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## Will the Blockade Be Lifted?

By J. E. JOTTE

*[The prospects of a possible relaxation or even an entire lifting of the blockade against Soviet Russia which are opened up by the announced intention of Great Britain and Italy jointly to take up trade with that country have again raised hopes that Soviet Russia may soon find herself in complete communication with all the countries of the world, and that her great population may thus be aided in their restoration to normal forms of life. This prospect has been offered before, and has been several times destroyed. Nearly a year ago, when Great Britain had signed a treaty with the Soviet Russian Government on the question of the exchange of prisoners between the two countries (February 10, 1920), it seemed very likely that this agreement would be followed by additional arrangements of great importance in the economic life of the two peoples. A Russian writer living in Germany at the time, J. E. Jotte, contributed the following article on the subject of the blockade to the February number of "Sowjet", a monthly then appearing at Vienna (but since transferred to Berlin). The mention of cooperative organizations in this article are not so much of importance now in connection with the impending trade with Russia, but are nevertheless illuminating as to the character of the new cooperative organizations in Soviet Russia. The attitude of the foreign powers which are mentioned in this article is, however, practically the same now as it was then. The great step in advance is the direct negotiations by Great Britain and Italy with the representatives of Soviet Russia, instead of with the representatives of the cooperative organizations. This implied recognition of the Soviet Government indicates that all hopes of weakening the government's action in Russia by encouraging separatist tendencies on the part of the cooperatives has been finally dropped. We print the following article as one view of the prospects of the blockade situation, and will in later issues publish further considerations, from other angles, of the same subject.]*

**T**HE Allied powers, concealed by a barrage of continuous asseverations that they remained irreconcilable toward Soviet Russia have nevertheless inaugurated a material change of position: the Supreme Council, unexpectedly and suddenly, has begun to prepare public opinion for the lifting of the blockade.

A few weeks ago the official press was spreading confident effusions as to the continuation of the Russian campaign which had, so to say, been recently agreed upon between Clemenceau and Lloyd George. The destructive defeat of Kolchak, as well as the thorough settlement of accounts by the Red Guards with the no less hated Czarist Denikin, probably was the immediate motive underlying the tiger's anxiety as to the ultimate fate of the French

moneys that had been invested in Russian bonds. His trip to London was very largely intended to move England to drop negotiations with Litvinov at Copenhagen. But, while they were temporarily broken off, their resumption followed almost immediately, in the guise of conversations (not to be binding) on the mutual exchange of prisoners, and now the Allies have, at the eleventh hour, discovered that their heart is warm, and that—as the official wires pathetically declare—they intend “to contribute to the alleviation of the terrible situation in which the people of central Russia find themselves, and to take up certain commercial relations.”

If we compare with this desirable change of affairs those voices that have for some time been

loudly demanding in the English trade unions that Soviet Russia be allowed to regulate its internal matters without interference, we may without difficulty detect in the decision communicated by the general mouthpiece of the Supreme Council the dominating undertone of the demand of the English workers' parties, translated into diplomatic language.

If, furthermore, the Supreme Council takes refuge in the very transparent statement that these measures will involve no alteration of its policy toward Soviet Russia, we may consider such a statement as without any importance and receive it with a smile of understanding. In spite of all contradictions, we are facing a not very skillfully masked but nevertheless real recognition of the Russian Revolution, of the de-facto Soviet Government, which must to be sure have caused the Supreme Council much pain, but which could not be longer avoided in view of the comfortable attitude of their trade unions at home.

Of course it would be hasty to assume that the external symptoms of the English standpoint—*et c'est le ton anglais que fait la musique des allies*—would necessarily justify an assumption that they really reveal its inner content. The fact that Lloyd George had to consent to this solution of the Russian question proves, to the contrary, that he will not fail to break it as soon as he can. But if he should simply ignore the insistence of the trade unions, should push it aside with platonic assurances, he would be faced immediately with a danger of the very uncomfortable consequences involved in a shift of the internal political parallelism of forces to the left, an accelerated transformation of the national opposition into class opposition. The demand of the hour is therefore to avoid such a change by making tangible concessions to the trade unions on the Russian question. Since, as everyone knows, diplomatic adornments are the most indispensable paraphernalia of bourgeois capitalistic secret chancelleries, he is first of all concerned to veil the defeat he has suffered as neatly as possible; the impression must by no means prevail that any friendly relation is being taken up with the Moscow "terrorists". The saving subterfuge is therefore chosen of dealing through the consumers' leagues, who are still credited, owing to their far off past, with a welcome anti-Bolshevik character. This saves appearances and while the trade union shouters are thus silenced, English products are provided with a very advantageous commercial monopoly, thus killing two birds with one stone, without being obliged to relinquish the struggle against Soviet Russia by the mercenaries of foreign powers. But this is just the crux of the matter. For as long as England will be able to make use of the services of the Poles or even of the reactionary Prussian junkerdom which is now yearning for spurs and swords, it will spare no means of subordinating these ready instruments to its objects and sending them into combat against Soviet Russia. The Janus-counten-

ance of the English bourgeoisie will not be hidden from the Russian comrades. These machinations may be intended to have some influence on the course of events in Russia, but their influence will bring to their instigators a surprise that will be but little edifying.

Recalling the character of the consumers' leagues, which appealed to the English as being hostile to the Bolsheviks, we are tempted to ask why the Allies did not long ago try, through an extensive support of these bodies, to drive the fateful wedge between the Russian peasants and the Soviet Government which they now expect to see inserted. It seems very probable that influential circles only arrived at this view very recently, after having only a moment ago expressly rejected every exchange of goods with Russia, for motives of directly opposite nature. Under the pretext that the nationalization of foreign trade and the proletarian class organizations of the Russian people would not offer any guarantees for a "just"—as they term it—distribution of goods, and that these goods would primarily go to that class of society which is supporting the Bolshevik state, the Allies refused to make any use of the repeated offers of the consumers' leagues to act as intermediaries in the trade. The contradiction of this situation is all the more aggravated in that every one who knows the conditions is absolutely aware that there is no such thing as an opposition between the consumers' leagues and the Soviet Government. To be sure the former did at first vehemently oppose nationalization, and succeeded in bringing about pronounced frictions between the peasantry and the government. But we must never fail to remember that this disagreement goes back to the bourgeois period of the Russian Revolution, when the peasants, not yet split by latent class differences, were fighting by the side of the city proletariat, against *monarchy*, against the *landed proprietors*. The political and economic power then lay undivided in the hands of the wealthy big and middle peasants who, supporting the consumers' leagues by investing their capital in them, resisted nationalization with all their strength. But conditions have changed entirely since then. The class struggle has been carried to the villages and the founding of the *Committees of the Village Poor* and their exclusive authority in the exercise of political power has also been very successful in laming the opposition of the reactionary middle peasantry, who were represented in the consumers' leagues, in overthrowing the bourgeoisie, and in laying the foundations of the Socialist society by unification of all rights and duties. All private property was thus expropriated and transferred to the wealth of the workers, and this has eliminated the consumers' leagues as institutions exploiting the proletariat and practicing usury, and stamped them as the executive organs of the government, whose activities leave no further regulations of economic life to other authorities.

In this connection we must point out that Rus-

sian trade, both internal and foreign, has been nationalized—subjected to state control—and conducted, through the system of consumers' stores which are spread over the whole country, like a net, for the collection of finished products from the producers and for their distribution to the consumers. Membership in these consumers' organizations, within the district having jurisdiction, is obligatory. The distribution of products is carried out through these organs, on the basis of the quantities on hand, with the object of distributing equal quantities to each worker. Within the limits of the production yield that has been obtained, the government has thus far been unfortunately not in a position to attain the normal requirements of the individual, not to say exceed it. Because of Russia's backward industrial development, factory products of every kind are lacking, but there is an enormous supply of grain and fodder, hemp, and other products of the field. Agricultural products, in as far as they are not needed for satisfying the requirements of the peasants or for the feeding of the cities, are gathered by the government and accumulated for exchange of commodities with foreign countries by barter. The counter-revolution forces Soviet Russia to turn its attention chiefly to the armament industry, and devours 75 per cent of the industrial production. It cannot surprise us that in this complicated situation it has been difficult to supply the private needs of the whole people. If the counter-revolution is to be put down finally, the economic rebirth, the provisioning of the population with peace commodities, must be subordinated to the manufacture of military necessities.

It must not be denied that this difficulty has made some of the peasants sullen and hostile to the grain monopoly, as the latter cannot yet give them any complete compensation for their deliveries. Here the dictatorial power of the Soviet Government must intervene ruthlessly, declaring that exceptional wealth, in face of the poverty of the mass, is not permissible, and that every one should be obliged, in the interest of the general improvement of the public welfare, to submit to temporary restrictions and to deliver his surplus to the generality. As soon as imports from abroad will make up for the insufficiency of Russia's own industry, and it becomes easier to furnish the peasants with agricultural implements, textiles, and other utilities, in sufficient quantities, this temporary dissatisfaction will collapse of itself.

In this sense, the commercial relations between Russia and the Allies will afford an influx of new blood into the Communist organism. It is an empty imagining to suppose that there will be any parasitic enrichment of individuals or a booming prosperity for private trade within the cooperative societies or the peasantry, under the present institutions of the political superstructure, whose effective supervision will involve a severe control of imports and exports, on the basis of the laws made for the benefit of the whole. The centralized co-

operatives will discharge their function as commissioners of purchase, as sub-sections of the Soviet Government, under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council of National Economy. They are branches of the government and their official designation is therefore: Purchasing Section of the Supreme Council of National Economy (закупочный отдел совета народного хозяйства). Much confusion is caused in foreign countries by the fact that the branches of the Novo-Nikolayevsk (Siberian) union *Zakupsbyt*, and the Moscow *Centrosoyuz* are still doing business under the old firm names, but the reasons for such continued activities are to be found in forces easily understood as concomitants of the revolutionary process.

Let us leave to those who hate Communist Russia the short-lived joy of gloating in the alleged impermanence of the revolutionary accomplishments, in their conjectures as to the weakness of the Communist idea, and particularly, of the Russian Communist organizations. Those of us who have learned from our own experiences how tenacious and determined are the Russian comrades, should return again and again to the task of soberly singing their praises with the firm conviction that this will serve truth best.

#### NEW NOTE TO LLOYD GEORGE

November 24, 1920.

Mr. Krassin presents his compliments to the Prime Minister, and desires to remove what appears to be an unfortunate misunderstanding.

Mr. Krassin observes from the Parliamentary Debates (Volume 135, No. 143, Column 14), that on Monday, November 22, the Prime Minister, questioned by Commander Kenworthy as to the reason for the delay in handing the draft trade agreement to the Russian Delegation in accordance with the decision announced by him in the House of Commons on Thursday last, replied that "the fault is by no means so one-sided as the honorable and gallant gentleman seems to imagine."

From this it may be understood that in Mr. Lloyd George's belief the Russian Government or the Russian Trade Delegation is placing some obstacle in the way of the immediate presentation of the draft agreement.

Mr. Krassin can only presume that Mr. Lloyd George has been misinformed on the point, and therefore hastens to assure him that, so far as the Russian Government and the Russian Trade Delegation are concerned, there is no reason for any further delay whatever.

Mr. Krassin has been expecting to receive the draft agreement ever since the Prime Minister's statement of last Thursday. He is ready to receive it now, and he must make it perfectly clear that the entire responsibility for any further delay in its presentation and for any consequences that may arise from that delay, must rest entirely upon the shoulders of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues.

The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George,  
10 Downing Street, S.W.1.

## Military Review

By LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK

**T**HE brilliant victory of the Siberian Red Army over the bandit Semionov at Chita, between October 20 and 25, has completely changed the situation in Eastern Siberia.

On the night of October 21, the local revolutionary forces of the Verkhne-Udinsk and Amur districts, in cooperation with a part of the Soviet Army, concentrated east of Lake Baikal, suddenly attacked Semionov's headquarters in Chita, from three sides, namely from the north, west, and south; and finally defeated his forces under the command of General Kappel, the well-known leader of a part of Kolchak's army. As is well-known, Semionov himself fled to Japan. This was a decisive and final blow to the last Russian reactionary stronghold in Siberia, and since then communication between Eastern Siberia and Moscow has at last become possible.

Eastern Siberia includes all Siberian territory east of Lake Baikal, and before the revolution consisted of five provinces, namely: Transbaikalia, The Amur Province, The Maritime Province, Kamchatka, and the northern part of Sakhalin. Later on, under the pressure of political events in that part of Russia, this geographical division was considerably altered. Transbaikalia was divided into two separate districts, namely: The Chita District where Semionov established his government with the help of Japan, and the Verkhne-Udinsk District, where a form of government in structure similar to the Soviet form of government was established. The Amur Province remained unchanged, and Blagovieschensk became the headquarters of the revolutionary government of this Eastern Siberian Republic. The Maritime Province, which now includes Kamchatka and the northern part of Sakhalin, is administered from Vladivostok by a government which, though looking towards Moscow, is of "democratic" character, due to the influence of Japan, whose army practically invaded the whole province.

Hoping to keep the Red Army from penetrating farther east in Siberia, by means of Semionov's armed hands, the Japanese imperialistic government used every effort to support the Vladivostok cabinet in order to establish in the Maritime Province a Russian democratic republic which would grant to Japan all concessions in North Sakhalin, as well as in Kamchatka. This was the political objective of Japanese diplomacy, which Allied strategy had to support.

