. All well-educated Russians speak several languages, but Balabanova, one might say, has a number of mother tongues. Now they understood, and they applauded again. It was not Communism that

was now being translated, that the English speakers had spoken, but it was gratefully applauded.

Russians spoke. Tomsky, the Chairman of the Trade Union Federation, spoke. He spoke fast, with vigor, familiar with the public. Other Russians spoke, and always there were cheers. And now came Abramovich, the Menshevist leader. He spoke to an audience that was unfriendly to him, and was greeted by small scattered groups of followers only. He was pale as he spoke. He was often interrupted by violent calls of opposition. He spoke smoothly, courageously. He made the most of the presence of the English. They tried to force him to end his speech, but the chairman of the meeting called the meeting to order with: "Behave like Communists." He finished his speech. It was a long address. They called him Kolchak, but he continued to speak. I do not know what he said, I only know that it came from the soul, that there was fervor in him, too. He spoke in a rage, he unburdened himself. The Mensheviks today are united with the Communists on the great questions, especially on the question of war with Poland. But they are an opposition party, and they are by no means a weak party. When he ended, the applause was again only group applause from his followers. Otherwise there was hostile coldness. It was plain this man was respected, not loved.

But then came that wonderful thing again. Even during the meeting the public had been singing the Internationale. Now it sang the song of the Red Flag. It was steeped in this song, there was military rhythm in the song, while they were descending the stairway. There was massiveness, determination, power, in this song of the masses. It begins with a ringing clearness, and gains force and momentum as it proceeds. Slowly the crowds rolled out through the exits, in step to the tune, held in check by the song, pushed along by it, down the stairways and through the doors, and out upon the wide sunny square in front of the Great Opera House.

A Proletarian Meeting

At the end of the Red Street, the proletarian main thoroughfare of Moscow, is the Zoological Garden. There are only a few animals left. The cages at the entrance, a long row of cages, are empty. But otherwise nothing has been destroyed. Water birds are perched on the rocks in the lake of the park, and the meeting halls are ready for the meetings. We are in a large hall, an auditorium with light effects like those in a gigantic tent. The light streams in through the door with such force that the ceiling seems transparent. In front beside the stage are a few boxes, constructed of wood. On the stage is a small table for the chairman of the meeting. In front of the center of this table is the chairman of the Communist Party of the district. He is a small, black-haired, long bearded workman, smartly put together, whom we already knew. He has been abroad and is a linguist. He speaks fast, one might say with graceful violence, with his hands behind his

back, applauding his own particularly apt points. That seems to be a Russian custom among speakers. This hand clapping does not denote self-applause, but is meant to emphasize important points, and to denote reverence for things mentioned as worthy of such reverence. The public applauds also. Or the public first applauds the striking passages, and then the speaker joins in the applause.

Next to him is a man with a blond mane, a tender, bony face, a mild leader's face. He is half-woman, half-hero. He is the head leader of the Red Ukrainian army. He speaks later, thunderingly, lifting the public up with his hands, filling the hall with his voice, giving the effect of a cyclone. He speaks of the Paris Commune, he hurls giant blocks into the audience, he throws his fists at the people, he is transported. A fervent flame burns in his eyes, he is fire and sword. We spoke also, brought greetings, and promises. I speak plainly to 5,000 people, and all understand me, even in the most obscure corner. But this man swept and raged through the audience, he hammered against their heads, he shook them, he tore at them as at young trees. A powerful speaker, a man to speak to troops, to armies. There was a sigh of relief when he ended, for the pressure was becoming unbearable.

Meetings are tape worms in Moscow. However, the public is patient, it cheers again and again, it listens, sits up and holds out. It is attentive, does not flutter and whisper in corners during a speech. Silent and enthusiastic, absorbed and explosive. I have never had such a proletarian audience before me. The German audiences are more visibly disturbed, more spoiled, need to be brought oftener to the platform. Possibly they are more critical, more experienced. But the speaker makes a greater effort, is at a higher tension, for he must arrest their attention every moment if the audience is not to slip from his grasp.

Everywhere in Moscow there is a wave of applause at the mention of Spartacus. It is the firm name of the German revolution, so to speak. The chairman spoke the word, spoke the name of Liebknecht, and the cheering doubled in volume. I shall speak later of the effect of this name. It is immense.

A resolution was accepted and passed, and applauded. We were then asked to enter one of the boxes, for the performance was to begin after a short pause.

This was no Grand Opera, this was a proletarian performance. It was not yet new art, proletarian art, but it was proletarian in spirit.

For this audience was purely a proletarian audience, and the acting, the singing, the speaking was accepted with a childlike readiness and simplicity that touched the heart.

First there were several pertinent scenes, with folk-songs historically arranged. For instance, there was a Volga boat song, a melancholy towing song, a drifting song, a song of the deep, wide river, a Gorki song. The last was a scene from

the days of the shooting down of the proletarian masses demonstrating before the Winter Palace in Petrograd in 1905. A wounded man stumbled in, and a proud, angry, passionate song was sung over this blood.

Thereafter song upon song was sung by artists, men and women, whose names were whispered with approval. Heavy melodies, playful village songs, rhythmic stamping songs, jubilant songs, also the Internationale. They sang again and again, they repeated the songs when the audience called "bis, bis". Next to me sat a curly-haired, apple-cheeked, round-headed proletarian girl, of about fifteen. She raged, she perspired from exuberance, she was quite beside herself. She pounded upon my ear drums with her "bis, bis". I was completely overwhelmed.

But there was something in the center aisle which drew me and would not let me go. It was a girl, youthfully delicate, covered with a red veil. The small peasant face with a small, almost snub nose was visible, and her black hair gleamed through the veil. Her head rested on the shoulder of a young giant, a blond, short-haired, Russian Cheruscan. His arm was about her waist, and he adored her from under his blond lashes. He held her tightly, for she wept with almost every song. She was stirred to her very soul, moved beyond words, and was weeping her heart out against his strong breast. It was a proletarian tribute, a memorial of the primitive soul, that I beheld there. Again and again my eyes were drawn to this group, which stood so alone in the surrounding throng.

Children were sitting upon the orchestra parapet. No one disturbed them, they were not fetched down with authoritatively threatening fingers. They bent toward the stage in childish awe. They laughed, twittered and murmured sadly, when the song was melancholy, when a song lamented the death of a proletarian hero.

At the last a boy, a proletarian boy, came upon the stage. Possibly twelve years old. He recited a proletarian song in ringing tones. The audience knew him. It was plain he was already used to reciting poems at meetings, was used to speaking at meetings. He was wide awake, put the right leg forward with energy, and proceeded without a tremor. But he stuck fast in the midst of it, he couldn't make it go, he pulled on it, he improvised a little, but it would not go. The audience laughed, applauded, consoled him. Women petted him to make him happy again. No one heckled him. He had simply broken down in his speech, that was all. He had done his best.

Finally the closing speech, applause, curtain—going home.

In going out some one said behind me: That must be a German comrade; his pipe never leaves his mouth.

Posters

You will find posters on every wall, in a thousand stores of Moscow, on telephone poles, in rooms, in factories; they are everywhere. Picture posters for propaganda purposes. Perhaps a pro-

letarian rock, flaunting a red flag, with a capitalist ship going to pieces at the foot of it. Or a poster recruiting for the Communist Saturdays, with a description of the consequences of laziness, and beside it the results of industrious work. Or else a picture poster attacking the old greasy Czarist officials, the pot-bellied popes and the aggressive military officers. Placards with red stars, recruiting posters of the Communist Party, showing a procession of workers passing by some representatives of the old order with an air of refusal, and entering a house upon whose gable are the initials of the party.

But these are not the most interesting posters. More remarkable, more significant are posters of a different order. For instance some wall bears the information that somewhere proletarian courses are being given on world problems, literature, problems of natural science, with excursions into the field of bacteriology, geology, agriculture, accounting, finance, etc. Entirely gratis, of course.

Another poster requests people with a love for inventing and inventors' talent to invent all sorts of substitutes. For there is a great scarcity of raw materials in Russia. For instance a substitute for soap. For such a substitute a premium of 25,000 to 30,000 rubles is offered. The invention is tried out. It is distributed and the public is asked to report on its usefulness. I read of such a distribution of trial soap in a Moscow paper while I was in Yamburg. This practice is to be well recommended. During the war the German people were flooded with every conceivable trash as substitutes. Powdered chocolate of clay, powdered eggs of chalk, cake and pudding of bone glue, and such like whitewashed horrors. Had the people been asked first, the manufacture of substitutes would probably have been less variegated, but cleaner and a great deal more honest.

It goes without saying that study in the conservatories is gratis also, just as there is no charge or expense to any school or university training. Of course, there are still private teachers, especially for languages, but there are no more school fees or expenses necessary for a course of study. There is a poster of a state conservatory which recommends its course of history of music, a course of folk music, physiology of breathing, a course in instrumental technique, etc. Nor are the conservatories over-crowded. The system of free instruction seems already to be sifting the wheat from the chaff. Formerly every blockhead struck with the finger or vocal madness indulged his weakness as long as father's money bag held out. The so-called monopoly of education was a monopoly for blockheads. A removal of the education monopoly will result in setting real talent free. The music fraud, the sickening pedagogic fraud, the advertisement regime, the hunt for pupils is at an end.

Another poster calls the proletariat of a certain district to an evening discussion of questions on art. One comes to these discussions, and discusses valiantly, clashes with the others, brandishes sophistries, is clever or dull, as the case may be.

At least such things scratch the surface, oil up one's thinking apparatus, and make for mental agility. The so-called musicales with their lemonade souls, their long-haired atrocities and their badly brewed tea are sufficiently tiresome. They are mostly match-making institutions, nothing more.

Another poster announces an industrial exhibition, with a platform where the principles of a technical education may be discussed.

The Department of Economics of the City of Moscow is setting aside one evening a week for discussion of the problem: "What is the best method of growing vegetables?"

One poster asks the public to attend several lectures given by technical experts, dealing with the technique of the use of clay as a building material. They will show that as far back as antiquity clay was used in construction; they will discuss the economic advantage of brick construction, and they will make every effort to interest their hearers in the use of bricks as building material. They are not interested in winning over, say a group of profiteers, or a syndicate, or possibly a sleepy Minister of National Economy, who is not even able to telephone without aid, but they want to interest the people. Here again I am tempted to become nasty. I feel the gorge rising within me at the memory of such impotence on the part of German Ministers. The projects for German workingmen's homes were submitted to them on a silver platter, so to speak. But some highly paid blockhead could not be aroused from his lethargy. He could not even telephone. He referred the project to the regular routine for such matters, disclaimed his competence to deal with it, and continued his slumbers. The next day he published a speech both disarming and agitating, that for sheer stupidity, meaningless piffle, and school boy logic could not well be equalled. I feel the gorge rising, I feel myself getting hot under the collar, when I think of that idiot.

Another poster announces lectures on forestry.

Further along there is an appeal of the Social-Revolutionists against the Poles, and not far from it another invitation to take part in discussions about religion or about some technical problems.

The Soviet Republic makes a determined propaganda in favor of sports. In every corner, on every wall, and other spaces lending themselves to the purpose, there are sporting posters. Whoever has the desire may become a sportsman. Private yachts, tennis court rentals, and expensive yacht club memberships are not required.

Only the men at the top of their profession have charge of instruction in technical courses and lectures. There are no entrance fees of any kind. Also the people are being familiarized with all the facts and possibilities of science. The discussions on art, philosophy, religion, and politics serve to liberate the people from heaviness, self-consciousness, and timidity. One becomes acquainted with one's own resources, it is good training. This also is only a beginning, but at least it is a beginning.

I do not believe that one with half an eye for soundness can find fault with this activity. Nations are hungry for inspiration, for knowledge. Whoever knows proletarians, whoever has been able to understand them, knows how great this hunger is.