The presence of Semionov's bands in Chita, and the Japanese troops in the Maritime Province and Manchuria, prevented the Russian Soviet Government from consolidating the new-formed Eastern Siberian republics into one body. Chita is situated just east of Karimskoie, the railway junction of the Trans-Amur railway and the Chinese Eastern railway. Therefore, holding Chita, Semionov made

it practically impossible for the delegates of the Verkhne-Udinsk Republic to reach Blagovieschensk and Vladivostok. On the other hand, the delegates of the Government of the Amur Republic were barred by the Japanese, who were holding the Ussuri railway; they were also unable to come in contact with the Vladivostok Government. It is not necessary to explain why, under such circumstances, military cooperation of these Russian republics was out of the question. Finally, in order to put an end to this abnormal state of affairs in Eastern Siberia, which made it impossible to continue the struggle against the eastern invaders, the Soviet Government decided at all costs to crush Semionov's armed forces, and finally to capture Chita. All the delegations of the Eastern Siberian Government, which reached Moscow after a long journey through Peking, expressed the desire of the population to create a Far Eastern Republic which should work in full harmony with the Soviet Government.

Already in June, 1919, the prestige of Semionov's Government amongst the local cossacks and native population was completely destroyed. His quarrel with the Japanese authorities permitted the Red Army to inflict upon his hands a series of important defeats; but he was still able to hold Chita, hoping with financial and moral support from Wrangel to resume his military operations as soon as the Crimean Baron was victorious in South Russia. It is true that before Semionov recognized Wrangel's government, he tried on several occasions to approach Moscow, offering to submit to the Soviets in exchange for the recognition of his government, but naturally all his efforts were in vain. The Russian Soviet Government could not negotiate with a Semionov. His fate had to be that of Kolchak and the other leaders of Russian reaction.

When Semionov's rule in Transbaikalia was brought to an end, the military forces of the Amur Province were greatly strengthened by joining the advancing Red Army. We must not overlook the fact that the numerous partisan detachments, which were the main cause of the general destruction of Kolchak's army, and practically forced the Allies to abandon their plan of armed intervention in Siberia (the Allies started their evacuation of Siberia on April 20, 1920), after the unfortunate revolution in Vladivostok in December, 1919, and February, 1920, had retired to the hills, cutting their way through the numerous fronts of the Japanese into Amur Province, where they formed a large and strong Red Army.

The situation became dangerous for the Japanese. The Vladivostok Government, under Japanese control, became inactive, and could not undertake any decisive movement to the north to protect and establish an administration in the northern

part of the newly enlarged Maritime Province, including Kamchatka. The Vladivostok authorities frankly told the Japanese that they could not count upon their own army, which was in sympathy with the Soviets, and therefore, the Government of the Maritime Province was unable to guarantee concessions, should they be granted to Japan, especially in the most remote part of the republic, Kamchatka, for instance. On the other hand, the Japanese being practically the masters of all the territory of the former Maritime Province, as it was under the Czar, were also unable to send their expeditionary forces so far away from the Ussuri railway and Nikolaievsk on the Amur became the extreme northern point of Japanese occupation. If they had moved farther north, they would have been easily cut off and annihilated by the partisans of the Amur Province. On the other hand an invasion of Kamchatka, without being granted concessions by the Russians, could hardly be undertaken by Japan, which knows that such a movement would not be approved by the Allies.

Since the complete failure of Semionov's efforts to establish a buffer state between Soviet Siberia and Eastern Siberia, Japan has realized that the days of her sojourn even in the Maritime Province are numbered.

The hope that a strong "democratic" government designed in Tokio, could be established in the Russian Far East, was abandoned even by the most optimistic Japanese statesmen. There was now at their disposal only a very reactionary group of Russian Czarist officials, who had established a sort of government in Harbin, under the dictatorship of General Horvath, and his assistant Ustrugov. General Horvath, for many years the head of the Chinese Eastern Railway, had a very strong financial standing, and acted independent of the Japanese, thus taking a hostile position to the latter, especially when Semionov was openly supported by them. On the other hand, the existence of the Harbin reactionary government was very uncertain. The great number of workers and lower employes of the Chinese Eastern Railway, already at the beginning of 1919, showed their pro-Soviet tendencies, and under the leadership of Comrade Pumpiansky, they practically represented a very solid revolutionary body ready to act at the first favorable opportunity. Besides this, the Soviet Government officially informed the Chinese Government that it had annulled all treaties existing between the old government of imperial Russia and China, and consequently the Chinese Eastern Railway and the whole zone of Russian influence in Manchuria, still occupied by reactionary Russian generals and Japanese, was to be returned to China. It was no secret that the workers' organization in Harbin was trying to establish a close connection with the Vladivostok and Verkhne-Udinsk governments, and that the overthrow of the Horvath dictatorship was only a matter of time. Therefore the Japanese military command considered it useless to try to establish friendly relations with Gen-

eral Horvath, and preferred to annex the Chinese Eastern Railway by force, in which they almost succeeded. This required a great military movement of Japan and ended in a strong concentration of Japanese troops along the whole line of the Chinese Eastern Railway which, in the presence of an uprising in Korea against the invaders and the very confusing political situation in China, as well as the continued state of revolution in the occupied Maritime Province, aggravated the inner political situation in Japan and finally caused serious troubles for the Tokio Government. The Japanese military party, which drew up a plan of annexation of the Shantung Province of China, as well as of Korea and all Eastern Siberia, as far as Lake Baikal, was now confronted with such an impenetrable wall that it had to admit that the scheme could not be realized. An army of several million men would have been required to accomplish such a project, and even then Japan might have found herself in a dangerous position, escape from which would scarcely be possible. On the other hand, the Japanese strategists, when they helped the present Vladivostok Government to establish itself in the Maritime Province, expected that that government, like Semionov's government, while financed by Japan, would be a blind tool in Japanese hands, thus protecting the important military and naval base into which the Japanese command expected to transform Vladivostok; but the members of the Provisional Government of the Maritime Republic were not so easy a prey to Japanese bribery as was Semionov, and this greatly disappointed the invaders. Mr. Medvedev, the president of the Russian Cabinet in Vladivostok, supported by a group of determined assistants, like General Boldirev, Mr. Vinogradov, Zimmerman, and Nikiforov, though far from having Bolshevik tendencies, nevertheless understood the significance of the Russian Revolution and with all their might tried to consolidate all the Eastern Siberian republics into one federative state, with the idea of freeing the Maritime Province from the Japanese yoke, and then submitting to the Siberian political center—Irkutsk—which, as we know, is under the full control of the Soviets. This wise decision was the result of a clear understanding of the fact that Eastern Siberia cannot exist as an independent political entity, fully depending, economically and strategically on Western Siberia, and, consequently, on Russia. There was no other choice for the Provisional Government of Vladivostok than that between bearing the Japanese "protectorate", and joining the Soviet Republic as a federate state, and, quite naturally, they chose the latter.

The consolidation of the republics of Eastern Siberia and the connections which lately were established from Verkhne-Udinsk with Mongolia and China by Yourin and Krasnoshchokov, and finally the appointment of Comrade Litvinov as accredited representative of the Soviet Government in Peking, only confirm the fact that the policy of Soviet Russia in Siberia and the Far East is becoming

more and more determined, and that we may expect some very important events there with the coming of spring. The Russian Siberian Red Army, after its liquidation of all the remaining fragments of the counter-revolutionary organization left by Kolchak, and now united with the Red Amur Army, as well as that of Transbaikalia, and being in close connection with the Mongolian tribes of China and possibly on the eve of an actual Russo-Chinese alliance, represents a very important military force, which the Japanese cannot neglect. This force, without any support by special reserves from European Russia, would be able to free the Maritime Province from the Japanese, even in case of later eventualities on the Polish and Rumanian fronts.

The Japanese know this well, and the best illustration that this is the case has come in the form of an opinion expressed by one of the most reliable Japanese statesmen, Baron Magata, of the delegation to the League of Nations, now in Geneva. His statement appeared in the *New York Evening Post*, of December 8, and is of great significance. I know the Japanese too well to suppose that a Japanese official of important standing would publicly express thoughts which would contradict the policy of his government, specially at a time like today, and let us not overlook the fact that Baron Magata in reality is one of the chief authorities of his country on economic and financial questions.

"I don't know about the Armenian suggestion," he said, "but Russia now is rapidly improving and has been doing so for the last year . . . If this keeps up at the present rate, the League of Nations at the next session will be justified in asking Russia to join.

"Russia is organized like an army for other than military matters. For example, she is educating herself, she is fighting illiteracy. If in a village of one hundred people ten can read and write and ninety cannot, one of the ten fortunate ones must take nine illiterates and teach them. That sort of thing is going on all over Russia. It is organized on a basis of military discipline. Those who can read must teach those who can't. It is not left to chance.

"Japan has been criticized for aiding Admiral Kolchak and trying in other ways to stabilize Russia, especially Siberia. It is vital to Japan that Siberia become tranquil and settled and we simply have been striving to find some tangible center in that country with which responsible dealings could be had.

"The lamentable fact has been that the Czarists have forced themselves into association with the Kolchak and other movements, thus bringing them into disrepute in the eyes of the outside world. Japan has no interest in the restoration of the Czarist regime. We are ready to recognize and deal with any government that can maintain itself on sound principles. There are many Russian diplomatic agents in Japan today. We simply recognize them as representing Russia without knowing or caring under what particular regime they are sent to us.

"I am convinced no attempt at military intervention by outside powers will help solve the Russian problem. Russia must settle her own problem and she is beginning to do that. Other nations must devise ways of helping that the Russians themselves will not resent. She cannot pay her foreign debts now. She can do nothing now that requires money until she can work and organize herself. French and other creditors must wait some years, but I believe they will be paid. Except for such part of it as has been sent abroad to make purchases, Russia's specie is intact. I don't know where it is, but it is hidden safely

somewhere. This specie can't be destroyed. But Russia must have tranquility before she can pay.

"It is a mistake to insist upon her paying before being willing to render such feasible aid as she can accept without hurting her sensitiveness."

I am not prepared to discuss this statement of the Japanese Baron, which I simply offer to the readers of *SOVIET RUSSIA* as a characteristic example of a complete change of Japanese policy towards the Soviet Government, which we may expect in the near future in case such a new feeling exists in the ruling spheres in Japan. But this change is due entirely to the recent successes of Soviet strategy in Europe, as well as in Asia, and to the supremacy of Moscow diplomacy over its western and eastern enemies.

In short, I see that Japanese diplomacy has already capitulated to the Soviets; the normal consequences of such capitulation would be the peaceful withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the Maritime Province and an early recognition of the Soviet Government by Japan, if Baron Magata is sincere in stating that "it is vital to Japan that Siberia become tranquil and settled." And the sooner this happens, the better it would be, not only for the Russian people, but for the Japanese themselves, as well as for the rest of the world.

[*SOVIET RUSSIA* in its next issue will reprint from a European newspaper a map of the present territories ruled by the Soviet Government, as well as of all the neighboring states. This map will aid the reader in forming an idea of the various regions mentioned in Col. Bek's military articles.]

### RUSSIAN DELEGATION AT BRUNN

BRUNN, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The delegation of Russian labor consists of Lebedev, member of the Central Body of Textile Workers, and Kulikov, member of the Pharmaceutical and Sanitary organizations. These men came seeking information in Brunn. They undertook to study the Czech methods of organization and welfare of the working class. The labor element in Brunn took the occasion to demonstrate their full sympathy to the Russian delegation. On the railway station, in spite of the late hours, were gathered 150 deputies of the workers' council which had just been in session.

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SOVIET RUSSIA

Room 304

110 West 40th Street,

New York, N. Y.

## Interview with Sereda

*People's Commissar for Agriculture*

By W. McLAINE

WHEN we found Comrade Sereda in his office in the Agricultural Commissariat, we explained to him that we wished to have as complete a statement as he could give us—within the limits of an interview—about the agricultural program of the Soviet Government. This he declared himself quite willing to do. He was a little tired—partly because of the fact that the previous day an Italian deputation had been closeted with him for six hours—but he was nevertheless very glad to see us and answer our questions. Having—in response to my query—told us that he was an agricultural statistician before the revolution, he began his story.

“For Russia, the agrarian question is fundamental because the mass of the people are peasants. It was the important question during the revolution, and indeed it decided the revolution. The Bolsheviks needed the support of the peasants and by their cry of ‘Peace and Land’ they secured that support. All the revolutionary parties at that time were saying: ‘The land for the peasants,’ including Kerensky’s party, but the latter took two landowners into his cabinet and in addition, wished to wait until the Constituent Assembly had formally decided for land nationalization before any action should be taken. The Bolsheviks said, ‘Take the land now, and the law that is promised will simply confirm your acts.’ The peasants did not accept the Bolshevik view at once, but the Kornilov rising helped them to decide. From that time they began to support the Bolsheviks in great numbers.

“The peasants wanted the land to be sub-divided, but the Bolsheviks did not. The peasant wished to realize his age-long desire for a plot of land, but the Bolsheviks wanted up-to-date methods of large scale farming. However, as it was evident that the peasants did not appreciate the importance of new methods it was considered best to compromise and wait until the peasant was educated on the matter and did appreciate it.