It may be noticed in the morning at the news stands. The workers stand in line, they form long queues as in Berlin in front of the cigar stores. Every worker in Moscow reads several papers. In Moscow the posters are read, the passages pasted on at the Rosta, the official telegraph station, are read. The various writers of articles are known, their style, the incisiveness of their various pens is known.

Whenever any one group has a grievance, the wound is plastered with placards. Whoever wants something or other, speaks from a wall and later from the platform. There are thousands of opportunities in Moscow to go before the people, so long as one has something to say.

All nations are thirsting for enlightenment. I believe that the time of beginning enlightenment is here. Even other countries use more and different placards, not alone Russia. Placards express the soul of a people, the tendency of the times, they speak the will of a people. They reveal whether a people is heading upward or downward. There is a marked difference between the posters of Berlin with their skirt dance allurements and the posters of Moscow. I do not mean to speak politically. I merely mention what I saw, no more, no less. I repeat this assertion, else I might be condemned for a miserable fanatic.

Lenin and Liebknecht

Not an office in Moscow, not a Soviet house entrance is without a picture of Lenin, without a picture of that half-smiling head and the slight turn of the body at the desk; with the soft collar (there are no stiff starched collars in Moscow, for there is no starch). This picture is everywhere. One sees it in all sizes. Lenin everywhere. There are also pictures of Radek, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Balabanova. There are group pictures of the principal figures in the Third Internationale, arranged in such a way that Lenin appears at the top. There are many pictures of Marx in many rooms, in many store windows, in many offices, especially a Marx portrait which in my estimation is not a good likeness. But more often than the head of Marx, much more often, one sees the head of Lenin.

The history of Lenin, Lenin's development, is well known. His personality has often been described. Perhaps it is not commonly known that he, too, for a time stood alone, and was even ridiculed by his comrades. They called him a brakeman. Radek and Bukharin did not agree with him. But Lenin was right—he was right for Russia. That cannot be questioned. He was right—for Russia.

Today every one loves him, even his political enemies. Not one opponent speaks of this man with disrespect. Not a Menshevist, not a Social-Revolutionist

lutionary, not a Kerensky man, not a monarchist. They all respect him. In one bourgeois family, of which I will speak later, he was being praised for his idealism and his sense of justice.

Lenin wields a colossal influence over the Russians, over entire Russia. He is like a warm gulf stream. He is feared because he is loved. He is the court of last appeal. Every one knows he works hard from morning till night. His work is divided, well organized. His work calls him, stimulates him. He is a living example. His name is used as a threat and as a spur to greater effort. Wherever he shows himself he is cheered. People who have spoken with him several times admire Lenin the fiery diplomat, the sure-footed on the brink of the abyss, the Jupiter, the smiling Lenin, the punishing Lenin. He is one of the best publicists of Russia. His pamphlets are examples of a literary virtuoso, of a prospector for words and ideas, of a systematic thinker. They are clear, concise, free from bombast, and real. One does not have to agree with his conclusions in order to admire their logic. They are unobtrusive, like himself, the man who has so much power by reason of the confidence placed in him by the proletariat, and who lives so simply. He never dines, he eats, he satisfies his hunger. He draws no larger salary than the salary of a Moscow workman, 6,500 rubles per month. He lives in the Kremlin. But he does not live there like a prince, rather he lives there to escape the crowds, to escape the love, the complaints, the appeals. He lives in the Kremlin as a symbol. He is no longer the revolutionary leader so much as he is the expression of the will of the people, the longing of the people, their development. He does not lead with a sword, he is not a dictator from above, he is being carried and holds the reins, while the people voluntarily carry him upon their backs.

One day as I was working with one of the managers of industrial combines (Centrals), a letter came from Lenin's office.

He turned an ashen grey, hastily tore open the envelope, and then breathed a sigh of relief and smiled. "Why did you turn pale?" I asked. He said, "It is a letter from Lenin." A letter from Lenin is no ordinary letter, not the letter of some people's delegate. It is a letter from Lenin. It is like a toga, it holds happiness and pain. The man has an unheard-of power for good, the power to elevate, the power to inspire, as no Russian Czar has ever had. Lenin is Russia today. With him or against him, Lenin is Russia today. That is true, it is a fact, people are saying it on the streets in Moscow.

Karl Liebknecht has become a saint in Russia. I have seen hundreds of pictures of him in Moscow. I saw pictures of Liebknecht in his prime, pictures of the assassinated Liebknecht, pictures of Liebknecht on the stage of theaters, pictures of Liebknecht lying in his shroud, strewn with red tulips and lilies of the valley.

Proletarian clubs are named after Liebknecht,

streets and regiments are named after him. At every mention of the German proletariat and the German Revolution, Liebknecht is mentioned also.

But he is not only identical with the German Revolution, his influence extends far beyond the German boundary. Liebknecht today is the hero of freedom in all the proletarian schools of Russia. Poets have sung of him, he is being imitated, he is loved as one loves a beneficent natural element. One might say that he is the Siegfried of the proletariat in Moscow.

Liebknecht would never had reached such power had he not been murdered. His influence is only just beginning to be felt. He will attain fabulous power, a name which will resound far beyond Germany.

The pictures of Liebknecht which appear in Moscow are often pale likenesses. I have seen very few striking pictures of him there.

You have the feeling in Moscow: Liebknecht will become a legend. He will become an epic, a passion way, a Golgotha of the proletariat.

Liebknecht's death was a sacrificial death. Moscow feels that.

Transportation of Flour

Eighteen heavy drays are passing the wall of Kitai. Eighteen transport wagons loaded with flour. Fifteen sacks of flour to every ton. That makes eighteen times 3,000 pounds, or 54,000 pounds of flour.

The drivers are dozing upon their seats. Not a soldier accompanies the transport. The horses walk slowly. It is a hot day. A gallop or a trot in this weather would be uncomfortable.

54,000 pounds of white flour, wheat flour, not potato flour. 54,000 pounds of flour are slowly being transported through Moscow.

There is no quality bread in Moscow, at least not quality bread rations. There is bran bread, heavy with a reddish tinge. One longs for white bread, fresh white bread, flaky white bread with light yellow butter.

There are hungry people in Moscow to whom white flour would almost mean an escape from death.

But not a soul pays the least attention to the flour load. No one disturbs it, no one stares at it. The wagons pass by undisturbed along the Kitai wall, across the wide square near the Kremlin. Nobody thinks of taking the wagons by storm, of stealing from the load, of cutting open a flour sack while the driver is asleep.

And the eighteen wagons pass through the city, across the square.

Stealing has not yet been abolished in Moscow, robberies are still being committed in Moscow. Stealing does not disappear so rapidly, nor are souls changed overnight.

But the transports of flour, eighteen wagons each with its load of 3,000 pounds, 54,000 pounds altogether, a joy for the hungry, a life-giving load, a life-saving load, pass on their way through Moscow, unmolested.

Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

"EVEN if the Bolsheviks make peace with the Poles and have no other enemy than Wrangel, they are not at present in condition to maintain against him a really formidable army." The *New York Herald*, October 11, published this statement by Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice, one of the few English military experts of any importance.

Is it only propaganda or does it represent the sincere belief of this highly educated soldier? The question is difficult to answer, but if we must assume the sincerity of General Maurice, then it must be said without hesitation that he is mistaken.

First of all, in dealing with the failure of the Russian attack on Warsaw, General Maurice not only exaggerates the tactical importance of this victory of the Poles, but also exaggerates its consequences upon the general strategical situation of the Russian Red armies. Had General Maurice a chance to study the press of Soviet Russia and to understand the military situation on both Western and Southern fronts, as a man of great military vision, he could never have issued a statement which so clearly damages his authority as a military critic. The most expert critic can easily make mistakes in judging the tactical situation from day to day, but there can be no excuse for misjudging the strategical situation, with the facts so plainly before us. Still less was it to be expected that General Maurice, who claims to be a learned strategist, should have belittled the tremendous importance of the Soviet strategical position, based as it is upon operation on inner lines, especially if the Bolsheviks make peace with Poland. General Maurice does not speak about an armistice between Poland and the Soviets; he specifically states that it would be impossible for the Soviet Government, even in case the *peace* were signed with Poland, to create an army suitable for the defeat of the Anglo-French adventure under the leadership of Wrangel. This is an unpardonable blunder by this famous British military authority.

Everyone must understand that in the case of a stable peace with Poland there would no longer be any necessity to keep a huge army on the Polish front for the protection of the frontier. But even in the case that a permanent peace cannot be secured, there will still be a cessation of hostilities on the Western frontier for a considerable period. This period will be sufficient for the Red Army to finish with Wrangel, who has achieved his present strength only because the Soviet military command for six months past has been directing its principal military effort against Poland.

General Maurice admits that "the Bolsheviks have shown themselves good strategists and have followed the sound military principles of trying to do one thing at a time." When first the efforts

of their enemies became dangerous," he continues, "they concentrated their attention on Admiral Kolchak and held off General Denikin. Then, having finished off Kolchak's army, they turned upon Denikin while they watched the Poles. During last spring and summer they concentrated their forces against the Poles, leaving comparatively small detachments opposite Wrangel." (*New York Herald*, October 11, 1920).

If this be true as General Maurice states it—and we know that it is true—then what is wrong with Soviet Russia that her strategists, having thus far been so sound and so successful, should now fail in dealing with an enemy which even the French admit is in a less favorable condition than was Denikin?

In any event, the Soviet Republic has finished with Poland. Perhaps the end of the struggle did not give a result which would satisfy the ambition of an imperialistic nation. But the Russian proletariat is satisfied to have brought the fight to an end and to have freed its country from the western invaders. Henceforth, following the principle approved by General Maurice, the Soviet military command has to continue its strategy based on operations on inner lines; namely, to concentrate all its forces against Wrangel, which can be successfully accomplished as soon as the situation on the Polish front is completely liquidated. It is significant that in the same statement the British strategist says: "It is possible to say that Wrangel has not, and is unlikely to have, resources to enable him to conquer Russia."

Taking into consideration that the resources of Wrangel totally depend upon the Allies, we must conclude that the Allies are unable to support adequately the Crimean Baron. And if, as Maurice concedes, Wrangel cannot defeat the military forces of the Soviet Republic, then the Red Army is strong enough to meet the new Southern foe and the calculation of its strength by General Maurice is seen to be incorrect by his own analysis.

The recent declaration of Trotsky regarding the physical and moral state of the Red forces is quite different from the estimate of General Maurice. In Moscow, in spite of all fabulous lies to which the American press has once more fallen victim, the failure of the cavalry raid on Warsaw was received according to its importance and did not produce any confusion either among the masses or in the central military command. The reserves of the Red armies are so strong and so enthusiastic to bring Russia to a general peace that Trotsky was able to promise victory on the Southern front even without the removal of the troops destined for the Polish frontier. Let us here not forget that Trotsky has never promised anything which he could not accomplish. Let us remember that he openly warned us that in the

struggle with Polish imperialism, in spite of our successes, we must be prepared for some reverses which might be "more important and more costly than that of Chernigov." That was Trotsky's warning at the time when the Red Army started its victorious offensive last summer.

When I read the appeal of Lenin, Trotsky, Kalinin, and Brussilov in *Pravda*, September 12, 1920, addressed to the officers of Wrangel's "army", in which they were warned of imminently pending defeat, I was struck by strong arguments and by the firmness of faith of these leaders. Such a document would never have been signed by such names, if they had not been confident of its truth.

In my former articles I have stated that I did not believe the reports about the swift advance of the Wrangel forces, and predicted that the Red command will now deal energetically with the Southern enemy. According to an *Associated Press* dispatch from Sebastopol, October 10, "General Wrangel, the anti-Bolshevik leader, has launched his expected offensive against the new Sixth Army of the Soviet forces, sheltered behind the Dnieper . . . General Wrangel is carrying out a pinching movement converging on the town of Kakhovka, northeast of Kherson. Fine weather is favoring the operations. General Wrangel's permanent north front extends from Mariupol to Yekaterinoslav along the railway. This control of the Sea of Azov has been assured by the capture of 6,000 sailors at Mariupol who were preparing to descend upon the grain port of Genichesk. The remainder of the fleet fled to Taganrog. General Wrangel has now cleared out Soviet forces which have been operating along the network of railways in the Donets Basin."

The fine weather, however, so it now appears, was also favorable to the Reds and the same *Associated Press* issued another dispatch on October 12, stating that "the reoccupation by Bol-

sheviki of Mariupol and Berdiansk on the Sea of Azov is announced." This was cabled from Constantinople and confirmed the following day.

The importance of this last message from a military standpoint can best be seen by reference to the maps. Wrangel's *permanent* north front, it is said, extends from Mariupol in the east to Yekaterinoslav, 150 miles northwest of the former. Mariupol represents the extreme right flank of that front and, being a port, naturally is expected to be protected by the naval forces of Wrangel and the Allies. In such a case, when a very important strategical base for the concentration of the enemy's forces is captured, and when this naval base represents a flank of the battle front line which is considered *permanent*, then the collapse of the whole front must be the imminent consequence of such a failure. But the Red forces did not only capture Mariupol; they have also taken Berdiansk and another port situated about twenty miles southwest of Mariupol. Thus not only have they destroyed the right flank of the main Wrangel front, but also have succeeded in an encircling manoeuvre and have penetrated in the rear of the battle-line of the enemy.

The Bolshevik successes along the Dnieper, and especially in the region of Kherson, make me believe that both counter-offensives were carried out simultaneously and that the aim of the Revolutionary Field Staff is to cut off the main body of the Wrangel forces from any possibility of retreat into the Crimea through Perekop and by the Sea of Azov, thus annihilating it entirely. Let us not forget that it was at Berdiansk that Wrangel landed his bands during his foolish offensive to the north.

So it seems that, in spite of all the hopes of his supporters, Wrangel must say good-bye to the Donets industrial district and probably very soon to Russia itself.

Fishermen Demand Trade with Russia

[Certain newspapers in America have devoted considerable attention to alleged activities on the part of Russian authorities in stirring up revolution in other countries. The following interview with two members of a Norwegian Fishermen's Association, which was printed in "Social-Demokraten", of Christiania, Norway, on September 8, 1920, throws a somewhat different light on the fomenting of discontent outside of Russia. It will appear from a reading of this interview that a part at least of the discontent in one country is due to the unwillingness of the government of that country to enter into trade relations with Russia. We regret to say that this unwillingness on the part of the Norwegian Government is probably not due so much to its own volition as to the demands of powerful nations upon whose good will the Norwegian Government largely depends, notably England and France.]

TWO prominent representatives of the North Norwegian Fishermen's Association, Captain Lars Hagerup and Manager George Lorentzen, have recently arrived in Christiania in order to confer with Litvinov on future trade relations with Russia. We have had an interview with these two gentlemen on several questions.

"We have come to Christiania in order to make use of the opportunity to get into direct contact

with the representative of the Russian nation," said Lorentzen. "The foremost task of our organization is to obtain direct relations between the consumers and fishermen so as to eliminate unnecessary middlemen. Our hope is to establish relations with Russia. The Government and the commercial classes can do nothing for they cannot sell their fish anywhere."

"What is the economic situation in the North?"

"Pretty dark, particularly in the predominantly fishing districts, which are completely dependent on the fisheries. The aid extended by the state in establishing minimum prices is not sufficient. The minimum prices are so low that it is not profitable to go out and fish. With the present cost of utensils and boats an average fishing expedition does not even cover its expenses. In order to balance expenses a certain minimum catch has to be made, and this must in every case be more than the present average catch. It is still far from possible for the fishermen to get enough to live on, and the condition now is this: Not only the prices, but also the fish itself is bad. The results have been poor this year both from the Lofoten and the Finn mark. Recalling how expensive it is to live nowadays it must be clear to all that the economic situation is going to grow worse and worse.

"The situation for the fishermen is now such that it really pays them to go about with their hands in their pockets. Yet many of the fishermen do go to sea hoping that the catch may be large enough to pay."

"How do other classes in the north regard the situation?"

"The business men and the public officials also suffer to a great extent from the fact that the fishermen in their opinion do not earn enough, for the fisheries produced business and always mean some income to these classes also, even if no profit should remain for the fishermen themselves."

"What is the condition of the North Norway Fishermen's Association under these circumstances?"

"Even under these poor conditions the association is making progress. Active participation is growing considerably, and contact between the organization and its sections is improving more and more."

"How many members has the organization now?"

"Six thousand."

"When did the fishermen's organization begin to consider the question of commercial relations with Russia?"

"Early in March this year. The authorities promised to look after the matter but nothing has resulted except that we have not yet succeeded in establishing relations."

"What is the reason for this in the opinion of the fishermen?"

"The fishermen are firmly convinced that it is due to misuse of authority, administrative inefficiency, or perhaps unwillingness on the part of the authorities. As many of us suspect that it is a case of unwillingness to establish relations with the existing authorities in Russia, that is dictating the policy, we have applied directly to Russia. We have the impression that the authorities, instead of assisting, are placing obstacles in the way of the resumption of trade relations with Russia. It is on this conception that the present attitude of the fishermen is based. The assurances the

government has given us to the effect that it has done what it could we have not been able to take seriously.

"We think the whole trouble is that our government does not want to recognize the Soviet Government. Whether it has any serious reasons for this we do not know, but the result is, at any rate, that the fishing population of North Norway is suffering. It is the fishermen who have had to pay for the policy recently followed."

"Whenever discontent has not yet expressed itself it is simply because the fishermen have thus far been staying home," interposed Captain Hagerup. (The conversation hitherto had been chiefly with George Lorentzen.) "But if there is a big fishing venture, with a large gathering of fishermen, the opposition to the authorities becomes so strong, that there would appear to be little more needed to make it come out. The government therefore has every reason to regard developments with some concern."

"How have the Russians taken the overtures of the Fishermen's Association?"

"They have welcomed them. Litvinov as well as Kamenev declared that they would gladly enter into relations with us, but must wait until communications had been conducted on the broadest possible basis, and until Russia had found an occasion to send representatives to Norway. This is far off. Our overtures have been frustrated by this condition. Now, however, we have sent people to Russia, and the Russian commercial representative has arrived in Christiania, as we have already said."

Vardo Fishermen Protest

In connection with the above interview with two of the fishermen of North Norway, the reader will be interested also to find that their expression of discontent has already found organized formulation in a protest by the fishermen of the town of Vardo, Norway, which is right across the bay from Murmansk, Russia. The document, which we take from *Social Demokraten*, Christiania, of September 10, is as follows:

"The fishermen and workers of Vardo, gathered in meeting to discuss the results of the attitude of our financial powers toward Russia, as well as their treatment of travelers from that country, herewith adopts the following resolution:

"The population of Finnmarken depends for its livelihood on the relations of our country toward Russia. As a proof of this we may mention the present bad economic conditions in these parts; this would have been quite different if our government had had a different attitude toward Russia. For it is our firm conviction that obstacles have been laid by Norwegian authorities in the path of the relations with Russia that are so necessary for us in Finnmarken.

"The Russian Commercial Delegation has already completed an important exchange of goods with the fishermen's organization in North Norway, in accordance with an agreement that evaluates the fish at a price high enough to enable the

fishermen to do business. Now, while these negotiations are in progress we witness the treatment accorded to the Russian delegates who go to Norway, a treatment which delays the conclusion of the agreement concerning an exchange of goods, a delay that means for the population of Finnmarken a loss of hundreds of thousands of crowns per day.

"As this assemblage cannot find any material reason for the prohibition uttered by our government against the passing of Norwegian delegates through Norway, and as the effect of this measure aggravates the economic situation of the people of Finnmarken with each additional day, the bitterness among people is increasing, and they have a feeling of being wronged and neglected.

"Should the actions of the authorities be based on any demonstrative disapproval of Russia's form of government, it seems to us that such a demonstration should in all reason not be made in such manner as to injure the working classes of this part of the country. If our government cannot maintain order in the country, as well as relations with neighboring peoples, in any other way than by economically ruining one portion of the country without any compensating action, it should reconsider its attitude on this question, or should alter its attitude toward the neighboring countries which it is imperative for us to live at peace with.

"We pledge our honor from now on that we will break the blockade against Russia. We do not feel that we have any other obligations and cannot be prohibited from doing so."

LITVINOV'S MISSION IN NORWAY

MR. LITVINOV, who is now in Christiania, has given the following statement to Norwegian newspapers:

"My arrival in Norway is in connection with contracts that have been concluded between the 'Centrosoyuz', which I represent in Scandinavia, and a number of Norwegian firms. But my chief object is to seek to find a basis for regular commercial communications between Russia and Norway. After six years of destructive warfare, Russia of course needs all sorts of goods and machines that are produced in other countries, particularly the countries that have been exhausted by their participation in the war. The Scandinavian countries will surely play an important role in connection with Russian foreign trade, not only by exchanging their own goods with Russia, but also—owing particularly to their geographic situation and particularly to the present chaotic international conditions—as intermediaries between Russia and other European countries and America. The Russian Government and 'Centrosoyuz' are thinking of establishing in one of the Scandinavian countries a central repository for Russian export goods, which can be catalogued, inspected, and purchased at that point. For it is clear that before Russia will attain a final peace, this work cannot be done in Russia itself, where the war situ-

ation makes it necessary to limit the number of visitors. With its large tonnage, and its easily accessible ports, Norway is particularly important for northern Russia, and we have sufficient proofs of the great interest taken by Norwegian merchants in trade with Russia.

"Russian domestic and foreign commerce has been nationalized, and is entirely in the hands of the Russian Government and of organizations like the 'Centrosoyuz', which receive their powers from the Russian Government. It is therefore clear that relations are necessary between the Russian Government and governments in other countries that wish to trade with Russia. Russia must have the right to be represented in these countries, in order to guard its interests, and must also have free communication with its representatives. The experiences of the last six months have strengthened the conviction of the Russian Government as to the absolute necessity of such representation. What little trade has already been attempted in Norway has cost Russia losses amounting to millions of crowns, losses that might have been avoided if a Russian representative had been in Norway and had been able personally to clear up certain misunderstandings.

"It is not less important, from a Norwegian standpoint, to have representatives in Russia to take care of Norwegian interests. It is also necessary to fix the functions, rights and privileges of these representatives. An exchange of opinion has taken place on this subject by wireless between the Norwegian Foreign Minister and the Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, and it was decided that I should come to Christiania in order to negotiate and conclude an agreement on all these points, and, if possible, to organize a Russian commercial office in Norway. Both the Russian Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and the Commissariat for Foreign Commerce have laid down the severest rules for their representatives abroad, instructing them not to undertake any step that might be interpreted as an interference in the internal affairs or social conflicts of the countries to which they are assigned. The same conduct will of course be expected of foreign representatives in Russia, for Soviet Russia has suffered much from interferences of this kind by foreign diplomats and agents.

"It is superfluous to mention that as far as the Russian Government is concerned, diplomatic negotiations might be taken up at once and in full, and the necessary commercial agreements might thus be rendered more stable and trade made more secure for both sides."

BOUND VOLUMES FOR 1920

Volume II has been received from the binder and is now being forwarded to those who paid for it in advance. If any volumes are left over, we shall announce the fact next week.

SOVIET RUSSIA

Official Organ of the

RUSSIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT BUREAU
110 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.