“The land was taken and justly divided. It was not nationalized from above, but allocated by means of land Soviets formed in the villages by the peasants themselves. The result was that the peasants formed a camp against the bourgeoisie. They joined the army and they helped to determine the course of the revolution. They formed their village Soviets—Soviets with a definite task to perform—and so became acquainted with the practical working of the Soviet system.

“It was soon seen that the economic interests of the workers and peasants were identical. Together, they had control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The smaller bourgeoisie came in and supported the government, and everything was completed.

“The class war did not show itself in the villages during 1917. The great mass of the peasants were

semi-proletarians and those with little land, and large numbers of these were at the front. Taking advantage of their absence, many of the richer peasants began to take more land and stocks for themselves, but with the ending of the war the soldiers began to return and a new mass movement began. Soldiers’ Councils were formed in the villages, and land and stocks were redistributed. The Bolsheviks supported the movement because it was of no value to break down the domination of the bourgeoisie in the towns and see a new bourgeoisie grow up in the country. The unjust land division made the food crisis worse. The rich peasant had stocks of food and wished to retain them, but a general corn tax order from the center—a tax claiming all over and above what was needed to support the producers—eased the situation. The struggle in the villages was of course reflected in the politics of those who took part in it. The rich peasants sided with the Social Revolutionaries and cried ‘Down with the Bread Monopoly and with the regulation making the government the sole agent.’ They were against the Brest Peace, against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and against Soviets.

“The poor peasants formed Committees of the Poor, and organized and defeated the rich peasants.

“The old system had left four grades of peasant: (1) those who were practically landless agricultural laborers; (2) the small peasants; (3) those with a little more land; (4) the rich peasants. The Uniform Soviet that came into being as a result of the victory over the rich peasants was composed of the representations from what had been the first three sections.

“The Soviet Government, from the first, desired to socialize agriculture, and propaganda work for this was soon commenced. Quite early, there was a movement in the direction of cooperative farming, mainly on the part of those peasants who were near to the towns and were more familiar with collective ideas.

“The peasant is by nature and heredity an individualist, so that when a peasant voluntarily agrees to cooperate with his fellows it is no less than a complete reversal of his life philosophy. We have already done much to popularize the communal idea. We send out our experts to teach and to lecture, we issue posters showing how crops should be sown and how land should be cleared of trees or of stubble; schools have been opened, and model farms show by actual practical demonstration how agriculture should be organized. ‘From each according to his ability’ is to be our guiding motto, but until we are really free to develop our resources, ‘to each according to his needs’ must serve as our working philosophy.

“We have given seeds and machines to the various kinds of peasant organizations, and we recog-

nize that the essential thing is to get production increased. To this end we have been, and are, prepared to recognize any kind of cooperative organization—provided that there is no exploitation of the workers or in the sale of the product.

“All private property in land has been abolished. The land has been divided to standards varying in different districts according to the amount of work required to develop it. Anyone can have land.

“Our policy is determined by two desires; first, a desire to raise the productivity, and second, a desire to secure collective working.

“The old large estates are being turned into Soviet farms. On these the workers are really employes of the state. Experts are trained and the farms become centers of education for the surrounding district. Some one and a half million *dessiatins* of land are now being cultivated in this fashion, though of course the war has hindered our progress.

“The workers on these estates are interested in productivity. They had no stimulus under the old system, but premium bonus systems have been arranged, and propaganda amongst them convinces them of the importance of their work to the state. There are foremen and managers on the estates, and workers' committees participate in the management.

“Another method of agricultural organization that is popular is that of the commune. This is different from the Soviet farm, in that the peasants agree to come together to work in common, and share the product in common. All land is not the same, and if a commune is established it does away with any possibility of one peasant having a better piece of land than another. The communes have very largely been organized by town workers who have gone to the country.

“The *artel* is not so much a cooperative undertaking as the commune proper—it is a commune in the making. The *artel* is usually—though all are not the same—an association of consumers rather than of producers. It enables seeds to be secured in bulk, and machinery to be used in common. In our 33 governments there are 3,000 communes and 3,500 *artels*. All communes are under political control, and any doubtful ones are dispersed. Some communes have become nationalized and are now state farms. The workers in the communes are taught to regard themselves as national trustees, and a National Union of Communes and *Artels* fits in the work with the national scheme.

“The land laws apply equally to foreigners who come to settle in the country, as they do to Russians. A group of German workers have come and are working communally, and a body of Italians are expected to come. A special department of the party has been organized to work in the villages, to distribute literature and to organize meetings. Free advice and assistance is given to all.

“Technically, the revolution found Russian agriculture in a very bad state, corn was thin and short in stalk, stocks were poor, and the three field

system was in general operation.\* We have tried—and to large extent succeeded—in improving the methods of cultivation by all kinds of means. We have divided the country into districts and put each district into the control of agricultural scientists; we have abolished the three-field system, we have opened machine centers for the loaning of machinery, and we have our Soviet machine repair shops where farming machinery is repaired free of charge. Several exhibitions have been organized at which the farmers may see, and hear about, tractors, machine ploughs, harvesters, etc. All thoroughbred stocks have been nationalized and have been placed in special breeding stations to which the peasants may bring their animals. The number of thoroughbreds has been decreased because most of them were in the south, and many were killed by the counter-revolutionaries. Special attention is being paid to cattle-breeding and horse-breeding, and recently a mission was sent to Tashkent to bring back thoroughbred horses for breeding purposes for agriculture and the army.

“We are also encouraging dairy farming and bee cultivation by the peasants, and home industries, such as weaving, woodworking, bonework, etc.

“We require great quantities of agricultural machinery. Before the war, these came from Italy, America, England, and Germany. Now, some is coming from Sweden. We hope to get a great deal from Italy because the production of war munitions in that country has developed the engineering industry to such an extent that it can supply much more than is required for Italian use or for the ordinary pre-war Italian export trade.

“In several districts we have electrified agriculture, by using peat for fuel, and many villages are now fitted with electric lighting. The peasants eagerly support us in this work and greatly appreciate the value of the new lighting methods. In Siberia and in the Urals we have organized great bonanza farms with electric tractors.

“In conclusion, I think that what we are doing for agricultural development here will be of great importance to the world. As more and more countries become industrialized, those that still remain largely agricultural will have to be the sources of supply for an increased number of people, and in that capacity Russia must function for many years to come.”

#### THE BESSARABIAN QUESTION

BUCHAREST, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—The Rumanian Government has received a new radiogram from Chicherin. The Soviet Government proposes a free plebiscite in Bessarabia. The Rumanian Government has as yet made no reply. Take Jonescu had declared that a *de facto* plebiscite had taken place in the last two parliamentary elections in which the entire Bessarabian population had participated. It is expected that this time the Rumanian Government will answer Chicherin's note.

\* The “three field” agricultural system was the form of agriculture used in Britain during the middle ages. It continued to exist until the agrarian revolution of the mid 18th century swept it away.

## The Peace with Finland

In an interview given by Kerzhentzev, a member of the Russian Peace Delegation in the negotiations that terminated in the conclusion of the peace with Finland, to *Krasnaya Gazeta*, Kerzhentzev said among other things the following:

"The peace negotiations between Russia and Finland lasted altogether four months. Both sides were operating with the utmost caution. The Finnish Delegation had already put in two months before the peace negotiations, working at Helsingfors as a special commission. To this commission there belonged a number of functionaries of bourgeois society, among them two former ministers of state, the former minister of war, and the former minister of finance, together with a number of other specialists on questions that were to be taken up during the peace negotiations.

"At times the negotiations were in a fair way to be broken off. The change for the worse in our military situation on the western front made the Finnish delegation particularly hostile to any concessions and aroused in Finland a veritable campaign against the conclusion of peace. In general, the conditions we obtained in the peace negotiations, in spite of the fact that we were forced to make certain material concessions to Finland, may be considered as satisfactory for us. At any rate, the peace is founded on an agreement that binds both sides, and therefore Finland will doubtless observe it honorably, and really fulfill its conditions.

"The chief point of contention was in territorial questions. Finland wanted to have the Pechenga region, up to the Murman Railway, two communes in Eastern Karelia (Repola and Porajarvo), and also desired a plebiscite in all of Eastern Karelia, to decide whether the Karelians wished to attach themselves to Finland. In all, Finland obtained an increase of territory amounting to nearly 70,000 square versts.

"By the treaty of peace, we relinquished to Finland a small portion of Pechenga, whereby Finland obtained access to the Arctic Sea, but we ceded less than we had previously offered to Red Finland. Simultaneously we secured for ourselves free right of transit through this region, as far as Morge, together with the fishery rights on that portion of the Arctic Coast that was assigned to Finland.

"On the other hand, the Finns dropped their demands as to Eastern Karelia, and returned to us the two communes, which had for two years been occupied by Finnish troops. Similarly, Finland consented to limit its territorial waters and to recognize the Russian territorial waters in the tract of Kronstadt to the extent of considering the southern channel into the Finnish Gulf as belonging to Russian territorial waters. Furthermore, Finland agreed to neutralize all the islands in the Finnish Gulf, to dismantle the batteries at Ina and Pumala, as well as to limit the coast defences in the immediate vicinity of Kronstadt. Economic conditions have been regulated on the basis of the *status quo*, in other

words, the two states have agreed mutually to relinquish their credit and other demands on each other. The property of the Finnish State in Russia passes to Russia, and *vice versa*. We are not obliged to pay anything to Finland.

"For a resumption of economic relations, measures have been planned to regulate commercial intercourse as well as connections between the railway and telegraph systems, the transit of goods from Finland, etc.

"Among the legal points, our proposal for amnesty, which was planned to include a rather considerable number of the Finnish comrades as well as Communists who had fled from the country, aroused particular attention.

"Finland agreed to resume diplomatic relations with us at once."

These are in a few words the general outlines of the main points in the peace treaty. Among the points that are of special interest to Petrograd Kerzhentzev mentioned the article in which Finland bound itself to facilitate the passport, railroad, and other conditions on the Karelian ness, which will make it possible for inhabitants of Petrograd to enjoy the advantages of the Finnish villa country. He also called attention to the article which places half of the accommodations in Halila Sanitarium at the disposal of the inhabitants of Petrograd and the environs.

"From the impressions I received from conversations with the Finnish representatives," said Kerzhentzev, "I gathered that Finland will be very glad to take up commercial relations with us very soon. It has great supplies of paper and agricultural products, while Finland, on its part, needs grain and raw materials. I believe that Petrograd will receive the greatest benefits from orderly and neighborly relations with Finland. The peace that has just been concluded will of course be of immense importance for the prosperity of Petrograd."

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

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

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## Civilization and Savagery in Russia

By A. C. FREEMAN

IF anyone really wishes to find out what the Soviet Government stands for and what its enemies stand for, he should by all means look up *The New Republic* of December 8 and *The Nation* of the same date. And there he will find the contrast between the new Russia and the old presented with truly dramatic vividness. *The Nation* contains an account of pogroms in Poland and Ukraine. *The New Republic* contains Mr. Brailsford's brilliant description of the social, educational, and cultural achievements of the Soviet Government.

The Poles, as they like to tell us, are a romantic people. They are fond of envisaging themselves as the bulwark of western civilization against oriental barbarism. Just how well they acquit themselves in this role is indicated by the following instances of the treatment which they mete out to the helpless Jewish population within their own borders and within the parts of Russia which came under their power:

"At Drohiczin the Jews were hunted into the river and about fifteen shot in the water. At Vyskov the local Christian population had been asked to massacre all those Jews against whom they had any complaint to make. Near Lukov, twelve Jews from Miendzyrzecze were shot without trial and before their death were ordered to dig their own graves. At Vlodava Jews were buried alive. At Boim near Kaluczyn sixteen Jews who were entering the town were shot and had to dig their own graves before death."

Even these exploits of the self-appointed champions of civilization and Christianity are surpassed by the atrocities committed by Denikin's troops in the Ukrainian town of Fastov, and described with appalling realism by a doctor who witnessed them. Denikin, it will be remembered, was hailed as a great democrat and patriot who was to deliver Russia from "Bolshevik tyranny." He was given the Order of the Bath by King George and generously outfitted with tanks by the British Government. This is what his troops did in Fastov:

"After the departure of the Bolsheviks the Cossacks came back and then began the torture of the Jews, terrible attacks, robbery and massacres. In many houses they made the children sing while they beat the parents to death.

"Sometimes the Cossacks forced the parents to kill their own children. This was the case with Meyer Zabarock. In some cases the Cossacks took the young girls out into the gardens or woods and after the most bestial humiliations finally murdered them. Many of the girls who survived received venereal infections caught from the Cossacks.

"I know a young woman who was raped by a Cossack in the same room where her murdered father and husband were lying and while her little baby was crying in its crib. I have been told by people worthy of belief that they saw people forced to set fire to their own homes and then driven with rifle butts into the flames. The names of some of these families were Volkensky, Volodarsky, Zavoroucha, Meisenberg, Bendarsky.

"I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of many Denikinists. They told me quite frankly that there were two groups in the army. One held that it was necessary to kill all Jews in Russia in order to extinguish Bolshevism, for Bolshevism was based on the Jews. The others were of the same idea, but held it inexpedient to

massacre all the Jews because of public opinion in Europe. They thought it better to kill off the adult supporters of the families and leave the rest to die off by starvation and disease."