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

OCCASIONALLY we take the pains to answer specific misrepresentations as they blossom forth in the fruitful columns of the American press, the products of grafts of Helsingfors, or Copenhagen, or Paris origin, all too readily welcomed by those dailies. We do not remember just when the latest revolt was alleged to have taken place in Petrograd, but we recall that a number of commissars (the number varied with the progress of days after the reception of the news) were said to have been thrown into the Neva by a wild mob, infuriated no doubt by the fact that peace had been signed by Latvia, or Lithuania, or Finland; for, in spite of all the reports that Soviet Russia is collapsing (and the volume of these rumors is at present so impressive as to annoy even Soviet Russia's most devoted adherents), one country after another, of those most contiguous to Russia and therefore best acquainted with the internal condition of the country, finds it advantageous to conclude peace with Soviet Russia.

There are so many fabrications, however, that we for the most part have given up the attempt to cope with them, although we know very well that their volume cannot fail to produce a certain effect of discouragement. It was a source of pleasure to us, therefore, to find in the *New York American* of October 15 a general official denial by George Chicherin, Soviet Russia's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, which had been sent from Moscow to the Universal Service correspondent at Berlin, Mr. Karl H. Von Wiegand, and been forwarded by the latter to America at once. This document, of which we have no official knowledge, but which presents every appearance of being authentic, is reprinted herewith for the benefit of those of our readers who may not read the Hearst newspapers:

Moscow.—Answering your inquiry of October 6 about reports that have been circulated abroad alleging that there are risings and rebellions and famine in Soviet Russia.

The reports are ludicrous, contemptible lies such as have often been circulated by scandal-bearers to create confusion in order to prevent the establishment of peace with Soviet Russia.

The internal position of Russia is unshakable. The morale of the people is as good as ever. The temporary reverses on the western front have only steeled the determination to secure the position of Soviet Russia.

With the resolute inclination of the peasants in Southern Russia to support the Soviet Government, the initiative on General Wrangel's front has been transferred to our hands.

Wrangel's rear is being badly harassed by our Green participating detachments.* A symptomatic incident was that of Makarov placing himself at the disposal of our commanders.

We are seeking no armistice with the reactionary Czarist mutineer—Wrangel. The Red Army is fully prepared to deal with him as he deserves.

While the prolonged drought did considerable damage to the harvest the rumors of an impending famine are senseless inventions. The increasing readiness of the peasants to contribute their quota of products, together with the intensive increase in the gathering of products, will make up for the deficit caused by the drought.

We have more than one and one-half times as much grain in storage as we had in 1919. CHICHERIN.

Owing to the wide circulation of the Hearst newspapers, the above declaration will have a certain effect in counteracting the vicious results of the continuous flood of lies that pours into the newspapers from their news agencies as well as from their own special correspondents, who are of course under definite instructions as to the kind of thing they are expected to write. But the Commissar for Foreign Affairs would have to keep hard at work day and night if he should try to answer all these fabrications, and it would be wasted labor in most cases, for most of the American newspapers would not print his statements.

For instance, on the morning following the printing of the above document in the *American*, New York newspapers (October 16) printed an account labeled "Zurich", and dated October 15, which alleged that the German Foreign Ministry had information to the effect that a great rebellion had broken out in Moscow, and that the rebels, in the course of their operations, had invaded the Kremlin, which, as the report does not fail to add, is the place where the highest Soviet officials have their offices and homes. No doubt we shall have an official denial of this rebellion in a few weeks from Moscow, but counter-revolutionary press agents work faster than their enemies, and have access to more means of publicity than has the Foreign Office of Soviet Russia. The reader will therefore not expect us to deny each story as it comes up, but will take the new Moscow "rebellion" with such number of grains of salt as may make the thing palatable to him. In fact, it is a time when each man, woman and child must carry around his (or her) own salt-cellar.

SOMETIMES the inventions of our enemies are not uninteresting. Mr. Evans Clark recently collected a lot of newspaper lies about us in a readable booklet under the title: "Facts and Fabrications About Soviet Russia." It was interesting to see how many times Lenin had murdered Trotsky and Trotsky murdered Lenin. We do not remember whether Mr. Clark counted up these assassi-

* "Green" armies are bodies formed by deserters from "White" armies, now fighting against the latter.

** A German official denial of having started this rumor has already been made.

nations and found that one of the two statesmen had been killed more often than the other. This would have been interesting from the standpoint that it might have shown which of the two men was most hated by the capitalist world. But a German monthly magazine, *Der Gegner*, published by *Der Malikverlag*, Berlin, has collected a few European specimens of the same kind as those gathered by Mr. Clark, and has hit upon one of them that, while it "beats anything" we have ever seen, is nevertheless merely the logical apex toward which the counter-revolutionary lie-drives will all ultimately converge. It was an Amsterdam message of Wolff's Telegraph Agency, and the headline was: *Hat Lenin je gelebt?*—"Did Lenin ever live?" Why not? If you have succeeded in throwing doubt on everything that has happened in Russia since November, 1917, you must ultimately arrive at a state of mind in which you are no longer certain that the subjects of your misrepresentations ever had existence in the world of reality.

* * *

POLAND is making peace with Soviet Russia, and hostile newspapers are gloating over what they consider to be the ignominious defeat of the latter. As a matter of fact, the external position of the Soviet Government should cause its friends no more concern than its internal position. Those who are so certain the Poles have been victorious should not fail to ascertain why it is the Poles have not pursued the temporary advantage that enabled them to save Warsaw from capture and to prevent a complete occupation of ethnographic Poland. The reason for this failure is an internal Polish condition: The people of Poland, except the extreme reactionaries, have for months been demanding peace with Soviet Russia, and Polish newspapers recently arriving in this country show that the movement is increasing. Already before the Poles began their offensive of last spring against Soviet Russia—an offensive that has recently been alluded to in certain political circles in America as the "invasion" of Poland—Polish workers in the May Day demonstrations at Warsaw had carried flags bearing inscriptions that demanded not only peace with Soviet Russia, but even an alliance with Soviet Russia.* The rich landed proprietors' organizations of Poland are opposing some of the social demands of the Polish peasants by a reasoning which advances among other unamiable traits of the peasantry the enthusiastic manner in which they received the advancing Soviet troops last July. These are merely a few indications—we shall enumerate them with greater fullness in a later treatment—of the facts that make the situation between Poland and Soviet Russia precisely analogous to that between Latvia and Soviet Russia, or Lithuania, or Esthonia, or Finland, or Rumania, and Soviet Russia. The reactionary governments of the border states knew that money was to be made by fighting Soviet

* A few of these inscriptions will be reproduced as illustrations in our *Anniversary Number*, November 6, 1920.

Russia, in the pay of the Entente, but the people of each state, the workers and peasants, have forced the signing of peace with Soviet Russia. Poland, far from having forced a peace on Soviet Russia, was obliged, by the friendliness of its own population for Soviet Russia, to accept the latter's repeated offer of peace.

The war-game between Soviet Russia and Poland might appear to have ended in a draw, temporarily at least, the Russians having been forced back, and the Poles unable to pursue the foe. But a defeat may also be taken to mean a failure to obtain what one had set out to accomplish, and in this sense Poland has been defeated. Poland began her aggression on Soviet Russia with the intention of conquering ("liberating") large sections of Ukraine and the Baltic states, to make of them buffer-states against Soviet Russia. In this respect, Poland, herself a buffer-state, is aping the policy of her imperialistic sponsors. But the peace preliminaries that have just been concluded were signed by Poland with both the Russian and Ukrainian Soviet Republics, and evidently Ukraine can not be considered in any way a buffer-state friendly to Poland. Lithuania, which was to be Poland's buffer-state to the Northeast, has been forced into a position of hostility by Poland's imperialistic attitude, and the new Polish d'Annunzio, whose name is Zeligowski in spite of the persistent effort of the newspapers to spell it otherwise, and who has just seized Vilna, is doing all he can to aggravate the situation. Where she thought to make friends to the East of her, Poland has raised enemies against her, and thus she has lost the war for friendly buffer-states. In what sense has Poland won the war? Others must answer this question, for our answer is—in no sense.

* * *

LATVIA'S peace treaty with Soviet Russia, the text of which capitalistic newspapers have shown no alacrity to obtain, although some of them have thirty-two pages of text devoted to lies and murders every day, at last appears in a full translation in this issue of SOVIET RUSSIA. The Lithuanian treaty will soon follow, as it is being translated for us. Article X of the Latvian treaty has a supplementary note containing a provision that shows how ready the Soviet Government is to grant reasonable conditions to the peoples of former Russian border-states, even when such conditions require the Soviet Government to relinquish concessions it might make to their governments. Instead of transferring to the Latvian state the debts of Lettish peasants to the financial institutions of the former Russian Government, the Soviet Government simply stipulates that this indebtedness is cancelled. For this transfer of the assets of Czarist institutions, the Soviet Government might have obtained other concessions in return from Latvia, but the Soviet Government is interested in improving the lot of the peasant in Latvia and elsewhere. The Soviet Government knows who its true friends in Latvia and elsewhere are: they are the peasants and workers.

The British Conspiracy in Russia

[In 1918, as our readers will recall, a plot was hatched by British and other foreign representatives in Russia to overthrow the Soviet Government. This plot was referred to in several passages of a letter addressed by Rene Marchand to Raymond Poincare, then President of the French Republic. From a recent issue of a London weekly we take the following account of the conspiracy, for which credit is given to a book entitled "Two Years of Struggle on the Internal Front: A Sketch of the Activity of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee", by M. Y. Latsis.]

Plan to Corrupt Soviet Troops

THE All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counter-Revolution established the attempts of the British diplomatic representative in Russia to enter into touch with certain units of the armed forces of the Soviet Republic, with the object of seizing the Council of People's Commissaries and the principal strategic points in Moscow.

The observations made demonstrated that the agent Schnedchen, who arrived at the beginning of August, 1918, from Petrograd, with a recommendation to the Chief of the British Mission in Moscow, Lockhart, managed to arrange a meeting between the latter and the commander of one of the Lettish units, to whom the British authorities had entrusted the task of seizing the Council of People's Commissaries.

Lieut. Sidney Reilly, Alias "Constantine Reiss"

Their first meeting took place on August 14 at 12.30 p. m. at the private residence of Lockhart in the Basmanaia Street, Khlebny Pereulok, House 19, Apartment 24. At this meeting there were discussed questions as to the possibility of organizing in Moscow, in the near future, a rising against the Soviet Government in connection with the British movements at Murmansk. It was here agreed, on the proposal of Mr. Lockhart, that further relations with the Commander of the Soviet troops already referred to would be carried on through the British Lieutenant Sidney Reilly, who assumed the conspirative names of "Reiss" and "Constantine".

The meeting between the Commander and "Constantine Reiss" took place on August 17 at 7 p. m., on the Tsvetnoy Boulevard. At this meeting the question was discussed as to the possibility of sending military units to Vologda, in order treacherously to hand over Vologda to the British.

People's Commissaries to be Seized

It was suggested that a rising might be possible in Moscow within two or three weeks, i. e., about the middle of September. The British were concerned that Lenin and Trotsky should be present at the plenary session of the Council of People's Commissaries, the arrest of which in its entirety was planned. It was proposed simultaneously to seize the State Bank, the Central Telephone Station, and the Telegraph Station, and to introduce a military dictatorship, with a prohibition under pain of death to hold any meeting whatsoever before the arrival of the British military authorities. The question was also discussed of enlisting the assistance of the highest representatives of the

Church hierarchy in order to organize public prayers and sermons in defence of the revolt. The consent of the representatives of the clergy was obtained. At this meeting the commander already mentioned had 700,000 rubles handed over to him in accordance with Lockhart's promise, for the purpose of organizing the projected rising.

Who Supplied the Money?