In this whole horrible recital of bestial savagery there is a single redeeming note:

"In conclusion I wish merely to acknowledge the fact that the attitude of the Soviet authorities has been most correct and that the Soviet authorities have been most generous in the help they have given: the food, the medicine, and the money and means for the burial of the corpses."

It should be observed that the tender mercies of the Poles and the Russian counter-revolutionists have not been reserved for the Jews. Russian workers and peasants have been slaughtered just as ruthlessly in every district which has been unfortunate enough to be invaded by their marauding bands.

From these outbursts of ferocity, deliberately instigated by leaders who enjoyed the full "moral support" of the Allied governments, it is a relief to turn to Mr. Brailsford's inspiring account of what the Soviet Government has accomplished in the fields of art and education. Here are some of his most significant observations:

"To my mind the most inspiring thing in Russia is that the Socialist revolution, instantly and instinctively, began to realize the ideal of universal education, which the interests and prejudices of class have thwarted in the rest of Europe. Every fair-minded observer has given the Bolsheviks credit for their prompt efforts to send an illiterate people to school. Their ambition is much bolder. They intend that none of the comforts, none of the pleasures, none of the stimuli, which awaken the powers of a child born in Europe in a cultured middle-class home shall be lacking to the children of the humblest Russian workers.

"I saw near Petrograd a big boarding-school formerly reserved for the children of the nobility. Today about three in four of its inmates are the children of manual workers. They were, in their bearing and manners, as refined as the children whose parents belonged to the 'intelligentsia', as eager to study, and as keen to enjoy the pleasures of art and knowledge to which an admirable staff of teachers introduced them. They were learning handicrafts as well as sciences and languages, and whether they exercise a trade or a profession when they leave school, they will be cultivated men and women, capable of disciplined thought and aesthetic pleasure.

"The guiding idea of the Soviet Republic is to give the children a preference in everything, from food and clothing to less tangible things.

"I saw two of these 'children's colonies', in the Sokolniki Park outside Moscow, and in Tsarskoe Selo, the Russian Windsor, now known as Dyetskoe Selo (children's village), outside Petrograd. In the former the children were housed in the wooden pleasure villas built by Moscow merchants as summer residences in this big park, much of which is unspoiled forest. Many of the villas were assigned to ailing or tuberculous children, and these latter, sleeping more or less in the open even in the winter, make wonderfully rapid cures.

"It may be honestly claimed, I think, for the Soviet administration that it has a better record in its relations to art and culture, generally, than any other government in the civilized world. Let me mention as one characteristic touch, that in my many wanderings on foot in dilapidated Moscow, I noticed only two buildings which had been

renovated and repainted: one was the university and the other a workmen's college. Artists, musicians, dancers, authors, actors, professors and scientists do not suffer, save mentally, from the class feud, and all of them, who have any recognizable qualification, receive rations and salaries—subject doubtless to the usual irregularity.

"What struck me most was the universal popularity of music and the theatre. Every club and trade union center has its own entertainments, sometimes musical, sometimes theatrical. The proletariat is a lavish and exacting Maecenas. Walking up the Tverskaia in Moscow one warm Sunday evening, when windows and doors were open, I seemed to hear music everywhere. Now it was a brilliant performance of a Chopin nocturne. A little further on I recognized a familiar theme from one of the later Beethoven quartettes. Next a choir was singing some unknown Russian chorus, and across the way I watched the crowd streaming in to a play of Andreiye's in a trade union club. Sitting one evening at an excellent concert in the former Noble's Hall at Vladimir, a working man turned to me and said in his picturesque way, 'We used to live in the scullery and the drawing-room door was shut. We never knew what was behind it. The revolution broke down the door; and now all this glory is ours.' That is one reason why starving Russia endures in patience."

Of course, as Mr. Brailsford points out, the Soviet Government has been able to realize its program very imperfectly. It would like to build and equip more schools and hospitals; to print more books; to give the children of Russia more and better food. It has been prevented from doing these things solely because of the blockade and the wars which have been forced upon it. What it has already done in the face of almost insuperable difficulties is a forecast and a guaranty of what it will do when it is left free to carry on its beneficent work in peace. Even its present record of achievement, in the education and care of children, certainly challenges comparison, in broad humanity and farsighted wisdom, with the best that has been accomplished in other countries.

These powerfully contrasted pictures of life in Soviet Russia and life in Denikin's Russia make the issue involved in the struggle between the Soviet Government and the counter-revolutionists absolutely clear. It is the issue of civilization against savagery. Compare the hideous shambles of Fastov with the colony at Dyetskoe Selo (formerly Tsarskoe Selo), where all Russian children, without distinction of race or class, are given an equal opportunity to develop, morally, intellectually, physically, and are taught the ideals of brotherhood and internationalism.

In the light of these articles it is not difficult to see why Soviet Russia has survived and triumphed in the face of economic pressure ten times greater than that which shattered the mighty German Empire. The lot of the Russian proletariat has not been easy during the last three years of war and blockade; but, even if it had been much harder the revolutionary workmen of Moscow and Petrograd would never have given up their trade unions, their concerts and theatres, the schools and kindergartens of their children, all the symbols and results of their new liberty,—and bowed their heads beneath the yoke of a Denikin and a Kolchak. In theory and practice the Soviet Government represents the best ideals of generations of heroic revo-

lutionists, just as its counter-revolutionist enemies have emulated the worst crimes of Czarism.

### Trade Union Delegation in Norway

*Social Demokraten*, Christiania, Norway, of Thursday, September 2, prints a photograph of the Russian Trade Union Delegation taken as it arrived at the Christiania railway station. The news item accompanying the photograph ran as follows:

The Russian Trade Union Delegation consisting of fourteen members, representing various trade unions, arrived at Christiania on the train from Trondhjem. At the station there had gathered among others the members of the Central Committee, Tranmael, Schefflo, Stang, Chr. H. Knudsen, in addition to Secretary Knut Engh, chairman of the Christiania Workers' Party, Christian Aamodt, and the chairman of the Joint Trade Union Organization, Edward Mork.

Immediately after their arrival the delegation, accompanied by a number of Norwegian comrades, drove to "Gimle" (a prominent restaurant in Christiania), where lunch was served. In the afternoon a reception dinner was held at Ekeberg. The delegation consists of the following persons:

Theodore Sergejev, head of the Delegation, and member of the All-Russian Union of Transport Workers.

A. Lozovsky, a member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Committee in the Council of Trade Union Organizations.

A. Anselovitz, president of the Petrograd Trade Union Council.

N. Lavrentyev, member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Organization of Metal Workers.

N. Lebedev, member of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Trade Union of Textile Workers.

D. Antoshkin, member of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Government Employes.

A. Kiselev, president of the All-Russian Miners' Union.

### Bound Volumes for 1920

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

SOVIET RUSSIA

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## 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.

ARMENIA is declared by the Allied press to be in need of help. The newspapers speak of the necessity of foreign diplomatic mediations between Armenia and the Turkish Nationalists, although a *New York Times* correspondent, as previously quoted in these columns, had already indicated that Armenia was more likely to seek her salvation by applying for mediation to Soviet Russia, than to expect it from the Allies. Yet the talk continues of rendering aid to Armenia, against the Turkish Nationalists. There has even been mention, in the American press, of a suggestion to the American Red Cross that it make preparations to spend twenty million dollars in Armenia, and twenty million dollars is a sum which certain officials of the American Red Cross declare it is impossible for the organization to spend. Georgia is aided by England directly, with a loan to be advanced on the recommendation of J. Ramsey MacDonald, Thomas Shaw, and other Second International Socialists. There is evidently to be "something doing" in Armenia, and that pretty soon, for while various hostile agencies have been preparing to organize Armenia into a basis of military operations against Soviet Russia, the people of Armenia have taken the matter into their own hands and declared their country to be a Soviet Republic. Georgia and Armenia will therefore probably be the next countries to suffer—as Esthonia, Poland, Lithuania, Finland, Latvia, White Russia, have already suffered—because the Allies feel that they must use small buffer-states as sources of manpower and as "sanitary" zones against any nation in which the working people have cast out the exploiters and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Allies will try to sit with particular vigor on small states that have established Soviet republics of their own.

Armenia for several decades has been the scene of much suffering. Situated astride a peculiar mountainous plateau, between Transcaucasia on the north, Asia Minor on the west, Mesopotamia on the south, and Persia on the east, its population of about four million (occupying a territory of about 80,000 square miles—about equivalent to the area of the State of Kansas) have had the dubious privilege of dwelling at the very crossroads of the paths of military glory that were pursued by Great Britain, Russia, and Germany. The world knows

to what this condition has exposed the Armenians. They have been the catspaw for every international plotter in Europe. Under the guise of defending these unfortunate people in the practice of their Christian religion, every big commercial intrigue in Europe, for decades, moved its government to advance "assistance to Armenia" as the means of blocking the similar efforts of rivals in other great imperialistic nations. The Czarist Government made itself the "protector" of the Christianity of Armenia's inhabitants, although the Armenians have a church of their own, quite distinct in its practices from the Russian Orthodox Church, and therefore excluding the Armenians from the protectorate claimed by Russia over the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire (a protectorate that could extend, in church matters, only to the Greek Christians in Turkey, who felt no kinship, however, with the Russian neighbor across the Black Sea). Great Britain vigorously resisted this Russian claim; Russia's "protection" of the Armenians would prevent Great Britain from extending similar "protection", and thus Great Britain might be kept back from at least one of the approaches to Turkestan and the Caucasus. Furthermore, if the Turkish massacre of Armenians could assume large enough proportions to justify annexation of Turkish Armenia to the Caucasus, such complete occupation of Armenia by Russia (which already held fully half of the Armenian population in the Southern Caucasus, "Russian Armenia") would have enabled Russian armies, in case of need, to pour freely all over Asiatic Turkey and break a path to the Mediterranean, giving Russia a valuable warm-water naval base at the port of Alexandretta. The unfortunate situation of the population was further aggravated by the fact that, in addition to being wedged in, without a seacoast, at the intersection of the lines of imperial ambitions, it straddled the boundaries of three of the most backward and undeveloped countries in the world: Russia, Turkey, and Persia, for Armenia, like Poland, was not a political entity, but a "divided" area, with Armenians living in Turkey (1,500,000), Russia (1,200,000), and Persia (50,000). To further her design to capture all Armenia for her military needs, Czarist Russia had already, in her exactions from Persia, obtained the actual rule over the Armenians living in that country, although theoretically they remained subject to Persia. England had, in "the strangling of Persia", unwillingly consented to grant Russian primacy in the Armenian field. But England was by no means eager to see Turkish Armenia in Russian hands, since this would have enabled "an imperialistic Russia to conquer Mesopotamia and Syria, thus threatening both the Persian Gulf and the Suez Canal. The same dangers to England would have been involved in an Armenia forming part of a German-controlled Turkish Empire."\*

For the German Empire also had its finger in the pie. The Berlin to Bagdad (and beyond, to the

\* Lathrop Stoddard and Glenn Frank, *The Stakes of the War*, New York, 1918.

Persian Gulf) Railway was a project that could only be secured from a frustrated realization by a Turkey that was strong and undivided, and territorially large enough to enable armies to operate to the north against possible Russian invaders. It was therefore very desirable, from the standpoint of the Kaiser's Germany, that Turkey should retain Armenia as a zone of defense on the north. Had Germany succeeded in retaining her supremacy in Turkey after the "end" of the World War, Armenia would have continued subject to the Ottoman Empire, and exposed to whatever massacres Turkish fanatics might desire to inflict on its population, which would then not have needed to be stimulated by uprisings fomented in Armenia by agents of the Czar's Government.

But a worse fate seems to be in store for Armenia than conquest by a single great power. Armenia may have been singled out for the attentions of the "League of Nations" in its efforts to find a new wall against Soviet Russia.

\* \* \*

FROM a hall in Geneva where frequent speakers are applauded by many delegates, comes news that the "democratic" governments in the "League" (London *Daily Herald*, November 23) are expressing as much concern for the "fate" of Armenia as was once simulated by the diplomats of those great "autocracies" that have now for the most part disappeared. Even lesser nations send representatives who are interested in Armenia. A Serbian delegate on November 22 "proposed to telegraph to all the governments of the world, which would, no doubt, politely express profound sympathy." Lord Robert Cecil and M. Lafontaine joined in a sympathetic discussion, and the French delegate omitted all mention of efforts being made by his government to win over the Turkish Nationalists, estranging them from Soviet Russia, at the price of granting them a free hand in Armenia.

The Soviet Government sent out on November 10 from Moscow the official information that it had offered to mediate between Turkey and Armenia. The Turkish Nationalists had already been so successful in establishing their rule all over the eastern end of Asia Minor, that Armenia was very hard pressed in its efforts to assert some sort of national independence. So critical, indeed, had the situation of the little country become, that an intercession on the part of the Soviet Government, with its powerful neighbor, the Turkish Nationalists, was quite necessary. In its official message of November 10, the Soviet Government further points out that it had not the slightest intention to annex Nakhichevan, Zangezur, Juffa, and Karabag, but was sending out its armies to those border regions, merely in order to protect them until the various questions at issue between Armenia and Azerbaijan might be settled. For, like all new states, both Armenia and Azerbaijan regard all territories concerning which there is the slightest doubt, as their own.