On August 22, a new meeting was held at which a further 200,000 rubles were handed over and plans were examined for the seizure of the cabinets of Lenin, Trotsky, Aralov, and the Supreme Economic Council, in order to gain possession of the papers contained therein. The object of the British officer (Reilly), who was carrying on the negotiations, was mainly to utilize the material seized to justify a new war between Russia and Germany, which it was proposed to declare immediately after the *coup d'etat*.

On August 28 the said Commander of the Soviet troops was handed a further 300,000 rubles, and it was agreed that he should go to Petrograd in order to get into touch with the British directing military groups here and the Russian White Guards who had gathered around it. The interview at Petrograd took place on August 29. At this interview the question was discussed of getting into touch with Nizhni-Novgorod and Tambov.

Petrograd and Moscow to be Starved Out

Simultaneously with the conferences described there went on other conferences between the diplomatic representatives of various "Allied" powers concerning measures which could render more acute the internal situation of Russia and thereby weaken the Soviet Government in its struggle with the Czecho-Slovaks and the Anglo-French.

As was made clear, the principal problem to be executed by the Allied agents, who are scattered through all the towns of Soviet Russia, armed with forged papers, was to increase food difficulties, particularly in Petrograd and Moscow. Plans for the blowing-up of bridges and railways, with the object of delaying supplies of food, and also for the destruction by fire and the blowing-up of food dumps were worked out. It was also discovered that the Anglo-French conspirators had an extensively elaborated system of espionage in all the Commissariats, which was confirmed by the searches which followed, in which a number of secret reports from the Eastern Front were brought to light. The officers arrested in connection with this (Captain Fride and others), in their evidence showed that they had handed over to the British

and French secret information as to the movement of Soviet troops and generally all secret information as to the internal situation of Russia.

The Plot Unmasked

In connection with all this data, arrests took place in Petrograd and Moscow. The complicity of the diplomatic and military representatives of the Allied powers in the conspiracy already described was fully established. Ten million rubles had been earmarked for the purpose. Amongst other details, it was considered necessary to make certain that the unit which was supplying the guard on the appointed day at the Kremlin should be bought over, and should carry out the arrest itself. All the arrested members of the Council of People's Commissaries were immediately to be sent to Archangel.

Reilly's Change of Plan

This was the original plan. However, Sidney Reilly soon expressed a doubt as to the utility of sending Lenin thither. He considered that Lenin possesses a marvelous faculty of appealing to the man in the street. One might be certain that during his journey to Archangel he would be able to gain over the escort to his side, and the latter would soon release him. Consequently, he considered that it would be most safe to shoot Lenin and Trotsky immediately on their arrest.

Soviet Troops Incorruptible

The All-Russian Extraordinary Commission possesses certificates bearing the actual signature of Mr. Lockhart, thanks to which the conspirators could enjoy the protection of the British Military Mission in Moscow. It has also supplementary evidence of the detailed nature of the plans for the organization of power after the *coup d'etat*.

The dictatorship was to be wielded by three persons, special committees were to be set up in military units, and so on.

The A. R. E. C. has also irrefragable documentary evidence that while the threads of the whole conspiracy centered in the hands of the British Military Mission, the French Consul-General Grenard, the French General Lavergne, and a number of other French officers were also implicated.

Thanks to the incorruptibility of the Lettish troops and the vigilance of the Extraordinary Commission, the threatened attempt was frustrated.

The London weekly that publishes the above adds a characteristic comment to illustrate the attitude of the British working class on the subject of counter-revolutionary activities of the British Government in Russia.

The following document may be regarded as of exceptional interest at a period when the British Government has broken off political negotiations with the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia for the alleged reason that the Russian workers were prepared to spare £75,000 out of their great need in order to assist the only British working-class daily.

It should be remembered that the negotiations and transactions described in the following documents took place in the summer of 1918, while the Allied diplomats in Moscow were still enjoying the most complete immunity; although it had already been discovered (in June, 1918) that they helped to finance the Czechoslovak insurrection which had begun some months before, and which was at this moment, in conjunction with the Allied landing at Archangel, threatening the very existence of the Soviet Republic.

The Communist Party of Great Britain considers itself bound to place the following facts before the working classes of these islands and of the whole world, in order to expose at their true worth the pretensions of the men who are gambling with the workers' lives in order to serve the interests of bankers, timber merchants, and oil magnates.

An Interview with Victor Kopp

By JULIO ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

[*The Spanish correspondent Julio Alvarez Del Vayo, who sends contributions to "La Nacion" of Buenos Aires, from Berlin, has the following interesting interview with Victor Kopp, Soviet Representative in that city, in the issue for September 4, 1920, of the Madrid "Espera", one of the most dignified and serious of Spanish reviews.*]

HOW do you judge the new situation brought about by the reverses of the Russian army, and what in your opinion will be the future policy of the Soviet Government with regard to the Entente and Poland?

I cannot answer officially, since Moscow has not pronounced itself with regard to the latest events. The news circulating in these parts is not authentic. England's change of attitude is very natural. Lloyd George is the typical incarnation of a capitalist bourgeois diplomat, for whom there are neither laws nor principles. He exploits every conjuncture in the sense that seems most favorable to him at the moment. His morality is the Napoleonic morality, whose creed is that God is always on the side of the strongest battalions. His principal interest is the defence of the interests of

his class. Lloyd George is consistent with himself, but his policy, although at times brilliant and individual, soon discloses its myopic nature when viewed as part of the larger whole. The case of Giolitti seems clearer to me however. Italy must reckon with the spirit of the proletariat, whose influence is increasing day by day. The politician of the old school knows only two methods of government with regard to the masses: make concessions, or hand out brute force. To judge by the importance of the growth of the workers' movement in Italy, Giolitti seems to think the moment has come for the use of the second method. The situation seems favorable to him. He knows perfectly well the risk he is running; he knows that the Italian workers will oppose in every way the destruction of their Russian comrades. The Gio-

litti policy, which was at first farseeing and sagacious, will now contribute to intensifying class antagonisms in Italy and precipitating the catastrophe.

What do you think of the activity displayed in the last few days by General Wrangel?

The same fate awaits him as has overtaken Denikin and Kolchak. Without doubt Wrangel is more capable. He is dividing the land among the peasants, pretending to them that he is their friend. But this policy, on the other hand, will alienate from him the support and the sympathies of the reactionary elements who are opposed to having the peasants become proprietors of the land. Besides, Wrangel has already revealed his game. The "liberator" has attached to his government all the most discredited men of the old regime, persons who have been in the vicinage of Shulgin and Krivosheyin. It is certain that Wrangel has made considerable progress in the last few weeks. Neither the Soviet Government nor its press conceal this fact, and they are accustomed to relating the facts as they are. They do not conceal the danger that is involved in Wrangel's operations near the coal region of the Donets Basin, which threatens, furthermore, the Caucasus railroad lines. But today the struggles going on in Russia are not fought out exclusively in the military field. There is always in the background the social question, and this is the obstruction to Wrangel's victory. The case is similar in Poland; it should not be forgotten that the Polish peasants openly sympathize with the Soviets.

Could you be so kind as to outline for me what Russia intends to do with regard to Poland?

Russia has no intention to make any attempts against Poland's independence. We shall respect that independence as we have respected the independence of the other marginal states. Of course we shall be delighted with the entrance of Poland and the rest of those states into a great federal Soviet Republic. But, of course, only in case they really are disposed to enter such a republic. So long as they continue to be governed in a bourgeois manner, Russia has no interest in uniting with them or in imposing upon them by force its own system of government.

You ask me about the Treaty of Versailles? Russia cannot recognize this treaty. It never was informed of the treaty, nor has it ever taken any note of it. It is just as if the treaty did not exist, and the same applies to the League of Nations. The Treaty of Versailles is only the expression of the piratical policy of the Entente. We are therefore unable to consider the question, for example, of the "Polish corridor", as solved. On the other hand, it seems reasonable to us that Poland should aspire to hold an outlet to the sea. Why should not the fate of Danzig be decided by a plebiscite, by reason of the much lauded principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, instead of forcing upon that city the autocratic decrees of the Supreme Council of the Allies.

We desire to live perfectly at peace with Ger-

many. The state of peace still lacks certain documentary prerequisites: but as a matter of fact, peace is already with us. It is to be hoped that commercial exchanges will soon be resumed. Commerce with Germany is a vital necessity for us.

What do you think of the reconstruction of Russia?

In spite of the enormous difficulty to be overcome, the reconstruction of Russia is progressing. Splendid prospects open before us. The initiative has been taken in supplying hydraulic power on a large scale in the Urals and in the vicinity of Moscow. The installment of great electric power stations is at present being planned. Of course, Russia alone cannot reconstruct itself. Machinery is necessary, and so are utensils. The cooperation of international commerce is needed. At present all those are deceiving themselves who are speculating on the possibility of reducing Russia by means of boycotting its desires for reconstruction. Every attack from without redoubles our will to resist.

Do you think that the economic crises involved in every revolution might go so far as to compromise the work of reconstruction in Russia, and do you think that from this standpoint it would be to the interest of Russia to have the western countries, from whose industry Russia expects to receive raw materials and machinery, remain at least for a certain period of time unmolested by any revolutionary upheavals?

For a moment the Soviet representative hesitated. Then he answered: The world does not dispose itself to suit our personal desires. What we personally desire or may come to desire is not of importance. History follows its inexorable course. Capitalism is displaying its impotence at all points in the solution of the problems presented or aggravated by the war. Even the most prosperous countries, such as England and France, cannot reconstruct themselves within the economic system in which they live; even there the capitalist regime will crumble one day.

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Peace Treaty Between Soviet Russia and Latvia

[The following is a translation of the Treaty of Peace signed at Dorpat on June 13, 1920, between representatives of the governments of Soviet Russia and Latvia. This translation has been prepared for SOVIET RUSSIA from the Lettish official version, as it appeared in the Official Gazette of Latvia. Unfortunately the Russian text has been as yet unobtainable.]

Latvia, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, animated by a firm desire to end the war that had arisen between them, have decided to enter into peace negotiations and to conclude, as soon as possible, a firm, honorable and just peace and finally settle all questions that arise from Latvia's former dependency from Russia, and for this purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Government of the Latvian Democratic Republic:

Jahn (son of Jahn) Wessman,
Peter (son of Rembert) Berg,
Ans (son of Kristap) Buschewitsch,
Eduard (son of Andrej) Kalinin, and
Karl (son of Jekab) Pauluk.

The Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic:

Adolf (son of Abram) Yoffe, and
Jakov (son of Stanislav) Hanezki.

The above mentioned plenipotentiaries, assembled in Moscow and after reciprocally presenting their credentials, which have been found to be of the required form and in good order, have agreed on the following:

ARTICLE I

From the day this treaty goes into effect the war between the contracting parties shall cease.

ARTICLE II

In accordance with the declaration of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of the right of nations to free self-determination, not excluding even a complete severance from the state they were a part of, and considering the firm expressed will of the Latvian people for an independent national life, Russia recognizes without reservations the independence, self-existence and sovereignty of the Latvian State and renounces voluntarily and forever all sovereign rights that Russia held over the Latvian people and land, according to the former laws of the state and international treaties, which to the effect, as above mentioned, shall forever be annulled. No obligations shall arise on the part of the Latvian people and land toward Russia as a result of their connection with Russia.

ARTICLE III

The frontier between Latvia and Russia shall be as follows:

From the Esthonian frontier, between the villages of Babina and Vymorsk, through the village of Vymorsk, by the Glubitza River, through Vashkova, further by OPOCHKA Rivulet and OPOCHKA and Vyada Rivers, to Dubinina, from there by the shortest straight line to Kukhva River, further by Kukhva River and its tributary the Pelega River to Umernish, from there in a straight line to the letter "V" of the place named Kailova on the Utroja River, by the Utroja River to its bend near Malaya Melnitsa, from there in a straight line to the bend of Lsha River, two versts north from the place name "Starina", further by Lsha River and the administrative boundaries of the counties Luts, Rezekne and Dvinsk with the counties of OPOCHKA, Sebez and Drissa, to Passina, on the Osunitsa River, further in a straight line through Lakes Bieloye, Chernoye and through the lake lying between Vasilev and Mozishk, through Saveik, on the rivulet emptying into the Dvina River between Koskovts and Novoye Selo, further by the Dvina River to Shafranova.

By the 14th day after the ratification of the peace treaty, both contracting parties agree to withdraw their military forces to the national frontier within their territories.

Note 1. The frontiers defined in this article are marked in red on the map (three versts to one inch), appended to this article. In case of differences between

the text and the map, the text shall be considered as decisive.

Note 2. The surveying and the setting up frontier marks between the Latvian and Russian States shall be carried out by a special mixed frontier commission, with an equal number of members from both sides. In surveying inhabited points traversed by frontier, what points shall vest with one or the other contracting party's territory shall be decided by the above mentioned commission, according to the ethnographic and economic features of such points. In cases where ethnographic and economic features are to be considered, and the above mentioned commission has to set the frontier along rivers and lakes, the frontier goes through the middle of rivers and lakes, disregarding the former administrative boundaries that may have run along one or the other side of these rivers and lakes.

Note 3. The artificial diversion of water from border rivers and lakes if that causes the lowering of the average level of water,—is prohibited. Rules and regulations regarding shipping and fishing in these rivers and lakes shall be set by special agreements; in fishing to be used only such devices, that do not result in the extermination of fish.

Appendix (map)*

ARTICLE IV

Both contracting parties are bound:

1. To prohibit the maintenance of any armies on their territories, except the armies of the government, or the armies of friendly powers that have made a military agreement with one of the contracting parties, but who are not actually at war with the other contracting party; also to prohibit within their territories the recruiting and mobilization of persons for an army by such states, organizations and groups, whose intent is to wage armed war against the other contracting party.

Note: In the Russian army at present existing, the names of certain military detachments, that form parts of the Latvian Light Division, are considered by both parties as names having only an historical significance. The personnel in these detachments is not and will not be of a national Lettish preponderance, and, notwithstanding the names, they have no relation either to the Lettish people nor to the Latvian State.

Therefore Latvia will not consider the retention of these historical names as a violation of this article.

Both sides shall not give to their military detachments new names, that are originated from the other party's geographical or national names.

2. To prohibit the organization and residence on its territory of any organizations or groups who pretend to be the government of the whole or a part of the territory of other contracting party, to prohibit also the residence on its territory of the representatives and officials of organizations and groups, which intend to overthrow the government of the other contracting party.

3. To prohibit states which are actually at war with the other party, and organizations and groups whose intent is armed war with the other contracting party, from using its ports and territory for the transportation of anything that might be used to attack the other contracting party, such as: armed forces, military equipment, technical appliances of military nature, and artillery, intendency, engineering and aeronautic supplies of such states, organizations and groups.

4. To prohibit, except in cases provided for in international law, the entering and the passage through its territorial waters of any war vessels, gunboats and torpedo-boats, etc., that belong to organizations or groups intending to wage armed war against the other contracting party, or to states that are in a state of war with the other contracting party and whose intention is to attack the other contracting party, if such an intention has become known to the contracting party to whom the territorial waters and ports belong.

* Although we have looked for this map in a number of Lettish papers containing the text of this treaty, we have not been able to find a copy of it.

ARTICLE V

Both sides reciprocally renounce all claims to the payment of military expenditures, i. e., state expenditure spent in conducting war, as well as claims of war losses, i. e., those losses caused by the military operations against them or their citizens, including also all kinds of requisitions that have been made by the other party on their territory.

ARTICLE VI

Deeming it absolutely necessary that obligations to cover the losses of the World War of 1914-1917, suffered by the ruined countries or parts of countries, on which territories the war was carried on, shall be justly distributed between all the world powers, both contracting parties undertake the endeavor to reach an agreement between all the powers for the creation of an international world fund, from which the money shall be drawn to cover the above mentioned losses.

Independently of the creation of such an international fund, the contracting parties consider it necessary, as far as it is in their power, to extend mutual help to Russia, as well as to all independent republics, established on the former Russian territory of the Czar's government, joining with their own resources in order to cover the losses of the World War, and both parties undertake the endeavor to reach such an agreement between these above mentioned republics.

ARTICLE VII

Prisoners of war of both contracting countries must be transported to their respective countries as soon as possible. The order of exchange of war prisoners will be defined in the appendix to this article.

Note: Prisoners of war are considered all persons captured and not serving voluntarily in the army of the state that has captured them.

APPENDIX

1. Prisoners of war of both countries shall be permitted to go to their respective countries, if they do not wish to remain, with the consent of the government of the territory on which they live, within its boundaries, or to go to other countries.

2. When the prisoners of war are liberated they shall receive back their documents and personal property which has been confiscated by the order of the government that captured them, as well as the unpaid and unaccounted portions of their salary.

3. Each contracting party agrees to repay the expenses which its former adversary had borne in maintaining its captured citizens to an extent such as these expenses have not been compensated by the work of prisoners of war in government or private enterprises. The repayment shall be made in the currency of the state that had made the capture.

Note: The expenses of maintaining prisoners of war consist of expenditures for their food, clothing and supplying them with money.

4. Prisoners of war shall be transported to the frontier by echelons at the expense of the state that has captured them; the transfer shall be executed according to prepared lists on which is stated the first name, the name of the father, the family name of the prisoner, the time of his capture, as well as the army unit the prisoner served in when captured.

5. Immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty a mixed commission composed of three representatives from both sides for the exchange of prisoners of war shall be established. The duty of this commission shall be the supervision of the execution of the terms as stated in this appendix, the determination of dates and the ways and means of transporting the prisoners of war to their country, also the fixing of the amount of expenditures of prisoners of war, according to the dates submitted by the respective sides at the time of exchange of the prisoners of war.

6. Upon the same principles, as stated in regard to prisoners of war, shall be carried out the exchange of interned civilians and military persons, also the return of hostages of both sides upon the request of the adversary.

ARTICLE VIII

Persons who on the day of the ratification of this treaty live within Latvia's boundaries, also the refugees dwelling in Russia, who themselves, or whose parents, before August 1, 1914, are registered in the records of town or country bodies, or institutions of social classes on the territory now constituting the Latvian State, shall be considered as Latvian citizens.

Persons of the same category, who, on the day of the ratification of this treaty, live within the boundaries of Russia, except the above-mentioned category of refugees, shall be considered as Russian citizens.

However, within one year from the date of the ratification of this treaty, all persons over the age of eighteen, living on Latvian territory shall have the right to renunciation of their Latvian citizenship and shall have the right to choose Russian citizenship; their citizenship is shared by their children under eighteen years of age, and by their wives, if there be no specific agreement between husband and wife.

Also persons, who according to the definitions stated in the second section of this article, are to be considered Russian citizens, have the same right to choose Latvian citizenship during the same period and under the same conditions.

Persons, who have announced their wish for such option, as well as those who share their citizenship as above, retain their rights of movable and immovable private property in accordance with the laws that exist in the country where they live, but in case of leaving the country they have the right to sell out or to export their property.

Note 1. Persons who, at the moment of the ratification of this treaty, live on the territory of a third country, but are not naturalized there and fulfill the requirements of the first section of this article, shall also be considered Latvian citizens, but under the above mentioned conditions they have the right to choose Russian citizenship.

Note 2. The right of option as defined in this article relates also to those citizens, who up to the World War of 1914-1917, and later, have lived on the territory of one of the contracting parties, but at the moment of the ratification of the treaty are living on the territory of the other party.

Refugees, in regard to their property, which they could not export on the basis of the agreement of June 12, 1920, regarding the repatriation of refugees, shall have the same rights as are in this article provided for citizens with the right of option, but only to such an extent as the refugees can prove that this property belongs to them and has been during the repatriation time in their actual possession.

Note 3. Both contracting parties give to the citizens of the other side, as well as to those who expressed their wish for an option, the right and facilities freely to depart for their respective countries, and, in general, the right to leave the boundaries of the other country. Both contracting parties also agree to demobilize the citizens of the other country as soon as this treaty is ratified, also persons who have applied for citizenship of the other country.

ARTICLE IX

The agreement between Latvia and Russia, of June 12, 1920, regarding the repatriation of refugees, remains in effect, with the supplementary statement that refugees who are citizens of the other side have, besides those rights defined in the above-mentioned agreement, also the rights given by this peace treaty to persons who have expressed their wish for option and to citizens of the respective country.

ARTICLE X

Both contracting parties reciprocally renounce any claims that would arise from Latvia's former alliance with Russia, and recognize the various state properties on each respective country's territory, as the sole property of that country. The right of claims for Russian state property, which has been removed from the Latvian territory after August 1, 1914, to a third country, shall be transferred to the Latvian State.

To the Latvian State shall also be transferred all claims of the Russian State against juridical persons or a third country, as far as these claims concern Latvian territory.

To the Latvian State shall be transferred all financial

claims of the Russian Treasury on properties within the boundaries of the Latvian State, also all claims against Latvian citizens, but only as far as these claims are not liquidated by counter-claims presented at the settlement of accounts.

Note: To the Latvian State shall not be transferred the rights of claims against small holders-peasants, regarding their indebtedness and defaulting of payments to former Peasant's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or to other Russian agrarian banks now nationalized, these debts shall be considered null and void; also the indebtedness of the nobility to the former Noblemen's Agrarian Bank of Russia, or other Russian agrarian banks now nationalized shall not be claimed by the Latvian State, but shall be considered null and void, if that land is given over to the small holders-peasants and agricultural laborers.

The Russian Government shall hand over to the Latvian Government the documents and acts that affirm the rights mentioned in this section, as far as these documents are in the actual possession of the former. If within a year from the day of the ratification of this treaty this is not done, these documents and acts are declared lost.

ARTICLE XI

1. The Russian Government shall deliver at its own expense to Latvia, and hand over to the Latvian Government, libraries, archives, museums, art productions, school appliances, documents and other property of educational, learned, state, religious, social institutions and institutions of social classes, insofar as these mentioned articles have been removed from Latvia during the World War of 1914-1917 and actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

With regard to archives, libraries, museums, art productions, and documents that are for Latvia of important scientific, artistic or historical value and that were removed from Latvia to Russia before the World War of 1914-1917, the Russian Government is willing to return them to Latvia as far as the taking out of these objects may not cause considerable losses to the Russian archives, libraries, museums and art galleries in which they are kept.

A special mixed commission with an equal number of members from both sides shall settle all questions in regard to the taking out of the objects mentioned.

2. The Russian Government shall return at its own expense and hand over to the Latvian Government all judicial and administrative papers, court and administrative archives, also the archives of the senior and junior notary public, the archives of the title and land office, the archives of religious departments of all confessions, the archives and plans of the departments of land surveying, land organization, of forestry, railroad, highways, post and telegraph, etc.; from the topography bureau of the Vilna military district, plans, drawings, maps and in general all material that relates to the territory of the Latvian State; the archives and management of the local branch of the Nobles' and Peasants' banks, of the local branch of the State Bank and of other credit, cooperative and mutual insurance associations, insofar as these mentioned articles actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

3. The Russian Government shall return at its own expense, and hand over to the Latvian Government, to be forwarded to those to whom they belong, various documents regarding property rights, as: purchase contracts and obligations, rent contracts, bills of exchange, etc., also account-books, papers and documents, that are necessary in settling accounts, and documents, in general, that are of value for the affirmation of legal property rights of Latvian citizens, and that have been removed from Latvia to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, insofar as they actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions. If within two years from the date of the ratification of this treaty these documents are not returned, they shall be considered lost.