This was by no means the first communication

which the Soviet Government was obliged to address to Armenia, in order to emphasize its desire for peaceful and permanent relations in that part of the world. To guarantee free communications with the Turkish Nationalists, communications vital to the welfare of both the Soviet Government and the Turkish Nationalists, the Soviet Government had already been compelled, on October 25, to send to the Armenian Government an ultimatum demanding the following concessions: (1) that the Armenian Government grant to the troops of Soviet Russia, of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic, and of the Turkish Nationalists, free utilization of the Armenian railroads; (2) that the Armenian Government refuse to recognize the Sevres Treaty and break off diplomatic relations with the Entente powers; (3) that Armenia submit its dispute as to boundaries with Turkey, to the Soviet Government; (4) in case of an acceptance of this ultimatum, and a fulfilment of its conditions, the border territories of Zangezur and Karabag, at present occupied by Soviet troops, should be ceded to Armenia. It was at first reported that the Armenian cabinet had rejected these conditions, but there is now every reason to believe that, with the exception of certain inconsiderable border strips, the entire territory of Armenia has set up a government of the Soviet type, and that this government will not only be ready to accept mediation with its neighbors, as offered by the Soviet Government, but will form an open alliance with the Soviet Government, following the example set by the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan.

Meanwhile, as Armenia has set up her own Soviet Government, and as the League of Nations officials have faith in the truth of the report to that effect, the newspapers print Geneva dispatches explaining how very difficult it would be, under the altered circumstances, to continue the negotiations with Arabunian, Armenian representative at Geneva, for admitting Armenia to the League of Nations. Armenia is now ready for a real solution of its nationality question. As a Soviet Government, there will be no reason for its government to oppress any but the oppressors; the Armenian people are now engaged in the process of eliminating their exploiters. No arrangement of the League of Nations, no balance of power "protection" of a "Christian people" could have attained this end.

\* \* \*

WE mean to keep our promise not to make further mention of Mr. Wells' articles on Soviet Russia, but do not assume that our readers will insist that we omit to deal with the lucubrations of Mr. John Spargo in his voluminous answers to Mr. Wells. Very characteristic of Mr. Spargo's method is the manner in which he quotes—in his article "H. G. Wells in the Russian Shadow", *The New York Times*, December 5—from the columns of SOVIET RUSSIA. He excerpts the following, which he considers particularly damaging to the Russian experiment in Communism, from the articles of Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt, which, as our

readers will recall, appeared in SOVIET RUSSIA in eight instalments, ending last month:

There is at any rate no Socialism at Moscow as yet. There also is no communism. \* \* \* There is but the Communist Party. \* \* \* The people are exhausted by suffering. There are plenty of beggars. Hope for happiness in this world seems to have gone. Religious feeling is growing. People expect happiness in the future, in heaven. The churches are filled from morning till night. Religious processions are often to be seen. \* \* \* The factories are idle. Industries are dead. The workmen are hypnotized and they are waiting for something to happen."

Our readers will remember the general tone of Dr. Goldschmidt's articles, and may judge for themselves whether this method of quoting detached sentences, as if they were all from one paragraph, is an honest method. Not long ago Mr. Spargo used this same peculiar mode of securing apparent support from the lips of those favorable to the Soviet Government by quoting what seemed to be words of sharp criticism against that government, from a book called "Bolshevik Russia", by Etienne Antonelli. Mr. Harold Kellock, reviewing the Spargo book containing the "quotation" from Antonelli, pointed out in *The Freeman* not long ago that Mr. Spargo had carefully refrained from quoting the sentence immediately following, in Antonelli's book, which completely reversed the seemingly hostile statement to one decidedly favorable to the Soviet Government. Far be it from us to ask Mr. Spargo to revise his literary method: changes of this kind would perhaps require him to work more slowly and to turn out fewer volumes. They succeed each other now with such rapidity that it is impossible to keep track of them, and it almost begins to look as if Mr. Spargo expected to be rewarded more for the quantity than for the quality of his books.

THE October-November issue of the *Russian Cooperator*, published in London, has come to hand. This publication of the former officials of the Russian cooperative organizations complains of the decrees of the Soviet Government concerning the nationalization of cooperative societies. Such complaints coming from advocates of cooperation pure and simple would be quite intelligible; coming from persons, however, who claim to be Socialists, these grievances betray a misconception of the position of a Socialist republic towards cooperation.

Under the capitalistic system, consumers' and producers' cooperative societies have been viewed as steps in the direction of socialization of trade and industry. In a socialist republic, however, such as Soviet Russia, cooperative organizations represent a remnant of the individualistic economic system. A consumers' cooperative society is nothing but a joint stock company composed of a large number of shareholders. As far as the outside public is concerned there is no difference between a department store owned by a corporation consisting of a hundred stockholders and one owned by a million shareholders. In either case it is not a public, but a private business, for the benefit of its

owners. The Soviet Government, having set itself the task of socialization of industry, quite consistently with its general policy decreed the nationalization of a chain of a few scores of thousands of department stores and mail order houses operating throughout the vast territory of Russia,—for that is what the All-Russian Cooperative Society actually was before its nationalization by the Soviet Government. From the point of view of an advocate of private ownership in industry this decree was indefensible, but if one accepts the Socialist principle underlying the socialization of banks, railways, express companies, and other distributive agencies, what objection can there be to the socialization of a widely ramified system of retail stores? The decree of the Soviet Government by which the cooperatives were nationalized extended to every member of the community the benefits which had formerly been the privilege of those of its members only who were shareholders of the local cooperative society.

THE following item in the characteristically pregnant style of the *Japan Weekly Chronicle* is taken from the November 4 issue of that paper:

The *Chugai Shogyo* tells an extraordinary tale of fifty Bolsheviks attempting to capture the Russian Volunteer Fleet steamer Simbirsk at Nagasaki. The Japanese police were called in, and the Bolsheviks were compelled to "withdraw." There are now thirty Japanese on board. It might be a parable in miniature of Russia.

ANOTHER item, from the same issue of the same weekly, proves that rumors circulate as swiftly and as irresponsibly in Japan as elsewhere:

Five famous Bolshevik statesmen, at present holding high positions under the Soviet Government of Russia, will be visiting Japan in a few days, states the *Hochi*, which claims to have learnt this news from a semi-official source.

According to the paper, the Soviet statesmen left Vladivostok for Tsuruga a fortnight ago. The police, states the paper are keeping a strict lookout for them, but they have not yet been located. They are supposed to be aboard a steamer at either Tsuruga or at Shimonoseki.

FILMS of recent events in Russia would probably be just as interesting to American movie-fans as to the same class in other countries. Mr. Wells says he brought back to England with him a five-reel film of ceremonies and events in connection with the Baku Congress but that he intends to exhibit it very discreetly and to hardened audiences only. We confess we have heard of many reels of Soviet Russian films that have been brought to America at various times during the last two years—in fact, we know of some—but have never had an opportunity to see any on the screen. It naturally makes us envious of Norwegian theater-goers when we read this advertisement in a Christiania daily:

"Great Russian Meeting, Park Theater, Sunday, November 7th, 10.30 A. M. Music, Lecture by Karl Johansen, and Projection of the well-known Film from Soviet Russia."

## Sowers in Seedtime

By JOHN S. CLARKE

"What is that you are whistling?" I asked, "a last verse of 'The Internationale'?"

"No," he replied with a wry smile, "a new verse of the Red Flag."

We were curious and he obliged us with the words:

The people's flag is palest pink,  
It's not so red as you might think;  
We've been to see, and now we know  
They've been and changed its color so."

—Mrs. Philip Snowden on Russia.

Over-confidence, vanity, an exaggerated self-importance and love of power are defects of character which mark the Britisher, and especially the British militarist, as distinct from other men. Often they lead him along those paths "where angels fear to tread," with the result that if that same "providence" which safeguards drunkards and "weans", permits him to "muddle through" to the goal he is after, he gets the credit for qualities of mind and character which he doesn't possess. More often than not, however, he only succeeds in making a fool of himself. The Britisher is, par excellence, Shakespeare's:

"Man, proud man, dressed in a little brief authority!  
Most ignorant of what he is most assured—  
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep!"

One cannot help remarking while living in Russia that whatever the clever educated Bolshevik thinks of the men of other nations, he is fairly satisfied on one point—that the Britisher is, nine times out of ten, a hopeless clown.

At Petrozavodsk I was shown the natural stage setting of a neat little comedy enacted there some few months before. About two miles westward from the station the ground rises abruptly, and on the crest of the rise there is a wood. Behind this wood the army, advancing on Petrozavodsk, bivouacked one eventful night, and its British and White Finnish commanders gazed through their glasses upon the peaceful looking little town sloping down to the clear blue water of Lake Onega. As they sat at a boxing match, "everything was up bar the shouting"; the prize was before them, there was no reason to worry or to hurry. They sent word, accordingly, that the "official entry" would take place on the following morning. Instructions were given to the effect that the church bells were to be rung, and that a respectful order had to be observed by the populace during the triumphal entry. Alack-a-day! Petrozavodsk was never taken. Something went "agley" with the attackers' best laid schemes—the "something" being the stupid obstinacy of the Red Army reinforcements already entrenched to the north and south, and occupying every strategic position in the town itself.

God's Englishmen and Scotchmen, with their Finno-Russian allies, consequently were, by obvious malice aforethought on the part of their stubborn

enemies, denied their little circus, for instead of entering the town they re-entered the wood and began to run, and, for all I know to the contrary, they are running yet. The "taking" of Petrozavodsk is one of the humors of the North Russian campaign.

On the station platform there stands, mounted on a pedestal, an aerial torpedo, brazenly embellished with British broad-arrows. It was dropped on the spot, but proved itself to be a most disappointing "dud". It stands there a perpetual reminder of the perfidy of a people who fought a war in the cause of "self-determination". Gallant men lost their lives, certainly, in the defence of their town, and their bodies now rest at the head of the main street in a little railed-off enclosure. The graves are kept neatly trimmed, and the names of the fallen are inscribed in white lettering upon scarlet pennons which droop o'er the sward above them. Petrozavodsk is very old, but it is clean and its wooden buildings are arranged upon a definite plan, forming streets, brutally paved and tiring to both man and beast. There are stone buildings, too. One very conspicuous with its high-walled, high-gated quadrangle, stands upon a knoll overlooking a stream, and commands the most elevated part of the town. This is the grey-walled, red-tiled prison. Many years ago, Telsiev, the revolutionary, comprised in the trial of Niechayev, was imprisoned in this building. This was long before a railway from Petersburg was even thought of. In those days escape from the dungeon itself was the least embarrassing difficulty a prisoner had to contend with. Many, many versts of wild, inhospitable country had to be traversed before safety and civilization were won, and with hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger of recapture with its flogging and chain-wearing penalties, as constant companions, Telsiev succeeded in escaping from prison, and the man who engineered his escape was the poet-revolutionary, Demetrius Clemens.

The story as told by Stepniak is as follows:

"Clemens went there with false papers, as an engineer employed to make certain geological researches in Finland. He presented himself to all the authorities under the pretext of asking for the necessary information, and succeeded in fascinating all of them. For a whole week he remained at Petrozavodsk, and was the town-talk, people rivalling each other in entertaining him. Having quietly organized the escape of Telsiev, he departed in company with him, so as not to subject him to the risks of travelling alone. Notwithstanding this, Clemens played his part so well that no one at Petrozavodsk in the least suspected that he had anything to do with the matter. A year afterwards, in fact, one of his friends was passing through the same town, and the Ispravnik asked him whether he knew a certain engineer named Sturm (Clemens' false name), and after having told the most marvelous stories respecting his stay at Petrozavodsk, added: 'A very worthy man. He promised to pay us a visit when he returned from Finland, but we have not seen him since. More's the pity. Perhaps he returned by sea.'"

And, we might add, perhaps he didn't!

The present occupants of the more comfortable apartments of the prison are soldiers of the Red Army; of the cells—counter-revolutionaries and “speculators”, but not many of them.

I spent two whole days at Petrozavodsk. The first occasion was with Gallacher, our American friend, and courier. We were all famished for want of food, and it was impossible to buy even an apple. We begged the courier, a Russian Finn, to find where the local Soviet offices were, but when it eventually dawned upon him that it was food we were after he became a trifle shamefaced. Doubtless he boggled at the idea of soliciting food for visitors in a town where food was so fearfully scarce. Accordingly we wandered about for hours before anything was done, our stomachs meanwhile sagging further and further inwards. At last I struck the office of the local Communist newspaper, and Gallacher dragged the courier upstairs, and with his assistance, supplemented by the prehistoric gesture-language in which weird manipulation of the mouth and stomach played the chief part, we made known our wants.

There was plenty of merry, musical laughter at our predicament from the comrades male and female, but in less than no time we were given a note requesting the officials at the Communal Eating-house to provide us with dinner.

Once outside the newspaper office Gallacher, whose crustiness all morning unfortunately had been of the inedible kind, looked purple-faced at the courier, and informed him in most emphatic diction that as an authority on Bolshevism he might be a creditable asset to the Russian State, “but as a grub-finder,” said he, “you’re a God-damned failure!”