4. Russia shall deliver those papers and documents from the archives of the central and local departments that have direct relation to Latvian territories.

ARTICLE XII

1. The Russian Government shall return to Latvia the property of social, charitable, cultural and educational institutions that has been evacuated to Russia during the World War of 1914-1917, also the bells and property of churches and meeting-houses of all confessions, insofar as these mentioned objects actually are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

2. The Russian Government shall return to Latvia valuables of all kinds that have been evacuated to Russia since August 1st, 1914, from the various Latvian commercial, agrarian and credit institutions, as banks, mutual credit associations, savings and loan banks and associations, also town banks and banks of social bodies, and lombards, that have done business within the territory of Latvia,—valuables belonging to or deposited in these above-mentioned banks, except gold, precious stones and currency; insofar as these valuables are in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government, or social institutions.

3. With regard to compensation for bonds of the Russian Government,* for bonds guaranteed by that Government, also for private bonds that are circulating within the territory of Latvia, and have been issued by associations and institutions whose enterprises are nationalized by the Russian Government, as well as Latvian citizens' claims against the Russian State and nationalized institutions,—Russia shall comply to grant to Latvia, to Latvian citizens and institutions all those facilities, rights and privileges, which she directly or indirectly has granted or may grant to another country, or to citizens, societies or institutions. If bonds or obligations cannot be presented, the Russian Government, in applying this section of article 12, is willing to recognize those persons as the holders of bonds, etc., who present proof, that valuable papers belonging to them have been evacuated during the war.

4. In regard to savings deposits, securities, and other money deposits made with the various state and judicial institutions, as far as these deposits and payments belong to Latvian citizens, also in regard to deposits and all kinds of securities, that have been deposited in the local branches of the former State Bank or other credit institutions now nationalized or liquidated insofar as these deposits and payments belong to Latvian citizens,—the Russian Government shall consent to allow to Latvian citizens all rights that were formerly allowed to Russian citizens and therefore to permit Latvian citizens, who on account of their occupations could not exercise their rights, to do so now. In meeting these claims, the Russian Government shall allow to Latvian citizens the benefit of paying them the amount that the unit of Russian money has lost from its purchasing value, counting it from the moment of the occupation of Latvia—September 3, 1917—to the moment of the return of the money.

5. In regard to valuables and properties that were kept in the rooms of the banks or in their safes, as far as these valuables and property belong, or are in, or may actually come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions, the terms of section 4 of this article shall be applied. The same terms shall be applied also to Latvian citizens' valuables and property that was kept after August 1st, 1914, in the rooms and safes of the evacuated Latvian credit institutions and safes.

Note: The money, valuables and property mentioned in this article shall be handed over to the Latvian Government to be forwarded to whom they belong.

ARTICLE XIII

The Russian Government shall return to the Latvian Government to be forwarded to whom it belongs all property of Latvian cities, societies and juridical and natural private persons, that has been evacuated to Russia during the World War, insofar as this property actually is in, or may come into, the jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

* Apparently the Czarist Government is meant.

Note 1. In case of doubt, such organizations shall be considered as Latvian joint stock companies and societies, as can present proof that the amount of shares and investments belonging to Latvian citizens were in preponderance before the date of the publishing of the Russian Government decree regarding the nationalization of industry.

Note: This article shall not apply to investments, deposits and valuables that have been in the local branches of the State Bank, or private banks, credit institutions and savings banks on Latvian territory.

ARTICLE XIV

1. In regard to post, telegraph and telephone property that has been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917, from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall return to Latvia and hand over to the Latvian Government as much of this property as the true needs of the economic and cultural life of Latvia as an independent state may require, and insofar as this evacuated property is in, or may come into, actual jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

2. In regard to floating equipments, and lighthouses that were used in Latvian harbors and have been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917 from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall deliver to Latvia and hand over to the Latvian Government as much of this property as may be needed to the actual needs for harbors and their appurtenances for Latvia as an independent state, and insofar as this property is in, or may come into, the actual jurisdiction of the Russian State or social institutions.

3. In regard to the rolling stock and the railroad shop equipments that have been evacuated during the World War of 1914-1917 from Latvia to Russia, the Russian Government shall return to Latvia, and hand over to the Latvian Government, as much of it as may be needed to the actual economic need of Latvia as an independent state and insofar as this property is in, or may come into, actual jurisdiction of the Russian Government or social institutions.

A mixed Latvian-Russian commission constituted on the principles of equal representation immediately after the ratification of the treaty, shall determine in detail the amount of property mentioned in this article, that must be re-evacuated, and shall also settle the dates of delivery. This commission shall determine the amount of property to be re-evacuated, taking into account the economic conditions as they were before the World War of 1914-1917, on the territories that according to this treaty now constitute the Latvian State; deducting everything that has served the needs of Russia's industry and Russia's transit in general, the actual needs of present day Latvia as an independent state shall be determined in detail; considering, however, the general lowering of the level of economic life.

ARTICLE XV

The Russian Government shall be bound to give the Latvian Government all instructions and information, and render every assistance in the discovery of property, archives, documents, etc., in complying with the terms of the articles X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV of this treaty.

The property that shall be re-evacuated by the Russian Government according to the above-mentioned articles may be returned in kind or in respective equivalents, if agreed so by the Latvian Government.

On account of the value of the property in the above-mentioned form, to be returned to Latvia, the Russian Government advances to Latvia 4,000,000 rubles in gold to be delivered two months after the ratification of the treaty.

ARTICLE XVI

Taking into account the devastation of Latvia during the World War of 1914-1917,—Russia:

1. Frees Latvia from responsibility for the Russian debts or any other obligations, including the responsibilities created by the issuance of paper money, state treasury notes, obligations, the series and certificate notes of the Russian Treasury, from responsibilities for internal and foreign loans, guarantees to various

institutions and enterprises, and for loans guaranteed by them, etc. All such claims of the creditors of Russia in matters concerning Latvia shall be directed to Russia.

2. Grants Latvia rights of cutting forest on an area of 100,000 dessiatins in order to help Latvian peasantry to rebuild their homes destroyed during the war; the forests shall be as near as possible to the Latvian border, railroads and rivers adopted for floating timber; the conditions of this concession to be defined by a special Latvian-Russian mixed commission constituted, upon the principle of equal representation, immediately after the ratification of the treaty.

ARTICLE XVII

1. The contracting parties are willing to conclude immediately after the ratification of this treaty commercial and transit agreements, consular and post and telegraph conventions and an agreement in regard to the deepening of the Dvina River.

2. Until the conclusion of commercial and transit agreements the contracting parties agree that their mutual economic relations shall be settled on the following principles:

a. Both sides give to each other all the rights that would be enjoyed by the most favored nation;

b. No customs duties nor tariff taxes shall be levied on goods to be transported over the territory of one of the contracting countries;

c. Freight rates for transit goods shall not be higher than rates for local transportation of goods of the same nature.

3. In case of the death of a citizen of one of the contracting sides, on the territory of the other side, his property shall be given over to the consular or other similar representative of the country to which belonged the deceased whose estate is in question, which is to be administered according to the laws and rules of his country.

ARTICLE XVIII

Both contracting parties are bound to apply all possible means to facilitate the movements of merchant ships in their waters, furnishing the necessary pilots, keeping lighthouses in order, setting up the necessary marks, sweeping the waters of mines, applying special devices to cut down the mine fields.

Both sides express their willingness to participate in the clearing of the Baltic Sea of mines, which work shall be performed according to special agreement between the interested parties; in case this is not done the degree of participancy of both sides shall be determined by the court of arbitration.

ARTICLE XIX

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

ARTICLE XX

After the ratification of this treaty the Russian Government shall pardon all Latvian citizens and all applicants for Latvian citizenship, and the Latvian Government shall pardon Russian citizens and applicants for Russian citizenship, military persons as well as civilians, for any kind of political or disciplinary offences. When court decisions have not yet been made, the cases have to be discontinued.

Persons who have committed the above-mentioned offences after this treaty is signed are not subject to this amnesty.

Persons who are under investigation or are indicted, or are arrested, having been charged with criminal offences and misdemeanors, before the ratification of this treaty, also those who are serving their sentences for such offences, shall be immediately delivered to their country upon the request of their government, together with all the evidence adduced in their indictment and trial.

Simultaneously, both contracting parties shall pardon their own citizens for offences that were committed in the interests of the enemy before this treaty was signed.

Note 1. Since, according to the terms of this article, certain persons are to be pardoned or delivered to their

country, the sentences given for these crimes and offenses to those persons shall be discontinued from the moment of the signing of this treaty.

Note 2. This article shall not be applied to Russian citizens or applicants for Russian citizenship, who participated on April 16, 1919, in the conspiracy and offensive of Bermond.

ARTICLE XXI

The settlement of questions of public and private law that may arise between the two contracting parties, as well as the settlement of specific questions between both states, or the state and the citizens of the other country, shall be arrived at by a special mixed commission, which shall be established immediately after the ratification of the treaty, with an equal number of members from each side, and whose composition, rights and duties are defined in the instructions by agreement of both contracting states.

ARTICLE XXII

This treaty is drawn up in the Lettish and Russian languages. In the interpretation both texts shall be considered authentic.

ARTICLE XXIII

This treaty must be ratified and shall take effect from the moment of ratification, if it is not stated otherwise in the treaty.

The exchange of the documents of ratification must take place in Moscow.

Wherever in this treaty the moment of ratification is mentioned as the effective date of its enforcement, it is understood to be the moment of the exchange of the documents of ratification.

CHICHERIN'S NOTE TO HUNGARY

(Translation of the radiogram sent on August 6 by People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Chicherin to the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs at Budapest.)

The Russian Soviet Government has become cognizant of the fact that ten former members of the Hungarian Soviet Government, a close and true ally of the Russian Soviet Government in the struggle against the enemies of the toiling masses of Russia and Hungary, are at present in the hands of a mock criminal court, and that they are threatened with judicial murder for measures which they enacted in their capacity as members of the government for the weal of the toiling masses whose will they represented.

In view of this the Russian Government declares that the former Hungarian People's Commissars Dovcsak, Nyisztor, Agoston, Bokanyi, Haubrich, Vantus, Szabados, Kalmar, Bajalsi and Kelen are under its close and direct protection. In view of the danger which threatens them, as well as the dangers which threaten the numerous Russian citizens who are now in Hungary, the Russian Government has ordered the detention in concentration camps of a thousand Hungarian officers from among those who are still in Russia. Ten of these officers, namely: Major Arshad de-Karolyi, Colonel Alexander Cbisar, Stefan Flora, chief lieutenants Koloman de-Jankoviz, Victor Shebcheli, Alexander de-Sal, Count Valentine Szechenyi, Lieutenant Georgi Spolaritz, Eugene Ferber, are declared to be direct hostages for the ten former people's commissars who are now appearing before the mock court in Budapest, and will be subjected to the same fate which will befall the people's commissars if the bloody plans of the Hungarian Government with regard

to the latter are carried out. The Russian Government will follow closely the Budapest trial and will not hesitate to take such measures as it may deem necessary.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

CHICHERIN.

Pravda, August 13.

CHICHERIN'S NOTE TO FRANCE

The threat contained in the radio of the French Government dated August 26, namely, to profit from France's naval superiority on the Black Sea by undertaking aggressive operations against Russia or Ukraine in case the French prisoners, still retained in Russia, should not have reached the Finnish frontier or Odessa by the first of October, can be considered only as an act of brutal violence, in violation of the most elementary principles of justice. Against such procedure the Russian Government raises an indignant protest.

The agreement, which was signed at Copenhagen on last April 20, with regard to the repatriation of Russian and French nationals, was conditioned by the formal promise of the French Government not to intervene in Russia's internal affairs, nor to cooperate hereafter in any aggressive measure against the Soviet Republic. Owing to the fact that this promise has not been kept, and that the whole policy of France with regard to Russia has been a direct violation of the obligations accepted at Copenhagen, the treaty which was based on this condition becomes invalid, as our representative Litvinov stated at the proper time to the French representative in Copenhagen.