The courier, not being able to understand a word of the harangue, took it as a grateful man’s compliment and smiled delightedly, which made the unreasonable William grow purpler.

Reader, have you ever lived in the desert for two weeks on stale bread and margarine with periodical nibbles at a piece of cheese to give a touch of variety and piquancy to your appalling monotonous diet, and, after dreaming at night and visualizing in daytime scenes of “glorious banquets spread,” in which roast beef and Yorkshire pudding, mince pies and haggis, potatoes and greens, ham and eggs, etc., danced on the table before you, have you then been handed a note authorizing a cookshop to give you a “dinner”? Perhaps you are not a “gross materialist”. Perhaps you are a vegetarian. We were not, and when we ravenously followed our guide through the streets an onlooker might have noticed upon our faces “the smile that won’t come off.”

And it didn’t come off, either—till fact once again exploded the fancy created by a golden anticipation. Alas! my poor brother Gallacher! His sweet smile haunts me still.

On entering the restaurant we were handed a metal check, which had to be given up on receipt of the meal. This consisted of very watery fish soup; hideously black bread of pudding-like con-

sistency and which, judging from the flavor, appeared to have been immersed in Epsom salts’ solution; and boiled rice with a portion of evil-smelling fish. We did not eat it, for our hunger disappeared after the first few mouthfuls. When it was learned that we were British an excited, interested crowd of diners hastened to our table and engaged us in a kind of rag-time conversation. A young woman of marked refinement acted as interpreter, and plied us with question after question concerning the attitude of British Labor on Russia, the possibilities of a French military alliance with Poland, and the comparative class-consciousness of British and French workmen. To the best of our ability we told them the blunt, cruel, heart-rending facts—that there was no immediate possibility of a social revolution in either France or Britain, but that British labor, quiescent as it was, was much more militant than French labor—the French proletariat being more under the influence of the Chauvinists. A painful episode occurred during the interrogation. A Bolsheviek propagandist entered, and, seating himself beside me, began to question me in halting broken English on the conditions of life in Britain. “Have you real *white* flour?” he queried, “and sugar?—and meat?—and jam?” At each affirmative reply his eyes appeared to protrude a little further from their sockets, until they welled up and exuded the glistening tears of longing and hope deferred. Then he smiled and embraced me, and said without one trace of emotion, “Some day you will not have these—for a time—but *you will have freedom*, then you will come to us.”

Picking up his portfolio he went away—to spread the gospel in village and farmstead, out under the open sky, with an enthusiasm born of unselfishness and nourished on victory, walking mile after mile to do it, unwearingly and gladly.

Welcomed? Yes! for the peasantry of the north love the orator. Never before have they been treated with such distinction as to have sent to them—to themselves, peasants, *muzhiks*—trained, educated, and gifted orators whose impassioned words stir the soul and invest it with a new-born dignity.

Potent indeed is the propagandist of the north, for here, above all other districts of Russia, have the imaginative qualities of the people been preserved—fostered by the tumultuous elements that breed unorthodox gods. Here still flourishes *Domovoi*, the demon of the household, never seen except by the biggest liar in the village; *Ovinnik*, the demon of the barn, who sits in the darkest corner and bides his time to set it afire; *Leshi*, the demon of the wood, who is taller than the tallest tree, yet hides himself under a leaf in order to seduce the virgins; *Polevoi*, the field spirit, who comes forth at midday and breaks the tools for sheer mischief; *Vodianoï*, demons of the waters, who haunt the lakes and swamps to drown evil persons who forget to wear the cross, and whose companions in mischief are the *Roussalki*—female “fairies” who tear the fishermen’s nets, and who are really beautiful girls who have drowned themselves because

crossed in love. Folklore in plenty is picked up in Russia, but most of all in the north. Slowly but surely such superstitious fancy, encouraged by parasites and aided and abetted in the old days by vodka, is being displaced by the equally charming but more truthful pictures of science and its myriad wonders. For monsters who break machinery and tools, knowledge of how to care for and thus prevent accidents to, and of how to repair them is being substituted. For grovelling superstition—practical science; for pious fear—self-reliance; for primitive parochial Communism—the World Revolution and World Communism. Such is the titanic task of the propagandist—but he is winning all the time.

Miserably wretched indeed was the lot of the Russian peasant under the old regime. He has been the theme of hundreds of story-writers, essayists, poets, dramatists, and itinerant journalists. His disgusting appearance, his pronouncedly objectionable smell, his verminous condition, his immeasurable stupidity and sordid ignorance, have been labored by sympathetic and unsympathetic observers alike. The most abandoned aborigine living in that never-never land beyond the tangled jungles of the Congo, the Niger, or the Zambesi is better off economically, physically, and morally than was that poor deluded famine-stricken beast of labor the Russian *muzhik* under Czardom.

Here is a pen-picture of his *izba* or "biggin" by Dr. Kennard, who, during a medical career practiced in Russia visited over fifteen hundred peasant patients:

"There lies the door, a massive piece of timber four feet high, surmounted by a solid beam; a triangular piece of iron the handle. Pushing this door open, we step over the threshold, at the same time bending low for fear that our brains shall be dashed out against the lop-sided trunk overarching the narrow entrance. Clang goes the door and we find ourselves . . . enveloped beyond ankles in farmyard slush . . . Between our legs rushes in head-long flight some animal we take to be a pig, while others and a terror stricken goat and alarmed fowls scatter themselves this way and that. Puddles of insanitary messes reflect a dull light while from the same pools of filth rises an unutterable stench.

Wait!—that door at the side leads apparently into another apartment, if we can speak thus respectfully of this insanitary den. We push and push again at this solid wooden structure, rather larger than the corresponding outside one; but our efforts are of no avail till aid from the inside is afforded us, and the door bursts open, exposing us to such an atmosphere that drives us back into the darkness of the outside room—rolls of vapour; impregnated with the most unutterable odors; superheated, dense, vitiated, unventilated streams of air rush through the outlet afforded by the open door, enveloping us in such an indescribable stench that we can do nothing more than gasp in horror, and cover our noses with our hands in vain attempts to shut out the evil smell! We are permeated through and through by the death-laden gust of abomination, and are filled with a feeling of unutterable repulsion that temporarily deprives us of power and courage to proceed."

Such is only one aspect of the life endured by these children of the cimberian night of unbridled autocracy. The mortality from disease spread by the loathsome body-vermin was enormous; the drunkenness appalling—and studiously encouraged

by the State, which derived a tremendous revenue from the sale of its monopoly vodka—and the illiteracy lamentable to contemplate. Only from two to four per cent of Russia's eighty-eight millions of peasants could read or write.

The propagandists of the Russian Communist Party, veritable evangelists of the light, for "there is no darkness but ignorance," are altering all this as surely as the blackened skies are put to flight by the blood-hued "hunter of the east."

Illiteracy is being driven forth like an Ishmael for every man's hand is against it as the most sinister enemy of the human race. I have before me, as I write, a dozen posters carried by the Communist missionaries, each containing but a few words addressed to all who are able to read them, and making an appeal that is not made in vain. Free translations of some of them read: "Illiteracy is the sister to destruction!" "Nobody must be ignorant!" "Literate! It is your duty and obligation to teach the illiterate!" "Education is the road to Communism!" and so on.

Special schools and universities have been opened by the Soviet Government for peasant instruction, not only in the three "R's" but in domestic hygiene, agricultural science, and social refinement. I have a photograph of an old peasant student at work in his own room at the Moscow college for peasants which speaks volumes for the righteousness of the old proverb, "It is never too late to mend!"

Very large and graphically illustrated posters teaching correct methods of agriculture, soil preparation, manuring, crop-rotation, bacteriology, etc., are carried to every isolated farmstead and village community by the propagandists. The specimens before me has excited the admiration of several British printers for its exquisite colored-litho work. Compare such pictures, freely distributed by the present government, with the type of picture (not counting the *ikons*) scattered broadcast by the Czarist Government. Kennard, himself, describes two of them:

"Pictures adorning the walls of a peasant *izba* invariably include an old dust-begrimmed, moth-eaten representation of Alexander II, the Emancipator of the Serfs, and also a cheap engraving, distributed broadcast throughout Russia by the government of the reigning Czar. Sometimes may be seen great flaring, vulgar designs, generally in brilliant red, depicting the devil dealing out judgment to peasants after death for all their sins, those sins being generally pictorially represented. Another will show a room, on the wall of which hangs a large portrait of the Czar. In front of this kneel in reverent attitude peasantry crossing themselves, a mass of peasantry, but one—the Wicked One—will be seen standing in an attitude of defiance. What is the result?

"To the right of the picture will be seen another dreadfully impressive scene, which does not fail to have its due effect on the unfortunate Russian peasant. In that picture is seen a large foaming cauldron, by the side of which stands the devil in brilliant red, holding a long three-pronged fork in his hand. With this he is prodding some unfortunate object which sits in the cauldron being slowly boiled; the object is seen to be the unfortunate *muzhik*, while a legend in large letters reads 'eternal fire!' These

pictures, too are distributed by an enlightened (?) Government."

We saw the products of such "teaching", scores upon scores of them; the look of low cunning and animal fear still lurking in their eyes; the round shoulders and shuffling gait marking their submission to an authority accepted without question; the brand of the savage fetish-worshipper stamped upon their dull and unintelligent brows. Human beings bred to degeneracy and wedded to misery by a deliberate and calculated system of government bureaucracy, wielded by the medieval and bloody autocracy—that Mrs. Snowden spends an entire chapter of her book in pitying because its blasting, pestilential breath has been strangled from its rotten body. They spoke of the peasantry as the "dark people", and dark people they were, living a dark existence in the twentieth century which to them was darker than the dark ages of Britain. The warped and twisted minds mechanically reflecting the ideology of fourth century barbarians are being treated by the physicians of a twentieth century Marxian science. The eagerness with which they snatch at the minutest crumbs of knowledge, and the visible improvement already manifested through the recognition of the earth-foundation facts which are displacing sky-haunting phantoms, are auguries of the ultimate success of such treatment.

So this augean stable is being cleansed; systematically and thoroughly the pestiferous filth

which, bred by and accumulated under a vicious and degrading despotism of a thousand years, perverted the mind and distorted the body of the Muscovite peasant, is being destroyed by the harbingers of a glorious futurity. All honor to them! Not theirs the privilege to labor in capitals where the thunder of their oratory and the miracle of their deeds are spoken of by the multitude until the uttermost ends of the earth hear of them. Nay, theirs to toil in obscurity with the spectres of want and depression stalking forever by their sides, kept at bay by the godly jewel of an unselfish optimism cherished by them in their unconquerable hearts. Their flag is pink, pale, pale pink. Wonderful that it is so! They found it a sickly, treacherous, Kerensky yellow, and in three short years by herculean toil, rapt endeavor, and incomparable devotion to Right, they have changed its color to pink, nor will they rest until by indefatigable exertions they have made it red—red as the noble blood they are ever ready and willing to shed for it.

"All that they have done but earnest of the things they shall do," for they are but the sowers, sowing in a cataclysmic seedtime, in a soil corrupted by bad husbandry of past ages and rank with inherited weeds, but they know, and the knowledge is their priceless reward, that from the noble seed they scatter shall spring, and grow, and blossom the sacred trees from which all humankind shall one day pluck the now forbidden fruit of Freedom.

## Kalmykov's Last Days

(From a recent issue of a Siberian newspaper.)

THE Russian mission at Peking, which has now been abolished by a presidential decree, issued a collection of interesting documents relating to Attaman Kalmykov's stay on Chinese territory after his flight from Khabarovsk. Although the documents were apparently selected with a view to clearing the mission as a whole of any suspicion of complicity in the last deeds of Kalmykov, nevertheless the whole story, the circumstances surrounding it, and the part played by the Kirin Consulate, are not at all uninteresting.

The documents depict as follows Kalmykov's sojourn in China and his death.

On February 19, the Kharbin Consul Popov informed Kudashev, on the basis of a report from the border commissar Kuzmin, of Kalmykov's flight from Khabarovsk to Chinese territory. In connection with this telegram Kudashev wired to the diplomatic official Kurenkov, at Vladivostok, that "Kalmykov's arrest could take place only at the request of the judicial authorities, and documents corroborating the charge would have to be presented." Kudashev added the following remark: "Of course, the case must bear a purely criminal aspect and not a political one."

The impression is then conveyed that the mission had no other documents relating to Kalmykov, before April 28. Only on that date the consul at

Kirin, V. A. Bratsov, wired to Peking, to Kudashev, that "Attaman Kalmykov and Kolchak's adjutant, second rank Captain Bezuar, are in Kirin under arrest, a fact which is kept secret by the Chinese."

In reply to Kudashev's suggestion to ascertain the facts of the case, Consul Bratsov sent a long report on May 2, from which we quote the most essential parts:

"The Commissar for Foreign Affairs informed me that the arrest took place by order of General Bao-Gui-Tsin. With the permission of the chief of staff of the troops, I met the prisoners yesterday in the local headquarters of the gendarmerie. I found that the prisoners were: Major-General of the Ussuryi cossack troops, Ivan Pavlovich Kalmykov, and Captain of the first rank of the Russian Navy, Vassili Viktorovich Bezuar. The circumstances of their arrest, as they told them to me, are as follows. After the retreat from Khabarovsk, Kalmykov crossed the Chinese border with his force, and arrived, on February 27, at Fugdin, where he voluntarily surrendered his arms to the Chinese authorities. He met with a very friendly reception. On March 7 Kalmykov was informed that he had permission to leave for Kharbin, and on March 8 Kalmykov, his adjutant Klok, General Sukhodolsky, and Bezuar, received an invitation from the commander, General Li, to a dinner

which, as Kalmykov understood, was being given on the occasion of their leaving.