Desiring, nevertheless, to bring about as speedily as possible the return of Russian soldiers and prisoners now in France and Algeria to their native soil, we have proceeded with the repatriation on the basis of proportional exchange, reserving only the right to defer the return of members remaining from the French Military Mission, until the last moment of the repatriation of Russian soldiers and prisoners.

But even with regard to the reciprocal and proportional exchange of those under the jurisdiction of the two countries, the French Government acts in flagrant violation of the actual condition of this question. In its note of June 12, transmitted to the Russian Government by M. Fritjof Nansen, the French Government declares that it has repatriated 47,000 Russian soldiers and prisoners, while in reality hardly 15,000 have reached Russia at the present time. The number of Russian nationals to be repatriated in September is, then, not at all in proportion to the actual number of those who are still in France and Algeria, awaiting their return to Russia. In the above-mentioned radio of the French Government the return of all Russian nationals from France was set for September 15, and for those in Algeria for September 20. We see now that in reality complete repatriation is very far off. Information from various sources reaches us concerning the number of sol-

diere and prisoners from Russia that are still interned in the concentration camps or fortresses of France, or even groaning under the barbarous Algerian regime. Our fellow-citizens continue to suffer under the orders of the French authorities who persist in forcing them to join the army of General Wrangel, or to enter the foreign section.

It seems doubtful to us that the French Government could give us formal and documentary assurance that all our fellow-citizens have been repatriated. And yet, if the French Government demands the complete repatriation of its own nationals, arguing that it has legally fulfilled the obligations legally incumbent upon it, it should at least furnish us with a formal proof of the repatriation of our nationals. Now no such proof has been furnished by the French Government. Consequently, the demand for the complete repatriation of French nationals should be considered absolutely unjustified. Nevertheless, the Russian Government is so sincerely desirous of avoiding any further bloodshed, that it has resolved to yield before brute force, and to send the remaining French prisoners to Rajajoci or to Odessa without waiting any longer, convinced that this new act of insolence on the part of the French Government will continue to open the eyes of the masses of French people, who some day will be able to impose their will upon their government and make up for the acts of injustice which it has committed. The Russian Government in yielding to violence, will, by this act, draw the conclusions that are forced upon it, and from now on calls the attention of the French Government in the most serious manner to the new and important obstacles which such precedents create with regard to the general pacification of Europe.

People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
CHICHERIN.

BARON WRANGEL'S LAND PROGRAM

By N. MESHCHERYAKOV

One of the first steps of the workmen's and peasants' Soviet power after the November Revolution was the transfer of all the land of the landlords' estates to the peasants. The main object of the Russian counter-revolutionists was, on the contrary, to restore to the former owners the land which had been taken by the peasants from the former landlords.

For two and a half years the Russian Whites fought in vain for this land. The result of this struggle was the complete defeat of the Whites on all fronts. Now the landlords propose to achieve their aim in another way, by means of cunning. Their new chief and leader, Baron Wrangel, surrounded himself with former Czarist ministers and officials and drafted with their assistance a "new land law", which he published in Crimea. This "law" will be enforced in every district which the Baron may succeed in seizing.

The law states that all the land of the former landlords shall be divided into two parts. One part shall remain the property of the former own-

ers. "The size of this part is not determined in advance, but is left to the judgment of the *volost* and *uyezd* land institutions in each locality." But of whom will these "institutions" be composed? The Baron prefers not to commit himself on this question. But the very fact that this "law" was dictated by the landlords, who are led by the former reactionary Czarist minister, the large landed proprietor Krivosheyin, shows that the "land institutions" will be packed with the landlords' henchmen, or perhaps with the landlords themselves. Under such conditions the largest part of the land will, of course, remain in the hands of the landlords.

The other part of the land is to be transferred to the peasants. "But the land is not to be expropriated, but will have to be paid for at its full value." The peasant who will receive a section of the land which formerly belonged to a landlord will have to make payments to the landlord in grain for twenty-five years, turning over to him every year one-fifth of the whole crop. Only after twenty-five years will he become the owner of this land. During this time he will have to pay to the landlord five crops.

Thus is this "law" of Baron Wrangel's expounded by the Russian White newspaper *Posledniye Novosti* (No. 67), which is very favorable to Wrangel and his "law".

The plan is more insolent than cunning.

For centuries the landlords exploited the peasants by means of their land. The people lost patience and drove out the landlords. In a bloody struggle they crushed the landlords and reduced them to impotence. And now the landlords think that the people will voluntarily once more put their head into the noose, that they will voluntarily consent to pay each year, in the course of twenty-five years, one-fifth of the total crop to their parasitic enemies, that they will voluntarily surrender and declare that all the sacrifices and all the blood that was shed by the people were in vain. This new "law" of Baron Wrangel's will only serve as an additional concrete proof for the peasants as to the real character of the Baron and of the gang that surrounds him.—*Pravda*, July 31.

PLUNDER ACTS BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONISTS

Moscow, September 10.—The *Vestnik* gives a detailed account of the plundering of the Russian gold treasure. After the Czechs occupied Kazan, in 1918, they took possession of the gold and carried it to Samara, and later to Omsk. Kolchak gave, altogether, 3,230 poods of pure gold to England, France, and Japan in payment for war material and for the upkeep of the allied troops.

Moreover, Kolchak deposited large quantities of gold in foreign banks as security for loans and munitions. Altogether the counter-revolutionists spent over 600 million rubles in gold, all of which is in the possession of the Entente. The Soviet Republic has still at its disposal one billion rubles in gold.

Wireless and Other News

CULTURAL WORK IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 20.—The All-Russian Congress of the Union of Educational Workers, which opened on August 30, sent greetings and congratulations to the British proletariat because of the latter's unwavering struggle against British imperialism.

Moscow, September 20.—The Congress of Educational Workers, at which 275,000 educational workers were represented, resolved to create an organ which should direct all educational work outside of the school.

The People's Commissariat for Public Education has opened courses for the preparation of kindergarten teachers.

The Central Directorate of Archives has opened special courses for archivists and paleographers.

The Moscow *Izvestia* reports that a propaganda ship, *The Red Star*, has for some time been plying on the Volga. The ship is decorated, and painted with pictures; it is equipped with a printing shop and a radio-station and has, besides, a cinema outfit which gives productions for the peasants in the villages.

The Moscow *Pravda* reports the following: The proletarian poet, P. Kozlov, the author of "The Legend of the Communard" and of "The King of the Black Radish Kingdom", has now completed "The Vultures", a new drama in three acts, drawn from the life of speculators.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 23.—Many new factories were recently built in the Ural region. These factories delivered a considerable quantity of locomotives and railroad material. In the northern part of the Urals, one factory produces barbed wire only, and another factory in the same line is to be constructed presently. In Yekaterinburg, a large factory has been built for the production of steel cables and telegraph material. These products formerly had to be imported from abroad. Great importance is being attached to these undertakings which are operating at full force.

AN ORDER ISSUED TO THE WRANGEL ARMY

Moscow, August 30.—In the town of Aleshki, which has been occupied by the Red troops, the following order of a captain in the Wrangel army was found posted in the streets:

"Order 459. The Jews are again helping the Bolsheviks. I will hang every Jew that I catch. All weapons and munitions which the Bolsheviks have distributed are to be brought immediately to my staff quarters. Whoever hides any arms, will be hanged. All the Red soldiers who remained in the city are to report to me within five hours.
(Signed) CAPTAIN SAKONISHIN."

FAVORABLE CROP PROSPECTS IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow, September 19.—The provisioning campaign in the province of Penza is proceeding very favorably. Over seventy per cent of the promised crop has already been harvested, among others 100,000 poods of oats and 137,000 poods of wheat. Besides, 15,000,000 eggs, 15,000 pounds of butter, etc., have been collected.

Moscow, September 19.—The Central Executive Committee of Turkestan has mobilized a large number of its members, as well as many responsible party members, for harvest work. The crop in Turkestan will not be less than 21 million poods, of which there will be two million poods of rice. The People's Food Committee counts upon the possibility of transporting one million poods of rice and the same amount of dried fruit into the central provinces.

Moscow, September 20.—Transports of grain and raw materials have been brought over from Omsk to Archangel to be used as exchange goods for export abroad.

ALLIED CAPITAL IN THE CRIMEA

CHRISTIANIA, August 31 (Dispatch of the *Rosta*, Vienna Agency).—It has been reported from Sebastopol under date of August 28 that the United Merchant Fleet of the Black Sea has been bought up by foreign capital. The greater part of the shares of a large Russian steamship company has been bought by the English. Also the industrial enterprises in the Wrangel territory are being readily taken over by the French and English capitalists.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

Moscow, September 17.—On November 1 there will take place in Moscow the All-Russian Conference of Trade Unions. Following is the proposed order of business:

1. Report on the activity of the All-Russian Trade Union Council.
2. Report of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy.
3. The aims of the Trade Unions in the field of production.
4. The food provisioning campaign of 1920-1921 and the Trade Unions.
5. The wage scale policy and the material security of the workers.
6. The immediate organization aims of the Trade Unions, and methods for their realization.
7. The participation of the Trade Unions in the work of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.
8. Immediate measures in the field of vocal and technical training.

AT A SOVIET ELECTION MEETING OF HOUSEWIVES

A Sketch

In the open air, under the trees of the park of the Vassilyevsky Island district Soviet, a meeting of housewives was held for new elections of deputies to the Petrograd Soviet. Many huckster-women came to the meeting.

"Well, what did you get through the Communists? They give very little bread. And they closed down the market where it was possible to buy bread," thus vociferates a former huckster-woman.

"Not for us, we can't buy it. Only you, speculators, can buy it," remarks one of the working women.

The huckster-woman hotly resents the accusation.

"I a speculator! Where and when did I trade? Why, here is my labor booklet. I could not have it if I were a speculator."

Several persons corroborate that she is a speculator, others side with her, and they almost come to blows. But the chairlady's bell calls the meeting to order, and this puts an end to the quarrel.

"Anyhow, we won't elect Communists," declares the huckster-woman.

During the report and the discussion on the instructions to the deputies they really tried to break up the meeting, but without success. The instructions were adopted.

However, during the election of candidates the list proposed by the section of working women, which was composed of four Communists and eight non-partisans, was rejected as a result of the agitation by the huckster-women. The meeting decided to elect from their own midst.

"Now we will win. Not a single Communist will be elected," rejoiced the huckster-women.

But the result was quite different. The voting on the nominees present at the meeting gave the following results: five Communists, one Communist sympathizer and six non-partisans.

"The election is irregular," declared the huckster-women, dissatisfied with the result of their work.

"We are not going to hold new elections just to please you. We would defeat your candidates just the same," laughingly replied the working-women.—*Krasnaya Gazeta*, July 1, 1920.

THE NEXT ISSUE

of

SOVIET RUSSIA

Will Contain, Among Other Features, the Following:

1. THE TRUE STATE OF THE MOSCOW PROLETARIAT. *A speech delivered in Berlin in September by Lozovsky, a member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. (The material of this speech ably refutes the exaggerations of internal discomforts in Russia, which had emanated from speeches of the German Independent Socialist Delegation to Moscow, such as those of Messrs. Dittman and Crispin.)*
2. THE FOOD POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT, *by A. Svidersky, Member of the Board of the People's Food Commissariat.*
3. LATEST ECONOMIC STATISTICS FROM SOVIET RUSSIA. *Items of interest in many economic fields, such as railway transportation, industry, and agriculture.*
4. A BIOGRAPHY OF LITVINOV, *from a Moscow Wireless of September 13.*
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