"About 3 o'clock in the afternoon these invited guests arrived at the residence of the commander, who did not receive them, and were shown into an empty room, without any sign whatever of a coming dinner. A few hours passed, and no dinner was offered them. During this time General Li came in for a minute, greeted them coldly, wrote something on a piece of paper, and left at once. About 8 o'clock in the evening, Chinese gendarmes came in and began to search the "guests". On Kalmykov's inquiry: "Are we under arrest?" the gendarmerie replied in the negative, explaining that they were only being guarded. At 9 o'clock General Li came and stated that by orders from Kirin, Kalmykov and his companions must be detained, owing to a request from the Bolsheviks. Kalmykov explained to General Li that an account for the gold which he carried away would be given to the Russian ambassador at Peking or to the All-Russian Government, or, if necessary, to an international commission. According to Kalmykov, he had buried the gold in a safe place. On March 25, General Li announced to the prisoners that they would be sent to Kirin. A few days before this—on March 21—General Sukhodolsky died of an acute mental derangement. On March 27, Kalmykov and Bezuar were sent under guard to Kirin, whither they arrived on April 16. The prisoners were placed under extremely harsh discipline, very much more severe than the regime in concentration camps. As to Kalmykov's force, a part of it melted away, and the other part was sent to Lakhasusa and turned over to the Bolsheviks."

In a report to Kudashev, of May 16, Consul Bratzov, among other things, states that "Kalmykov's state of health, particularly his nervous system, is very feeble. He is always in an excited state, which takes such an acute form that he positively cannot stand the sight of a Chinese." On May 22 Kudashev, quoting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, informed Bratzov that the Chinese consider Kalmykov as an interned combatant who has taken refuge in a country which has declared its neutrality toward Russia. As to Captain Bezuar, the Chinese promised to release him, "since this will not place the Chinese in so difficult and disagreeable a position as would the release of Kalmykov."

While Prince Kudashev began taking steps to obtain the release of the prisoners, he received the following statement from the Norwegian ambassador at Peking, dated July 9:

"In 1918 the Swedish Red Cross despatched an expedition to Siberia, on whose staff, among others, were the Norwegian subject Dr. Obshaug and the Swedish subject Dr. Hedbloom. In the month of May these persons were placed under arrest by order of Kalmykov, but they were later released at Kharbin, and 273,000 rubles were then taken away from them. In October of the same year Kalmykov once more put them under arrest, charging them with espionage, took from them

1,600,000 rubles which belonged to the Swedish Red Cross, and after this they were hanged by order of Kalmykov in the same car in which they had been held under arrest. The order for the execution was handed to the guard of the prisoners by Ensign Salamakhin and Corporal Evreyinov. The execution was carried out by a Serbian (a deserter), whose name was Ulenek, one of the guard, and by another person whose name is not known. The corpses were carried away in an automobile, and some distance away they were thrown into a ditch near the road and the ditch was filled up. The automobile was driven by Military Cadet Kazygirey, of Khabarovsk, who it is said, is now at Vladivostok." The Norwegian Consul stated further that he had taken steps to have Kalmykov punished.

Apparently, the action of the Norwegian Consul much complicated Kalmykov's case, but on July 16 Consul Bratzov sent to Kudashev the following telegram: "Kalmykov disappeared while he was visiting the consulates. The Chinese demand his surrender. The consulate is surrounded by troops. Gendarmes have been placed in the consulate. Please send instructions to Kuanichentzy."

In his reply to this telegram, Kudashev among other things stated: "I have just succeeded in persuading the Chinese Government to leave Kalmykov at Kirin, instead of surrendering him to the judicial authorities of Vladivostok, where he might also be persecuted on many other charges, and besides under the present tense state of mind it would be hard to guarantee his personal safety even for the short period before his surrender to the judicial authorities."

In a communication to Kudashev, of July 21, Consul Bratzov stated that "Kalmykov's hiding place is not known to the consulate." Kalmykov's disappearance was narrated as follows in the report of the *Dutzun* of Kirin: On the 13th (of July) Kalmykov asked permission to visit the Russian Consulate. He was accompanied by an adjutant, a diplomatic official, and gendarmes. Because Kalmykov stayed too long in the toilet, Chinese officials entered it, but they found no one there. In reply to a report of this occurrence an order was received from Peking to do everything to find Kalmykov, and to kill him if he should offer resistance.

It should be noted that Kalmykov and Bezuar visited the consulate every week, where they enjoyed the orchard, "drank tea", took away books, and in general were well looked after.

On July 29, Consul Bratzov, in reply to an inquiry from Kudashev, sent him a detailed report of the circumstances of Kalmykov's disappearance. This report is a masterpiece of pretense and insolence. From this standpoint, the report is interesting in itself, but we shall quote from it only the part which has a direct bearing on our subject.

Speaking of the attention shown to Kalmykov and Bezuar, the Consul, among other things, writes: "Your Excellency will perhaps kindly bear in mind that *I had no reason whatever to consider Kalmy-*

*kov and Bezuar as criminals*, and I had therefore treated them with corresponding attention, *following to the letter your instructions* to mitigate the fate of Kalmykov (and hence also of Bezuar). Of course, had I known that Kalmykov was a serious criminal I would not have received him in the consulate."

Then Consul Bratzov and Vice-Consul Luchich—who, by the way, was a friend of Bezuar—spread a story that Kalmykov was taken away by the Japanese. The Chinese did not believe this story, and apparently were not very friendly to the consulate. Thus, in a telegram dated July 22, Consul Bratzov writes: "The position of the consulate is humiliating. I have been placed under a house arrest. I beg you to take immediate steps for our protection."

Kudashev, however, acted very cautiously. He sent the Mukden Consul Kolokolov to investigate the whole affair. In addition to the official investigation, Kudashev requested Bratzov to come to Peking for a personal explanation. But Bratzov was forced to reply: "The Chinese do not allow me to leave. The consulate is completely cut off, as if it were blockaded."

The memorial of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of August 10 mentions, among other things, that before Attaman Kalmykov went to the consulate it was falsely asserted there that Bratzov, who was absent from Kirin, was sure to be back by the time of Kalmykov's visit to the consulate. When Kalmykov, on July 13, left for the consulate, the Vice-Consul had just received a telegram from Chanchun from the Consul, which stated that he "will return today and commissions (the Vice-Consul) to receive the guests for him." Yet, after looking up the telegram and after a personal examination of the consulate's interpreter, Mr. Luby, Consul-General Kolokolov, it was ascertained that the telegram was sent on the 11th. Thus, Consul Bratzov first claimed that he would return, arranging thereby that the attaman's visit to the consulate should take place, and then tried to disclaim responsibility, pleading the excuse that he had not returned. In addition it was ascertained at the telegraph office that Bratzov had sent from Chanchun the following telegram: "Will arrive tonight with money. Please take measures to help unhindered leave."

This telegram, it seems, definitely convinced the Chinese of the complicity of Consul Bratzov and Vice-Consul Luchich in Kalmykov's disappearance, and for this reason both were held at Kirin for trial.

On August 30 the consulate at Kuan-chen-tsi sent to Kudashev at Peking the following telegram: "Information received that Attaman Kalmykov was arrested by the Chinese authorities in the building of the consulate at Kirin. All Chinese employed at the consulate were subjected to an examination and a beating for their complicity." Bratzov himself reported on August 30 as follows: "On August 25, Chinese troops entered the consulate. The same day they found Kalmykov in one of the con-

sulate buildings. The activity of the consulate has been suspended by the Chinese authorities, and the keys taken away. Luchich and myself have been placed at his residence under surveillance of Chinese officers and soldiers."

Bratzov further asked what he should do. On September, he received the following reply from Kudashev:

"Your criminal negligence in not carrying out my categorical orders has led to your present situation. You compromised the whole Russian representation in China, you have put in a hole everyone connected with you. Of the consequence you will learn in due time."

This ends the documents. A special postscript adds that according to reports from Chinese sources, "Kalmykov was killed on the way to Chanchun by the soldiers who accompanied him while he was trying to escape. Captain Bezuar is still at Kirin."—*Novosti Zhizn*, of Kharbin, October, 21, 1920.

## In Revolutionary Russia

By CLARA ZETKIN

(From a recent issue of "Die Rote Fahne", Vienna.)

THE most gigantic revolution known to history is taking place in Russia today. Only the very innocent in politics can conceive a possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the first steps in Communism, without error and confusion, without missteps and mistakes, without experimenting and groping in the dark. It would be against human nature if even the proletarian masses did not grumble and find fault, and sharply criticize on occasion some of the measures undertaken by the Soviet Government, if they did not severely condemn some of the happenings and phenomena under the Soviets. However, this is the significant thing: The most cruel cares and hardships have not destroyed the firm faith of the Russian proletariat as a whole in the great work of the Revolution, in the superiority of the Soviet regime, or shaken their most exalted and devoted trust in the great leaders. The Russian proletariat does not blame the Revolution or the Soviet regime, nor "the aims and methods of the Tartar 'Pseudo-Socialism,'" for all its suffering. Quite the contrary: they are consciously bearing this suffering as a part of the inevitable sacrifices in their revolutionary struggle for freedom from the yoke of capitalism. They know that they are not suffering privations under the scorpions of capitalist exploitation, that their hunger and toil is not making the rich richer, but is lifting a new, great world, free from slavery and exploitation, out of the seething chaos of today.

It is this conviction which gives to the Russian working masses their unexampled historic greatness, their creative force. It is not a weary, slavish

resignation, not a thoughtless yielding, not an indifferent spirit of lassitude. It is the suffering and enduring of action, martyrdom which consciously becomes heroism. It is the revolutionary fighting spirit, the revolutionary spirit of resistance. Those hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants who rally to the defense with every new mobilization, are proving it beyond a doubt, as they willingly undergo new privations, hardships, and dangers in order to defend Soviet Russia against a world of enemies. It is the highest revolutionary spirit of embattled self-assertion, which makes the Russian proletariat grit its teeth and desire: Soviet Russia shall live, even though we die for it.

What pathetic wooden souls those shrewd scientists and ripe old experts are who were able to pass through revolutionary Russia without being touched in the slightest by the revolutionary spirit which made of the Russian masses the militant vanguard of the disinherited millions of the whole world. This spirit not only pervades the streets and squares of Moscow and Petrograd, when the masses, men, women and children, unite in jubilant demonstrations, under the flowing red banners and to the strains of the Internationale; but to all who are not willfully blind this spirit is visible in every manifestation of the people which speaks of their determined and enthusiastic struggle to build up a free Communist Russia.

There is, for example, the Field of Mars, where the victims of the Revolution and the veteran revolutionaries killed by the counter-revolution, Volodarski, Uritzki, and others, lie buried. A great, wide field. For the last May Day celebration the ground was tilled and planted with 60,000 trees and shrubs, voluntarily and without remuneration, by the Petrograd proletarian men and women, who had suffered all the horrors, the hunger and the cold of the frightful defensive battle against Yudenich. The Mars Field is to be a beautiful park. There is not a cipher too many. I mean literally sixty thousand trees and shrubs, planted as a voluntary work of love for a park, whose cooling shade, soothing green and merry twitter of birds will some day benefit the children and grandchildren of these enthusiastic May Day workers. Such large scale plans and large scale deeds can only be carried out by a people certain of their future, filled with the revolutionary spirit and the highest idealism, not by an apathetic mass, yielding to brutal terror, nor a clique of exploiters and robber barons, whose motto is: After us the deluge.

And what unbending, iron revolutionary will speaks through the Communist Saturday and Sunday work! This voluntary, unremunerated work which soon came to be regarded as due to the party as a matter of course, and matter of party honor, was inaugurated by thousands of the best and staunchest Communists. Today uncounted thousands all over Russia devote their Saturdays and Sundays to work in the factories, the hospitals and public institutions, or they go out into the forests to assist in the cutting and transportation of lum-

ber. This voluntary mobilization of a workers' army has no parallel in history. What strength and joy emanates from these workers is apparent from the jubilant tones of the Internationale, which is sung in shops and yards, at work and on the street, by groups of workers returning home. Proud and glad, they stride along, these men and women:

"The women so frank and the men so free,  
As though of a royal race."

And they are a royal race, returning from self-imposed tasks. A race that has written its own brief of nobility with a firm strong hand in the struggle and work of the Revolution.

## Chicherin: A Silhouette

Luciano Magrini, the well-known Italian correspondent, spent several months in Soviet Russia, studying its organization and relations. He is publishing in the Milan daily: "Secolo", a number of lengthy articles, containing pertinent and realistic descriptions of the Soviet system; also characterizations of persons holding the executive power of the Bolshevik state. Among others he gives a sketch of Chicherin:

Two men, writes Magrini, both Bolsheviks, but of entirely opposite temperaments, are occupying the highest offices in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. Chicherin, a model of simplicity, is busy with foreign politics: while Karakhan, a refined and elegant gentleman of Armenian birth, devotes himself to foreign politics related to internal affairs.

Chicherin, a man of austere and unbending faith and strict principles in politics and morals, is an unswerving Communist. A few years ago he rejected the right to a considerable inheritance in order to remain true to his principles. He dresses very moderately, and washes his own dishes after a frugal meal. It is not new to see him on the steps of the ministerial building, carrying papers from one bureau to another, only because he does not want to be served by others.

Chicherin can be seen at his work at all hours of the night in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. All the officials in that department are compelled to follow the example of the chief, and work at night. During the day Chicherin sleeps; he works regularly from 6 in the evening to 9 in the morning. He carefully notes everything that is going on in the world, preparing his numerous notes with unusual political skill. If any one asks for an interview with him, it is set for two or three o'clock in the morning.

Magrini interviewed Chicherin in his office at 2 A. M. It is a large room, containing three tables littered with paper and newspapers. During the conversation, a rat appeared in the middle of the floor and began to play with a paper. Chicherin, turning, noticed the frightened fleeing rat, and continuing his talk, said with a kindly smile: "Poor animal, it also has the right to live!"

## Wireless and Other News

### NOTE ON SUPPORT TO PETLURA

RIGA, October 31 (*Rosta*).—The Chairman of the Russian-Ukrainian Peace Delegation, Obolenski, has sent to the Chairman of the Polish Peace Delegation, Wasilewski, a note in which he points out that Petlura's troops are continuing hostilities after the signing of the armistice agreement. The Polish armistice commission at Berdichev, in the session of October 23, admitted that Petlura's troops constitute a portion of the Polish army which is under Polish command. The Polish Commission refuses to answer the question put from the Russian side as to whether the Poles would undertake to have Petlura's troops withdraw within Polish boundaries, and, should Petlura's troops not consent to this measure, force them to do so by disarmament. The Polish Peace Delegation further refuses to indicate the whereabouts of Petlura's staff, which is necessary to come into contact with; the Polish Peace Delegation made the statement that it did not know the place to which the staff had recently been transferred. Since the Peace Delegation immediately thereafter received instructions from the Polish Supreme Commander, which declared that Petlura's front was not to be included in the armistice conditions, Poland was thereupon asked whether this answer implied a breaking up of Poland's relations with Petlura and whether Petlura had ceased to be an ally of Poland. The Polish Colonel Boldeskul refused to answer this question. Obolenski declared that all this made the carrying out of the armistice conditions and the determination of the neutral zone impossible. Russia and Ukraine must therefore make the Polish Government responsible for any harm that may accrue to the interests of Russia, Ukraine and White Russia, and pointed out how unreliable was the attitude indicated in this evasive method of answering questions touching upon the execution of the armistice conditions upon which the destinies of peace depend.

Obolenski protested against this state of affairs and demanded that appropriate measures be taken.

### WORKERS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

*The following little items show that French and English workers support Soviet Russia:*

PARIS, October 21, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The executive committee of the United Syndicates of the Seine has resolved at a meeting to oppose the furnishing of weapons and munitions to the enemies of Russia.

LONDON, October 21, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—The Workers' Council of Action has just issued a manifesto declaring that only resumption of trade with Soviet Russia can put a stop to rising prices in England. The Council will do everything to effect peace between Russia and Great Britain.

### NOVEMBER SEVENTH CELEBRATION

MOSCOW, November 9.—On November 8 there was held in Moscow a reception of foreign diplomats, which was inaugurated by the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, in connection with the third anniversary of the Revolution. In the People's Commissariat the following representatives of foreign powers appeared: Hilger, representative of the German Government; Bekir-Ami, representative of the Turkish Mission; Minhaverol-Memalek, Persian Ambassador; Mamed-Balf-Uhan, Minister from Afghanistan; Mokhadze, Commissioner from the Georgian Government; Wesman, Lettish Minister; Baltrunchaytis, Lithuanian representative; Dr. Pohl, representative of the German-Austrian Government; Skala, representative of the Czecho-Slovak Government, and many other members of foreign governments. The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, greeted the foreign representatives, and in his speech expressed the wish that by the time the fourth anniversary of the Russian Revolution should take place, all the nations of the world might be ready to show more understanding of the peaceful policy of Russia.

### "WHITE" CONSPIRACY IN SIBERIA

STOCKHOLM, October 19, 1920 (*Rosta*, Vienna).—In Siberia an extensive White conspiracy has been unearthed having for its object the blowing up of bridges, mills, and railways, and to practice terror against the Bolshevik administration. A similar plot was discovered in the Urals among men formerly belonging to Kolchak's army.

### EXPLOITATION OF BATUM?

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—The British Government, in a note to the Government of the Georgian Republic, demands the right to use the city and harbor of Batum for an indefinite period.

### NEW PHILOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—A philological institute for western languages was inaugurated in Petrograd.

### ALL RUSSIAN LITERARY CONGRESS

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—The first All-Russian congress of proletarian writers was opened yesterday. The delegates were welcomed by the famous poet Valery Bryussov and by Poliansky, chairman of the International Bureau of Proletarian Culture.

### AIR FLEET BUILDING IN RUSSIA

STOCKHOLM, October 21, 1920.—According to *Pravda* the Soviet Government is expediting the rapid construction of the air fleet. Aviation plants are accorded precedence in raw materials and in labor supply.

### RUSSIAN FOREIGN TRADE

MOSCOW, October 21, 1920.—On account of the imminent resumption of commerce with the west, and the pressing need of raw materials, the Soviet Government has established a department of timber export with Lieberman at its head. Lumber will be a staple export in the near future.

STOCKHOLM, October 20, 1920 (*Rosta*).—*Svenska Dagbladet* is informed from Helsingfors that the Commissar of Foreign Trade considers the following wares can be exported in the first place: bristles, tobacco, quantities of horse-hair, horse-shoes, leather, iron and manganese ore, tanned horse-hides, sheep-skins, rye, ox-tails, wool and rabbit-skins.

November 2.—Since the beginning of August the following additional quantities of gold have been shipped from Reval, according to data furnished by the Soviet Government, for its account: To Sweden (for transmission in Sweden and to other countries): 2,500,000 crowns on August 1; 2,600,000 crowns on August 2; 2,000,000 crowns on September 2; 2,500,000 crowns on September 9; 8,000,000 crowns on September 23 (5,000,000 of which were for America); 10,000,000 crowns on September 30 (all for America); to France, on September 17, 17,000,000 crowns; on October 4, 15,000,000 crowns. Negotiations are still in progress with England on the subject of the sale of the flax now still stored at Reval. A consignment of 200 tons should already have been sent to England. In addition to the already reported consignment, further consignments have already been sent to England. On September 2 also, 2,751,000 poods of santonin in 40 cases left for Sweden, apparently destined, not for England, but for America. Finally, about 300 carloads containing 800 poods each of veneers have been sold by Russia to England and are being forwarded to that country by way of Reval.

STOCKHOLM, November 4.—In connection with the commercial treaty concluded with England by Krassin, in accordance with which Russia is to receive woollens to the value of 2,000,000 pounds sterling, two great firms in Yorkshire have been established as large stock corporations under English law: The All-Russian Cooperative Stock Company, and The Russian Company, Ltd. On Krassin's suggestion the English Government has deposited in the Reval National Bank 250,000 pounds sterling for these two firms.

### UKRAINE AND GERMANY

BERLIN, November 9.—The *Deutsche Ukrainische Zeitung*, appearing in this city, reports that the Government of Soviet Ukraine, in view of the fact that all of Ukraine is now under the control of the Soviet Government, and that Porsch, the representative of the Petlura Government, can therefore not be considered as the representative of Ukraine, has decided to maintain a permanent Embassy in Berlin. As has already been reported, the new representative is Mazurenko.

### FOR THE RED ARMY

OMSK, November 2.—The "Week of the Red Soldier" has been a complete success. Many gifts have been received; in money alone 5,500,000 rubles; 300 women have reported at the Omsk Hospital as voluntary nurses.

The Moscow *Pravda* reports that on October 10, a collection for the Red Army was held at Moscow, the results of which were very satisfactory. There were received 10,400 shirts, 4,565 undergarments, 4,752 sweaters and leather jackets, 1,546 half pelts, 4,305 pairs of socks, 2,518 pieces of linen, besides spoons, teapots, cups, etc.

SMOLENSK, November 8.—Workers of the Tailors' and Shoemakers' shops have voluntarily prolonged their labor already by two hours per day. During their working hours they are engaged exclusively in turning out winter clothing for the Red Army.

### CHEMICAL MANUFACTURES

The Collegium of the Commissariat for Public Welfare has elaborated a plan for the erection of a number of factories to produce superphosphates, as the collegium recognizes the urgent necessity of improving the productivity of the soil by supplying it with fertilizers. Professor Zamoskav has determined that Russia possesses immense deposits of the necessary minerals for producing superphosphates. It is reported that superphosphate factories are already established in Petrograd, Nizhni-Novgorod, and Kineshna. It is now proposed to build several factories for the production of saltpeter. One of these is approaching its completion and a yield of 10 to 14,000 poods of potassium nitrate is expected. The lack of dyes has led to the decision to erect a small factory in which the ochra supplies in the district of Kuznietsk (Government of Saratov) are to be used.

### ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

MOSCOW, November 2.—After having been idle for two years, the Martin furnaces at the Izhorski Works in Petrograd have again resumed their activity. The first 900,000 poods of steel are to be ready by November 10.

### EXTENSION OF TANNERIES

MOSCOW, November 2.—The tanneries in Petrograd have recently extended their activities considerably. The staff of workers has been increased by 5,000.

### WORKERS OF ORENBURG FETED

MOSCOW, November 2.—The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has given to the workers of Orenburg a flag of revolutionary honor for their heroic defence of the city in the spring of 1919, when the workers of Orenburg organized their own regiments and saved the city from Kolchak.

### THE FOOD SITUATION

STOCKHOLM, October 22, 1920 (*Rosta*).—It is reported from Moscow on October 22 that the Russian peasant has learned the difference between Kollchak and Denikin and the Soviet Government. In the Kuban region Wrangel's recent invasions have won over the cossacks to the Soviet Government. Hence the food campaign of Russia proper has been characterized by a great advance over the previous year. The reports for August and September indicate this. The provisioning act has just gone into effect; yet in the past month 30 million poods have been delivered, i.e., about four times as much as last year. Why then, one may ask, these urgent appeals of the Communist Party and of the government, why this mobilization? Simply because it takes a great many people to gather 400 million poods. Besides, it has been decided to intensify provisioning to the highest degree, and to terminate it by December, so that all the means for completing the program of victualing are on hand in time. Finally, the problem of provisioning is made more difficult because this year, for the first time, the country can supply not only grain and potatoes, but also butter, vegetables, eggs, cheese, honey, and poultry. The state, growing in strength, is fast

becoming the sole purchaser. This is the real cause of our mobilization and our appeals which our enemies allege to be signs of our weakness, but which actually indicate our power and strength.

### COTTON CROPS

MOSCOW, November 6.—The last cotton harvest is satisfactory, so that the cotton spinneries around Moscow will be sufficiently supplied with raw materials from the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkestan. From August 20 to September 20, 1920, about 1,000 car-loads of cotton were discharged to Samara. Since the opening of the year over two million poods of cotton have been transported by way of Persia and Turkestan to the spinneries. At present Russian spinneries have enough cotton for one year.

### RESULTS OF OVERTIME WORK

PSKOV, October 19, 1920 (*Rosta, Vienna*).—By voluntary overtime work the Communists and non-partisans of the Pskov railroad shops have, in the course of the last three weeks, repaired and put in running order eleven locomotives.

## Soviet Russia in 1921

will place before its readers even more interesting material than it has been printing during 1920. All the regular features, such as Weekly Military Review, Editorials, Wireless and Other News, will be retained, and at least one will be considerably expanded, namely "Books Reviewed". The latest official and unofficial articles of Lenin, Trotsky, Lunacharsky, Sereda, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and other statesmen and specialists in the various organs of the Soviet Government, will be printed as soon as they are received and translated. Also, as far as space permits, SOVIET RUSSIA will print the latest accounts by Americans and foreigners who have set down their observations of travel or work in Soviet Russia.

Among the other materials of all kinds that we have already arranged to publish in early issues of Volume IV, which begins January 1, 1921, are these:

ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *Collapse and Reconstruction in Russia*.—MAXIM GORKY, *The Literature of the World*.—LT.-COL. B. ROUSTAM BEK, *Chemical Warfare and the New Attack on Russia*.—ALFONS GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Structure of the Soviet System in Russia*.—ART UNDER COMMUNISM, by the Editor of SOVIET RUSSIA.—PIERRE PASCAL, *Impressions of Soviet Russia*.—IVAN OLBRACHT, *A Sociological Study of Present-Day Russia*.—BOHUMIR SMERAL, *Conversations With Russian Leaders*.

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### JANUARY FIRST NUMBER

SOVIET RUSSIA for January 1, 1921, will have a special eight-page supplement on glazed paper, with pictures of the destruction wrought in Southern Russia by Denikin, together with the results of constructive work by the Soviet Government. In several cases, the photographs, some of which were taken by Professor Lomonossov, formerly of the Soviet Bureau in New York, show the ruined bridges left by Denikin, side by side with the temporary structures built by Soviet engineers to take their places.

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